

VOLUME 110 • NUMBER 3 • JUNE 2005

The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION



BEDFORD/ST. MARTIN'S

A book students WILL read

The American Promise
A History of the United States
Third Edition

James L. Roark, *Emory University*

Michael P. Johnson, *Johns Hopkins University*

Patricia Cline Cohen, *University of California,
Santa Barbara*

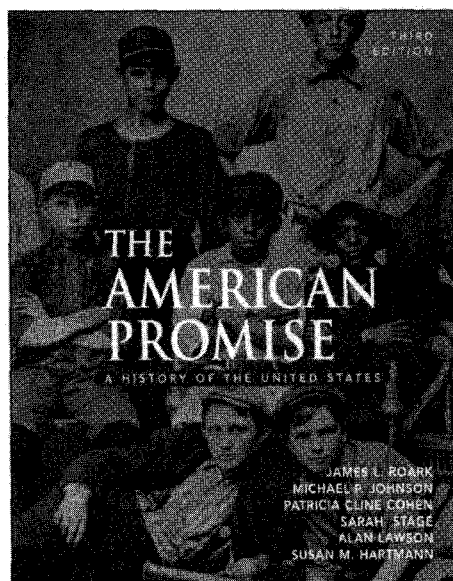
Sarah Stage, *Arizona State University West*

Alan Lawson, *Boston College*

Susan M. Hartmann, *The Ohio State University*

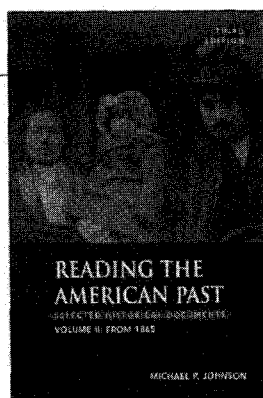
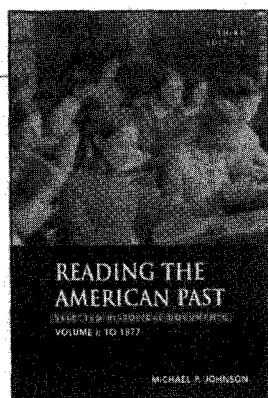
"My biggest challenge is finding books that students find engaging. I chose *The American Promise* primarily for its thoughtful, functional organization, balanced coverage, and excellent writing. This is a book that students WILL read!"

— Thomas Niermann,
Blue River Community College



Combined volume: 2005/cloth/1192 pages
Volume I: (To 1877): 2005/paper/594 pages
Volume II: (From 1865): 2005/paper/636 pages
Book A - To 1800: June 2005/paper/353 pages
Book B - 1800-1900: June 2005/paper/428 pages
Book C - 1900-Present: June 2005/paper/432 pages
bedfordstmartins.com/roark

NEW!



Reading the American Past

Selected Historical Documents

Third Edition

Michael P. Johnson

Johns Hopkins University

Volume I (To 1877): 2005/paper/320 pages

Volume II (From 1865): 2005/paper/332 pages

For more information: bedfordstmartins.com

The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889.

Elected Officers

President: JAMES J. SHEEHAN, *Stanford University*

President-Elect: LINDA K. KERBER, *University of Iowa*

Vice-Presidents: ANTHONY T. GRAFTON, *Princeton University, Professional Division*

ROY A. ROSENZWEIG, *George Mason University, Research Division*

PATRICK MANNING, *Northeastern University, Teaching Division*

Appointed Officers

Executive Director: ARNITA A. JONES

AHR Editor: MICHAEL GROSSBERG, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

Controller: RANDY NORELL

Elected Council Members

JONATHAN D. SPENCE

Yale University

Immediate Past President

MYRNA IVONNE WALLACE FUENTES

Duke University

ART GÓMEZ
*National Park
Service*

KEVIN REILLY
*Raritan Valley
Community College*

MRINALINI SINHA
*Penn State
University*

PAMELA H. SMITH
Pomona College

QUINTARD TAYLOR, JR.
University of Washington

Cover Illustration: Palau de Justícia, Barcelona, by Enric Sagnier and Domènech i Estapà, 1887–1908. Detail of corner tower. Photograph by Maiken Umbach.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

The *American Historical Review* is published in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is the official publication of the American Historical Association, 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (phone 202-544-2422), and is printed and mailed by Cadmus Professional Communications, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, VA 23228. Our editorial offices are located at Indiana University: American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401. Phone: 812-855-7609; fax: 812-855-5827; e-mail: ahr@indiana.edu.

The *AHR* is sent to members of the American Historical Association and to institutions holding subscriptions. Membership dues: Contributing Member, \$173 annually; for incomes over \$70,000, \$138; over \$55,000, \$114; over \$45,000, \$102; over \$35,000, \$87; over \$20,000, \$75; under \$20,000, \$41; for students, \$36; for teachers of K–12 (AHA/OHT/SHE) without the *AHR*, \$62; for K–12 with the *AHR*, \$90; for joint members or spouse/partners, \$41; for emeritus and retired historians, \$51; for associate members (nonhistorians), \$51. A life membership is \$2,600. Non-U.S. members add \$20 for postage. For a JSTOR subscription, add \$15. The proportion of dues allocated to the *AHR* is \$17. Institutional subscription rates: Class I, Type 1, \$250; Type 2, \$325. Class II, Type 1, \$275; Type 2, \$350. Further information on membership, subscriptions, and the procedure for ordering back issues is available on the AHA web site, <http://www.historians.org/>, or at the back of the journal, on pages 1(a) and 2(a), immediately preceding the advertisements.

GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts may be submitted by e-mail attachment to ahr@indiana.edu. We prefer to receive them in either Microsoft Word or Rich Text Format/RTF; if you use another program, however, we can probably convert it. (Please check with our Production Manager at ahr@indiana.edu or by phone at 812-855-7609.) Manuscripts submitted by postal or courier service should be addressed to Editor, American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401; please send two paper copies along with an electronic file. The printouts should be double-spaced throughout, with generous margins. The editors prefer to work with manuscripts that are no more than 8,000 words in length, not counting notes, tables, and charts. Please include your full contact information, including your e-mail address, in all correspondence.

No manuscript will be considered for publication if it is concurrently under consideration by another journal or press or if it has been published or is soon to be published elsewhere. Both restrictions apply to the substance as well as to the exact wording of the manuscript. If the manuscript is accepted, the editors expect that its appearance in the *AHR* will precede republication of the essay, or any significant part thereof, in another work.

Other guidelines for the preparation of manuscripts for submission to and publication in the *AHR* will be sent upon request. Articles will be edited to conform to *AHR* style in matters of punctuation, capitalization, and the like. The editors may suggest other changes in the interest of clarity and economy of expression; such changes are not made without consultation with authors. The editors are the final arbiters of length, grammar, and usage.

Unsolicited book reviews are not accepted.

Visit our web site at www.historycooperative.org/ahr/ for policies regarding articles, book reviews, and film reviews and to explore our online journal.

Postmaster: Please send notification (Form 3579) regarding undelivered journals to: American Historical Association, 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003. Publication identification number: *American Historical Review* (ISSN 0002-8762).

The *AHR* disclaims responsibility for statements, of either fact or opinion, made by contributors.

© AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 2005

All rights reserved

FOR PERMISSION TO REPRINT: Contact Sharon K. Tune, Assistant Director, Administration, American Historical Association, 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003. Phone: 202-544-2422; fax: 202-544-8307; e-mail: aha@historians.org.

FOR INQUIRIES ABOUT ADVERTISING: Contact Kelly Elmore, Advertising Manager, American Historical Association, 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003. Phone: 202-544-2422; fax: 202-544-8307; e-mail: aha@historians.org.

Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices.

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.



The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Editor: MICHAEL GROSSBERG

Associate Editor: MARIA BUCUR

Assistant Editors: MOUREEN COULTER
JANE LYLE

Office Manager: MARY ANNE THACKER

Production Manager: PATTI TORP

Editorial Assistants: ELIZABETH CAFER DU PLESSIS,
CHRISTOPHER J. FERGUSON, JILL M. MASSINO, HEATHER R. PERRY,
P. C. ROWLEY, CÉSAR SEVESO, JENNIFER SOVDE

Advertising Manager: KELLY ELMORE

Board of Editors

EDWARD A. ALPERS
*University of California,
Los Angeles*

KATHLEEN CANNING
University of Michigan

SUSAN DEANS-SMITH
University of Texas, Austin

LEILA FAWAZ
Tufts University

MARTHA C. HOWELL
Columbia University

JAN LEWIS
Rutgers University

NORMAN M. NAIMARK
Stanford University

ROBERT A. NYE
Oregon State University

DANIEL T. RODGERS
Princeton University

VANESSA R. SCHWARTZ
*University of
Southern California*

JOHN VAN ENGEN
*University of
Notre Dame*

R. BIN WONG
*University of
California, Irvine*

In This Issue

xiii

Articles

Rethinking Sir Moses Montefiore: Religion, Nationhood, and International Philanthropy in the Nineteenth Century

By ABIGAIL GREEN

631

A Tale of Second Cities: Autonomy, Culture, and the Law in Hamburg and Barcelona in the Late Nineteenth Century

By MAIKEN UMBACH

659

The Ethics of Hunger and the Assembly of Society: The Techno-Politics of the School Meal in Modern Britain

By JAMES VERNON

693

Forum Essay

Introduction

726

From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education

By ROBERT ORRILL AND LINN SHAPIRO

727

Reviews of Books and Films

METHODS/THEORY

DAVID CHRISTIAN. *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History*.

By Patrick K. O'Brien

752

ANDREA FRISCH. *The Invention of the Eyewitness: Witnessing and Testimony in Early Modern France*.

By Barbara Shapiro

753

ANTOINETTE BURTON. *Dwelling in the Archive: Women, Writing, House, Home and History in Late Colonial India*.

By Himani Bannerji

754

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

DANIEL FINAMORE, editor. *Maritime History as World History*.

By Gesa Mackenthun

755

LONDA SCHIEBINGER. *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World*.

By Mark Harrison

756

FA-TI FAN. *British Naturalists in Qing China: Science, Empire, and Cultural Encounter*.

By Robert Bickers

757

- LYDIA H. LIU. *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making*.
By Rebecca E. Karl 758
- DALE W. TOMICH. *Through the Prism of Slavery: Labor, Capital, and World Economy*.
By David Northrup 759
- RANDY J. SPARKS. *The Two Princes of Calabar: An Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Odyssey*.
By Joseph E. Inikori 759
- CLAUDE A. CLEGG III. *The Price of Liberty: African Americans and the Making of Liberia*.
By Tommy L. Bogger 760
- KENNETH C. BARNES. *Journey of Hope: The Back-to-Africa Movement in Arkansas in the Late 1800s*.
By Amos J. Beyan 761
- JAMES FAIRHEAD et al., editors. *African-American Exploration in West Africa: Four Nineteenth-Century Diaries*.
By Hassan Bailey Sisay 762
- CAROLE FINK. *Defending the Rights of Others: The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1878–1938*.
By Gale Stokes 763
- TOMMY BENGTTSSON, CAMERON CAMPBELL, JAMES Z. LEE et al., *Life Under Pressure: Mortality and Living Standards in Europe and Asia, 1700–1900*.
By Katherine A. Lynch 763
- JOHN FARLEY. *To Cast Out Disease: A History of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation (1913–1951)*.
By Douglas Haynes 764
- DAVID PAUL NICKLES. *Under the Wire: How the Telegraph Changed Diplomacy*.
By Richard R. John 765
- ROBERT POIS and PHILIP LANGER. *Command Failure in War: Psychology and Leadership*.
By Owen Connelly 766
- ROBERT B. BRUCE. *A Fraternity of Arms: America and France in the Great War*.
By Peter S. Kindsvatter 767
- WILLIAM STUECK, editor. *The Korean War in World History*.
By Charles K. Armstrong 767
- CHRISTOPHER ENDY. *Cold War Holidays: American Tourism in France*.
By Alessandro Brogi 768
- ASIA
- HERO. Directed by Yimou Zhang.
By Michael Nylan 769
- RICHARD VON GLAHN. *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture*.
By Robert P. Weller 770
- ANTONIA FINNANE. *Speaking of Yangzhou: A Chinese City, 1550–1850*.
By Kristin Stapleton 771
- TOBIE MEYER-FONG. *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou*.
By Susan Naquin 772
- IONA D. MAN-CHEONG. *The Class of 1761: Examinations, State, and Elites in Eighteenth-Century China*.
By Li Li 773
- EMMA JINHUA TENG. *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683–1895*.
By Joshua A. Fogel 774
- TANI E. BARLOW. *The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism*.
By Harriet Evans 775
- BRIAN PLATT. *Burning and Building: Schooling and State Formation in Japan, 1750–1890*.
By Mark Lincicome 776
- ABU TALIB AHMAD and TAN LIOK EE, editors. *New Terrains in Southeast Asian History*.
By Nicholas Tarling 776
- WILLIAM GOULD. *Hindu Nationalism and the Language of Politics in Late Colonial India*.
By Milton Israel 777
- MRIDU RAI. *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir*; CHITRALEKHA ZUTSHI. *Languages of Belonging: Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir*.
By Praveen Swami 778
- OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS
- SALLY ENGLE MERRY and DONALD BRENNIS, editors. *Law and Empire in the Pacific: Fiji and Hawai'i*.
By Judith Schachter [Modell] 780
- PHILLIP BRADLEY. *On Shaggy Ridge: The Australian Seventh Division in the Ramu Valley Campaign: From Kaiapit to the Finisterres*.
By Jeffrey Grey 781
- CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES
- ANTHONY S. PARENT, JR. *Foul Means: The Formation of a Slave Society in Virginia, 1660–1740*.
By Thomas Murphy, S.J. 782
- ROBBIE ETHRIDGE. *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World*.
By Daniel H. Usner, Jr. 783
- DAVID HACKETT FISCHER. *Washington's Crossing*.
By David Waldstreicher 784
- JOHN LAMBERTON HARPER. *American Machiavelli: Alexander Hamilton and the Origins of U.S. Foreign Policy*.
By James H. Read 784
- STEPHEN HOWARD BROWNE. *Jefferson's Call for Nationhood: The First Inaugural Address*.
By Barbara B. Oberg 785
- ANDREW SHANKMAN. *Crucible of American Democracy: The Struggle to Fuse Egalitarianism and Capitalism in Jeffersonian Pennsylvania*.
By Christopher Clark 786
- DORON S. BEN-ATAR. *Trade Secrets: Intellectual Piracy and the Origins of American Industrial Power*.
By Robert E. Wright 787
- LAWRENCE A. PESKIN. *Manufacturing Revolution: The Intellectual Origins of Early American Industry*; DAVID R. MEYER. *The Roots of American Industrialization*.
By Walter Licht 788
- RICHARD W. CLEMENT. *Books on the Frontier: Print Culture in the American West, 1763–1875*.
By Carol A. O'Connor 790

- PHILIP F. GURA. *C. F. Martin and His Guitars, 1796–1873*.
By Richard Cullen Rath 790
- ROBERT G. ANGEVINE. *The Railroad and the State: War, Politics, and Technology in Nineteenth-Century America*.
By Howard Schweber 791
- JAMES L. HUSTON. *Calculating the Value of the Union: Slavery, Property Rights, and the Economic Origins of the Civil War*.
By Joseph P. Reidy 792
- JOHN WOOD SWEET. *Bodies Politic: Negotiating Race in the American North, 1730–1830*.
By Bruce Dain 793
- JONATHAN DANIEL WELLS. *The Origins of the Southern Middle Class: 1800–1861*.
By Bess Beatty 794
- DAVID BRION DAVIS. *Challenging the Boundaries of Slavery*.
By Philip D. Morgan 795
- HAROLD HOLZER. *Lincoln at Cooper Union: The Speech that Made Abraham Lincoln President*.
By Barry Schwartz 796
- THOMAS J. GOSS. *The War within the Union High Command: Politics and Generalship during the Civil War*.
By Craig L. Symonds 796
- MARTIN W. OFELE. *German-Speaking Officers in the U.S. Colored Troops, 1863–1867*.
By Herman Hattaway 797
- DONALD R. SHAFFER. *After the Glory: The Struggles of Black Civil War Veterans*.
By Thomas J. Brown 798
- WILSON JEREMIAH MOSES. *Creative Conflict in African American Thought: Frederick Douglass, Alexander Crummell, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey*.
By Tunde Adeleke 799
- ERROL G. HILL and JAMES V. HATCH. *A History of African American Theatre*.
By Rena Fraden 800
- MICHELE BIRNBAUM. *Race, Work, and Desire in American Literature, 1860–1930*.
By Elise Lemire 801
- MICHAEL J. PFEIFER. *Rough Justice: Lynching and American Society, 1874–1947*.
By James H. Madison 802
- ELNA C. GREEN. *This Business of Relief: Confronting Poverty in a Southern City, 1740–1940*.
By Timothy A. Hacsí 802
- RONALD M. LABBÉ and JONATHAN LURIE. *The Slaughterhouse Cases: Regulation, Reconstruction, and the Fourteenth Amendment*.
By Tony A. Freyer 803
- MICHAEL J. KLARMAN. *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Racial Equality*.
By Mark A. Graber 804
- RAYVON FOUCHÉ. *Black Inventors in the Age of Segregation: Granville T. Woods, Lewis H. Latimer, and Shelby J. Davidson*.
By John P. Jackson, Jr. 805
- LINDA SIMON. *Dark Light: Electricity and Anxiety from the Telegraph to the X-Ray*.
By Carolyn Thomas de la Peña 806
- JEFFORY A. CLYMER. *America's Culture of Terrorism: Violence, Capitalism, and the Written Word*.
By Amanda K. Frisken 807
- BARBARA A. WHITE. *The Beecher Sisters*.
By Judith A. Allen 808
- MARTIN PADGET. *Indian Country: Travels in the American Southwest, 1840–1935*.
By Murray Wickett 809
- ETHAN R. YORGASON. *Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region*.
By James B. Allen 810
- KATHLEEN FLAKE. *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle*.
By Philip Barlow 811
- PETER CONOLLY-SMITH. *Translating America: An Immigrant Press Visualizes American Popular Culture, 1895–1918*.
By Jonathan M. Hansen 812
- HUPING LING. *Chinese St. Louis: From Enclave to Cultural Community*.
By Shehong Chen 813
- MARIE ROSE WONG. *Sweet Cakes, Long Journey: The Chinatowns of Portland, Oregon*.
By Madeline Y. Hsu 814
- CHRISTINE ROSEN. *Preaching Eugenics: Religious Leaders and the American Eugenics Movement*.
By Jon H. Roberts 815
- JIMMY ELAINE WILKINSON MEYER. *Any Friend of the Movement: Networking for Birth Control, 1920–1940*.
By Lynne Curry 815
- KELLY SCHRUM. *Some Wore Bobby Sox: The Emergence of Teenage Girls' Culture, 1920–1945*.
By Ilana Nash 816
- CHRISTOF MAUCH. *The Shadow War Against Hitler: The Covert Operations of America's Wartime Secret Intelligence Service*.
By Maochun Yu 817
- MAX PAUL FRIEDMAN. *Nazis and Good Neighbors: The United States Campaign Against the Germans of Latin America in World War II*.
By Francis MacDonnell 818
- ZI ZHONGYUN. *No Exit? The Origin and Evolution of U.S. Policy toward China, 1945–1950*.
By Gordon H. Chang 819
- SALIM YAQUB. *Containing Arab Nationalism: The Eisenhower Doctrine and the Middle East*.
By Laila Parsons 820
- ROBERT RODGERS KORSTAD. *Civil Rights Unionism: Tobacco Workers and the Struggle for Democracy in the Mid-Twentieth-Century South*.
By David Goldfield 820
- JENNIFER KLEIN. *For All these Rights: Business, Labor, and the Shaping of America's Public-Private Welfare State*.
By Joseph A. McCartin 821
- EDWARD D. BERKOWITZ. *Robert Ball and the Politics of Social Security*.
By Melvyn Dubofsky 822
- JOHN HOUCHIN. *Censorship of the American Theatre in the Twentieth Century*.
By Benjamin McArthur 823

- THOMAS DOHERTY. *Cold War, Cool Medium: Television, McCarthyism, and American Culture.*
By Michael Curtin 824
- DAVID M. LUBIN. *Shooting Kennedy: JFK and the Culture of Images*; DAVID GREENBERG. *Nixon's Shadow: The History of an Image.*
By Stephen Vaughn 824
- GERALD L. FETNER. *Immersed in Great Affairs: Allan Nevins and the Heroic Age of American History.*
By David W. Noble 826
- PETER C. MURRAY. *Methodists and the Crucible of Race 1930–1975.*
By Donald G. Mathews 826
- JOY ANN WILLIAMSON. *Black Power on Campus: The University of Illinois 1965–75.*
By Eileen Eagan 827
- PAUL LYONS. *The People of this Generation: The Rise and Fall of the New Left in Philadelphia.*
By Doug Rossinow 828
- JULIE BYRNE. *O God of Players: The Story of the Immaculate Mighty Macs.*
By Richard Ian Kimball 829
- THOMAS R. DUNLAP. *Faith in Nature: Environmentalism as Religious Quest.*
By Char Miller 830
- DAVID M. O'BRIEN. *Animal Sacrifice and Religious Freedom: Church of Lukumi Babalu Aye v. City of Hialeah.*
By George Brandon 830
- CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA**
- RUGGIERO ROMANO. *Mecanismo y elementos del sistema económico colonial americano. Siglos XVI–XVIII.*
By Gustavo L. Paz 831
- TREVOR BURNARD. *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World.*
By Robert Olwell 832
- GABRIEL VILLARONGA. *Toward a Discourse of Consent: Mass Mobilization and Colonial Politics in Puerto Rico, 1932–1948.*
By Amílcar Antonio Barreto 833
- EMILIO KOURÍ. *A Pueblo Divided: Business, Property, and Community in Papantla, Mexico.*
By Allen Wells 834
- JÜRGEN BUCHENAU. *Tools of Progress: A German Merchant Family in Mexico City, 1865–Present.*
By Thomas O'Brien 835
- ALEXANDER S. DAWSON. *Indian and Nation in Revolutionary Mexico.*
By José Antonio Aguilar Rivera 836
- MATTHEW BUTLER. *Popular Piety and Political Identity in Mexico's Cristero Rebellion: Michoacán, 1927–29.*
By Christopher R. Boyer 837
- GREG GRANDIN. *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War.*
By Carol A. Smith 838
- PATRICIA VEGA JIMÉNEZ. *Con sabor a tertulia: Historia del consumo del café en Costa Rica (1840–1940).*
By Jeffrey M. Pilcher 839
- CAROLINE A. WILLIAMS. *Between Resistance and Adaptation: Indigenous Peoples and the Colonisation of the Chocó, 1510–1753.*
By Barbara Ganson 840
- JAMES E. SANDERS. *Contentious Republicans: Popular Politics, Race, and Class in Nineteenth-Century Colombia.*
By Helen Delpar 841
- IÑIGO GARCÍA-BRYCE. *Crafting the Republic: Lima's Artisans and Nation Building in Peru, 1821–1879.*
By Peter Blanchard 842
- CLÁUDIA DAMASCENO FONSECA. *Des terres aux villes de l'or: Pouvoirs et territoires urbains au Minas Gerais (Brésil, XVIII siècle).*
By A. J. R. Russell-Wood 843
- FRANK D. McCANN. *Soldiers of the Pátria: A History of the Brazilian Army, 1889–1937.*
By Peter M. Beattie 844
- JOHN D. FRENCH. *Drowning in Laws: Labor Law and Brazilian Political Culture.*
By Jerry Dávila 845
- BRYAN McCANN. *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil.*
By Andrew G. Wood 846
- EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL**
- ROBERT MORSTEIN-MARX. *Mass Oratory and Political Power in the Late Roman Republic.*
By Geoff Sumi 847
- ELIZABETH A. CASTELLI. *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making.*
By Brent D. Shaw 847
- CHRIS WICKHAM. *Courts and Conflict in Twelfth-Century Tuscany.*
By Uta-Renate Blumenthal 848
- STÉPHANE BOISSELLIER. *Le peuplement médiéval dans le sud du Portugal: Constitution et fonctionnement d'un réseau d'habitats et de territoires XII–XV siècles.*
By James F. Powers 849
- ELISHEVA BAUMGARTEN. *Mothers and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe.*
By Ephraim Kanarfogel 850
- J. S. BOTHWELL. *Edward III and the English Peerage: Royal Patronage, Social Mobility and Political Control in Fourteenth-Century England.*
By Ralph A. Griffiths 851
- JOHN LANGDON. *Mills in the Medieval Economy: England 1300–1540.*
By S. H. Rigby 852
- KIRSTEN A. SEAVER. *Maps, Myths, and Men: The Story of the Vinland Map.*
By Daniel Lord Smail 853
- EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN**
- YUVAL NOAH HARARI. *Renaissance Military Memoirs: War, History, and Identity, 1450–1600.*
By Elizabeth Wirth Marvick 854
- HAROLD J. BERMAN. *Law and Revolution.*
By Michael D. Gordon 855
- JAMES A. STEINTRAGER. *Cruel Delight: Enlightenment Culture and the Inhuman.*
By Anita Guerrini 856

- DAVID M. POMFRET. *Young People and the European City: Age Relations in Nottingham and Saint-Etienne, 1890-1940.*
By Laura Lee Downs 856
- ERIC IVES. *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn: "The Most Happy."*
Retha M. Warnicke 858
- J. P. D. COOPER. *Propaganda and the Tudor State: Political Culture in the Westcountry.*
By Anne McLaren 858
- PETER IVER KAUFMAN. *Thinking of the Laity in Late Tudor England.*
By Alexandra Walsham 859
- PAUL RAFFIELD. *Images and Cultures of Law in Early Modern England: Justice and Political Power, 1558-1660.*
By Wilfrid Prest 860
- ALEXANDRA SHEPARD. *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England.*
By Hilda L. Smith 861
- ANDREW MCRAE. *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State.*
By C. John Sommerville 862
- RUTH E. MAYERS. *1659: The Crisis of the Commonwealth.*
By Ronald Hutton 863
- PAUL CHANG-HA LIM. *In Pursuit of Purity, Unity, and Liberty: Richard Baxter's Puritan Ecclesiology in its Seventeenth-Century Context.*
By William Lamont 863
- KEVIN P. SIENA. *Venereal Disease, Hospitals and the Urban Poor: London's "Foul Wards," 1600-1800.*
By Philip K. Wilson 864
- JAMES KELLY. *Sir Edward Newenham MP 1734-1814: Defender of the Protestant Constitution.*
By Paddy McNally 865
- DROR WAHRMAN. *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England.*
By Felicity A. Nussbaum 866
- ANNA CLARK. *Scandal: The Sexual Politics of the British Constitution.*
By Alastair Bellany 867
- MARTIN J. WIENER. *Men of Blood: Violence, Manliness, and Criminal Justice in Victorian England.*
By James Eli Adams 868
- SETH KOVEN. *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London.*
By Lynda Nead 868
- JAMES P. FLINT. *Great Britain and the Holy See: The Diplomatic Relations Question, 1846-1852.*
By Paul A. Townend 869
- JORDANNA BAILKIN. *The Culture of Property: The Crisis of Liberalism in Modern Britain.*
By Holger Hoock 870
- ALEX OWEN. *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern.*
By Michael Saler 871
- THEODORE M. PORTER. *Karl Pearson: The Scientific Life in a Statistical Age.*
By Frank M. Turner 872
- C. T. MCINTIRE. *Herbert Butterfield: Historian as Dissenter.*
By Victor H. Feske 873
- RICARDO PADRÓN. *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain.*
By Antonio Feros 874
- JOSÉ ANDRÉS-GALLEGÓ. *El Motín de Esquilache, América y Europa.*
By Victor M. Uribe-Uran 875
- STANLEY G. PAYNE. *The Spanish Civil War, the Soviet Union, and Communism.*
By George Esenwein 876
- CRISTINA PALOMARES. *The Quest for Survival after Franco: Moderate Francoism and the Slow Journey to the Polls, 1964-1977.*
By Laura Desfor Edles 878
- MEGAN C. ARMSTRONG. *The Politics of Piety: Franciscan Preachers During the Wars of Religion, 1560-1600.*
By Jotham Parsons 879
- BARBARA DIEFENDORF. *From Penitence to Charity: Pious Women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris.*
By Susan E. Dinan 880
- JOSEPH BERGIN. *Crown, Church and Episcopate under Louis XIV.*
By Nigel Aston 880
- SARA E. CHAPMAN. *Private Ambition and Political Alliances: The Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain Family and Louis XIV's Government, 1650-1715.*
By Julian Swann 881
- DAVID WILLIAMS. *Condorcet and Modernity.*
By Emma Rothschild 882
- ROBERT ALEXANDER. *Re-Writing the French Revolutionary Tradition.*
By John Merriman 883
- MAURICE SAMUELS. *The Spectacular Past: Popular History and the Novel in Nineteenth-Century France.*
By James Smith Allen 884
- MICHAEL R. STEINBERG. *Listening to Reason: Culture, Subjectivity, and Nineteenth-Century Music.*
By Jolanta T. Pekacz 884
- ERIC J. ENGSTROM. *Clinical Psychiatry in Imperial Germany: A History of Psychiatric Practice.*
By Mitchell G. Ash 885
- PETER ELI GORDON. *Rosenzweig and Heidegger: Between Judaism and German Philosophy.*
By Robert S. Leventhal 886
- DUNCAN KELLY. *The State of the Political: Conception of Politics and the State in the Thought of Max Weber, Carl Schmitt and Franz Neumann.*
By Jan-Werner Müller 887
- NIKOLAUS WACHSMANN. *Hitler's Prisons: Legal Terror in Nazi Germany.*
By Donald M. McKale 888
- BONHOEFFER. *Directed by Martin Doblmeier.*
By Kevin P. Spicer, C.S.C. 889
- CHRISTOPHER R. BROWNING. *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939-March 1942.*
By Götz Aly 890
- TINA CAMPT. *Other Germans: Black Germans and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Memory in the Third Reich.*
By Yfaat Weiss 892
- TATJANA TÖNSMEYER. *Das Dritte Reich und die Slowakei, 1939-1945: Politischer Alltag zwischen Kooperation und Eigensinn.*
By Martin Dean 893

- MATTHIAS SCHRÖDER. *Deutschbaltische SS-Führer und Andrej Vlasov 1942–1945: "Russland kann nur von Russen besiegt werden"; Erhard Kroeger, Friedrich Buchardt und die "Russische Befreiungsarmee."*
By Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius 893
- PAUL BETTS. *The Authority of Everyday Objects: A Cultural History of West German Industrial Design.*
By Heide Fehrenbach 894
- MICHAEL SCHWARTZ. *Vertriebene und "Umsiedlerpolitik": Integrationskonflikte in den deutschen Nachkriegs-Gesellschaften und die Assimilationsstrategien in der SBZ/DDR 1945–1961.*
By Timothy R. Vogt 895
- SANDER L. GILMAN. *Jurek Becker: A Life in Five Worlds.*
By Richard Breitman 896
- EMLYN EISENACH. *Husbands, Wives, and Concubines: Marriage, Family, and Social Order in Sixteenth-Century Verona.*
By Stanley Chojnacki 897
- MIREILLE PEYTAVIN. *Visite et gouvernement dans le royaume de Naples (XVI^e-XVII^e siècles).*
By Hanns Gross 898
- ANDREAS HELMEDACH. *Das Verkehrssystem als Modernisierungsfaktor: Straßen, Post, Fuhrwesen und Reisen nach Triest und Fiume vom Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum Eisenbahnzeitalter.*
By Stefan Troebst 899
- MACIEJ JANOWSKI. *Polish Liberal Thought Before 1918.*
By Larry Wolff 899
- JUKKA PARTANEN. *Isän tuvasta omaan tupaan: Väestö ja kotitaloudet Karjalankannaksen maaseudulla 1750–1870*
Chris J. Chulos 900
- ERNEST A. ZITSER. *The Transfigured Kingdom: Sacred Parody and Charismatic Authority at the Court of Peter the Great.*
By Chester Dunning 901
- JAMES CRACRAFT. *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Culture.*
By Gary Marker 902
- SERGEI I. ZHUK. *Russia's Lost Reformation: Peasants, Millennialism, and Radical Sects in Southern Russia and Ukraine, 1830–1917.*
By Cathy A. Frierson 903
- DAVID SHNEER. *Yiddish and the Creation of Soviet Jewish Culture, 1918–1930.*
By Gabriella Safran 904
- SEAN McMEEKIN. *The Red Millionaire: A Political Biography of Willi Münzenberg, Moscow's Secret Propaganda Tsar in the West.*
By Sheldon Anderson 905
- HUGH RAGSDALE. *The Soviets, the Munich Crisis, and the Coming of World War II.*
By Geoffrey Roberts 906
- ROBERT W. STEPHAN. *Stalin's Secret War: Soviet Counterintelligence against the Nazis, 1941–1945.*
By Fredric S. Zuckerman 906
- DOUGLAS NORTHROP. *Veiled Empire: Gender and Power in Stalinist Central Asia.*
By Mark von Hagen 907
- VALERY TISHKOV. *Chechnya: Life in a War-Torn Society.*
By Ronald Grigor Suny 908

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

- DONALD R. REDFORD. *From Slave to Pharaoh: The Black Experience of Ancient Egypt.*
By John Ray 909
- J. H. CHAJES. *Between Worlds: Dybbuks, Exorcists, and Early Modern Judaism.*
By Gershon David Hundert 910
- MATT GOLDISH. *The Sabbatean Prophets.*
By Shaul Magid 911

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

- ALLEN F. ISAACMAN and BARBARA S. ISAACMAN. *Slavery and Beyond: The Making of Men and Chikunda Ethnic Identities in the Unstable World of South-Central Africa, 1750–1920.*
By Clifton Crais 912
- TREVOR R. GETZ. *Slavery and Reform in West Africa: Toward Emancipation in Nineteenth-Century Senegal and the Gold Coast.*
By Andrew F. Clark 913
- GACACA: LIVING TOGETHER AGAIN IN RWANDA? Directed by Anne Aghion; IN RWANDA WE SAY . . . : THE FAMILY THAT DOES NOT SPEAK DIES. Directed by Anne Aghion.
By John M. Janzen 914

Collected Essays

METHODS/THEORY

- DANIEL J. WALKOWITZ and LISA MAYA KNAUER, editors. *Memory and the Impact of Political Transformation in Public Space.* 916

COMPARATIVE WORLD

- JAMES D. TRACY and MARGUERITE RAGNOW, editors. *Religion and the Early Modern State: Views from China, Russia, and the West.* 916

- WALTER JOHNSON, editor. *The Chattel Principle: Internal Slave Trades in the Americas.* 916

- RICHARD C. K. BURDEKIN and PIERRE L. SIKLOS, editors. *Deflation: Current and Historical Perspectives.* 917

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

- LU ANN DE CUNZO and JOHN H. JAMESON, JR., editors. *Unlocking the Past: Celebrating Historical Archaeology in North America.* 917

AMELIA MARÍA DE LA LUZ MONTES and ANNE ELIZABETH GOLDMAN, editors. *María Amparo Ruiz de Burton: Critical and Pedagogical Perspectives.* 917

PAUL SPICKARD and G. Reginald Daniel, editors. *Racial Thinking in the United States: Uncompleted Independence.* 917

GLENN FELDMAN, editor. *Before Brown: Civil Rights and White Backlash in the Modern South.* 918

DARWIN H. STAPLETON, editor. *Creating a Tradition of Biomedical Research: Contributions to the History of The Rockefeller University.* 918

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

AZIZ AL-AZMEH and JÁNOS M. BAK, editors. *Monotheistic Kingship: The Medieval Variants.* 918

FRANCES ANDREWS, CHRISTOPH EGGER, and CONSTANCE M. ROUSSEAU, editors. *Pope, Church and City: Essays in Honour of Brenda M. Bolton.* 918

PATRICK BOUCHERON and JACQUES CHIFFOLEAU, editors. *Les Palais dans la ville: Espaces urbains et lieux de la puissance publique dans la Méditerranée médiévale.* 918

NICOLA F. McDONALD and W. M. ORMROD, editors. *Rites of Passage: Cultures of Transition in the Fourteenth Century.* 919

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

ANDRÉE CORVOL-DESSERT, editor. *Les Forêts d'Occident du Moyen Âge à nos jours.* 919

RANDALL LESAFFER, editor. *Peace Treaties and International Law in European History: From the Late Middle Ages to World War One.* 919

HEINZ DUCHHARDT and CLAUS SCHARF, editors. *Interdisziplinarität und Internationalität: Wege und Formen der Rezeption der französischen und der britischen Aufklärung in Deutschland und Rußland im 18. Jahrhundert.* 919

PETER GRAY, editor. *Victoria's Ireland? Irishness and Britishness, 1837-1901.* 920

SABINE WICHERT, editor. *From the United Irishmen to Twentieth-Century Unionism: A Festschrift for A. T. Q. Stewart.* 920

ROBERT M. SCHWARTZ and ROBERT A. SCHNEIDER, editors. *Tocqueville and Beyond: Essays on the Old Regime in Honor of David D. Bien.* 920

JULIAN BOURG, editor. *After the Deluge: New Perspectives on the Intellectual and Cultural History of Postwar France.* 920

LEENDERT F. GROENENDIJK and BENJAMIN B. ROBERTS, editors. *Losbandige jeugd: Jongeren en moraal in de Nederlanden tijdens de late Middeleeuwen en de Vroegmoderne Tijd* [Rebellious Youth: Youth and Morality in the Netherlands during the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period]. 921

CHRISTOF MAUCH, editor. *Nature in German History.* 921

HEINRICH AUGUST WINKLER, editor. *Griff nach der Deutungsmacht: Zur Geschichte der Geschichtspolitik in Deutschland.* 921

MICHAEL CHERLIN, HALINA FILIPOWICZ, and RICHARD L. RUDOLPH, editors. *The Great Tradition and Its Legacy: The Evolution of Dramatic and Musical Theater in Austria and Central Europe.* 921

SILVANA SEIDEL MENCHI and DIEGO QUAGLIONI, editors. *Trasgressioni: Seduzione, concubinato, adulterio, bigamia (XIV-XVIII secolo).* 921

TIMO VIHAVAINEN, editor. *O. W. Kuusinen ja Neuvostoliiton ideologinen kriisi vuosina 1957-64* [O. W. Kuusinen and the Struggle over Stalin's Legacy 1957-64]. 922

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

DOMINIQUE TRIMBUR, editor. *Europäer in der Levante: Zwischen Politik, Wissenschaft und Religion (19.-20. Jahrhundert)/Des Européens au Levant: Entre politique, science et religion (XIX^e-XX^e siècles).* 922

Collected Essays	916	Communications	933
Documents and Bibliographies	923	Index	936
Other Books Received	925	Index of Advertisers	46(a)

Topical Table of Contents

Administration
757, 848, 851, 875, 880, 881, 893, 898,
901

Anthropology/Archaeology
783, 853, 909

Art/Architecture
870, 894

Biography
784, 785, 796, 805, 808, 822, 824, 826, 832, 858,
863, 865, 872, 873, 882, 889, 896, 905

Body
856, 910

Business/Finance
790, 821, 835

- Career/Professions
848, 885, 898
- Childhood/Youth
816, 850, 856
- Class
794, 841, 864, 868
- Colonial/Postcolonial
754, 756, 759, 760, 762, 774, 777, 780, 783, 793,
831, 832, 838, 840, 843, 912, 913
- Comparative
752, 755, 758, 759, 763, 766, 767, 776, 780, 795,
855, 856, 913
- Constitutional
803, 804, 830
- Crime/Violence
753, 802, 856, 868, 888, 914
- Cultural
753, 756, 757, 768, 770, 772, 774, 784, 790, 800,
806, 807, 810, 812, 813, 823, 824, 832, 839, 846,
847, 856, 860, 861, 862, 866, 867, 868, 870, 871,
872, 874, 884, 886, 894, 901, 904, 907
- Demography
763, 814, 849, 852, 900
- Diasporas
761, 762, 782, 813
- Economic
759, 763, 771, 786, 787, 788, 792, 831, 834, 835,
839, 845, 852, 900, 913
- Education/Students
773, 776, 828, 829
- Elites
772, 773, 851, 881
- Empire
757, 758, 759, 769, 770, 771, 773, 849, 874, 901,
907, 909
- Environment/Landscape
830
- Ethnicity
763, 780, 812, 813, 814, 827, 830, 892, 893, 896,
903, 912, 914
- Exploration/Travel
755, 762, 774, 853, 874
- Family
835, 850, 856, 861, 881, 897, 900
- Film/Photography
769, 824, 889, 914
- Folklore
770
- Food
839
- Foreign Relations/Diplomatic
763, 765, 767, 784, 818, 819, 820, 833, 869, 876,
906, 790
- Gender
754, 756, 775, 801, 808, 861, 866, 867, 868, 897,
907
- Genocide
890, 896, 914, 914
- Health/Disease
763, 764, 821, 864
- Historiography
752, 754, 767, 776, 826, 853, 873, 883, 884, 890
- Identity
811, 812, 847, 854, 866, 884, 893, 896, 904, 909,
911, 912
- Ideology
768, 778, 784, 786, 792, 794, 799, 828, 833, 876,
878, 883, 888, 893, 899, 904, 905, 907, 908
- Immigration/Migration
760, 761, 776, 797, 812, 813, 814, 895
- Indigenous Peoples
783, 793, 809, 831, 834, 836, 837, 840
- Industry
787, 788, 790, 803, 852, 894, 899
- Institutions
763, 773, 776, 777, 791, 795, 811, 815, 817, 821,
822, 824, 836, 844, 855, 860, 864, 878, 879, 880,
880, 885, 888, 898
- Intellectual
787, 788, 799, 806, 815, 826, 836, 859, 863, 871,
872, 873, 882, 886, 887, 899, 904, 910
- Labor
801, 820, 821, 842, 845, 912
- Language/Linguistics
758, 902
- Legal/Legislative
753, 780, 802, 803, 804, 823, 830, 845, 848, 855,
860, 868, 887, 888, 897, 898
- Leisure/Entertainment
768, 800, 846
- Literature
754, 762, 790, 801, 807, 856, 862, 874, 884, 896,
904
- Local/Regional
782, 783, 786, 793, 794, 802, 803, 809, 810, 815,
820, 828, 829, 834, 837, 839, 841, 848, 849, 856,
858, 900, 908
- Maritime
755
- Material Culture
768, 790, 816, 835, 853, 884, 894
- Media/Communications
765, 816, 824
- Medicine
756, 764, 815, 864, 885

- Memory
 - 753, 772, 847, 854, 884, 892, 914
- Methods
 - 752, 853, 854, 884
- Military
 - 765, 766, 767, 781, 791, 796, 797, 844, 854, 893, 906
- Music
 - 790, 846, 884
- National Histories
 - 776, 778, 784, 792, 836, 842, 846, 858, 863, 899
- Nationalism
 - 777, 778, 790, 799, 819, 820, 833, 893, 894
- Nobility
 - 759, 851, 858, 880
- Oral History
 - 892, 914
- Peace
 - 889
- Peasants
 - 837, 838, 903
- Philanthropy
 - 764, 802, 868, 856, 882, 886, 887, 911
- Political
 - 758, 765, 769, 777, 778, 781, 784, 785, 786, 791, 796, 798, 804, 811, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 824, 833, 841, 842, 844, 845, 847, 851, 858, 860, 862, 863, 865, 867, 869, 870, 875, 876, 878, 879, 880, 882, 883, 886, 887, 893, 895, 898, 899, 902, 905, 906
- Print/Print Culture
 - 753, 774, 790, 812, 902
- Psychology/Psychiatry
 - 766, 885
- Public History
 - 884
- Race/Racism
 - 760, 761, 793, 795, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 820, 826, 827, 841, 890, 892
- Radicalism
 - 827, 865, 903
- Reform
 - 878, 879, 880, 882
- Religion
 - 763, 770, 777, 778, 782, 810, 811, 815, 826, 829, 830, 837, 840, 847, 848, 855, 859, 863, 865, 869, 871, 879, 880, 886, 889, 897, 901, 903, 907, 908, 910, 911
- Revolution
 - 784, 836, 838, 855, 875, 883, 902
- Rhetoric/Propaganda
 - 785, 796, 847, 858, 862, 905
- Ritual/Celebration
 - 847, 850, 910
- Rural
 - 843, 849
- Science/Technology
 - 756, 757, 765, 787, 805, 806, 830, 852, 872, 885
- Sexuality
 - 868
- Slavery
 - 759, 760, 782, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 832, 909, 913
- Social History
 - 772, 782, 802, 820, 842, 847, 851, 852, 856, 880, 881, 895, 897, 900, 912
- Social Movements/Resistance
 - 775, 807, 808, 810, 815, 826, 827, 828, 830, 838, 840, 841, 859, 871, 875, 889
- Social Policy
 - 798, 802, 822, 888, 890, 895
- Space/Place
 - 772, 843, 849, 858, 874
- Sports
 - 829
- State-Building/States
 - 760, 763, 769, 776, 844, 847, 863, 881, 883, 887, 895
- Terrorism/Espionage
 - 807, 817, 905, 906
- Theater
 - 800, 823
- Theory
 - 775
- Tourism
 - 768, 809, 899
- Trade
 - 755, 759, 771, 831, 834
- Transportation
 - 791, 899
- Urban
 - 771, 802, 813, 814, 828, 842, 843, 868, 875, 899
- Wars
 - 766, 767, 781, 784, 796, 798, 817, 818, 838, 854, 876, 879, 889, 890, 893, 906, 908
- Women
 - 754, 775, 808, 815, 816, 829, 850, 858, 880, 907
- World
 - 752, 764

In This Issue

This issue contains three articles and an *AHR* Forum Essay. The articles assess the role of individuals in international philanthropy, the place of second cities in urban development, and the development of modern European welfare policies. The Forum Essay raises questions about the role of historians in the development of policies for teaching history in the schools. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

Articles

Abigail Green explains that Sir Moses Montefiore was a towering presence in the history of nineteenth-century Jewry, but that his wider historical significance has yet to be explored. She argues that this neglect reflects the segregation of religious and national historiographies but does not do justice to the breadth of Montefiore's philanthropic activities, or the way in which his appeal bridged confessional and national divides. Focusing on a figure such as Montefiore, Green contends, provides a useful corrective to the simplistic categories and oppositions too readily applied to the period, particularly by modernization theory. The rediscovery of Montefiore's popularity in the non-Jewish world complicates our understanding of the growth of European antisemitism in the 1870s—particularly in the British context, where Montefiore emerges as an unlikely imperial hero and bearer of European civilization to the East. Green's exploration of the man behind this myth prompts a reconsideration of the distinction between "traditional" and "modern" philanthropy in this period, questioning the functionalist approach to this problem. More generally, she locates Montefiore's Jewish activism within the wider context of transnational and transdenominational philanthropy, drawing links with the anti-slavery movement and with worldwide appeals on behalf of the victims of famine and ethnic violence. Green's findings thus highlight the religious origins of the international human rights movement.

Maiken Umbach examines the role of second cities in challenging the spatial politics of the nation-state during the final decades before World War I. Focusing on Hamburg, Germany, and Barcelona, Spain, she uses a political interpretation of landmark buildings and urban development projects of this period to develop the identity of noncapital cities. She argues that in these cities, political decision makers

and architects collaborated in devising strategies for inscribing urban particularism into the built environment. Umbach explains that emblematic town halls and historical restoration projects that harked back to the Middle Ages as a golden age of civic liberty were the usual vehicles for such claims. She maintains, however, that an equally important yet much-neglected dimension of devolution—alongside the political and economic—was the law. Against the background of heated debates over national codification, Umbach chronicles the construction of the Forum of Justice in Hamburg and the Palau de Justícia in Barcelona as testaments to a new synthesis of local and national motifs in the symbolic arsenal of second cities.

James Vernon traces the history of the school lunch program to probe the questions of governmentality and statecraft in modern Britain. He shows how the school meal helped to assemble a universalist vision of the good and well-nourished society that was sharply at odds with the view of the hungry as a particular social problem, which had first energized the provision of school meals. He chronicles this process in three movements: a brief sketch of the ethical shift that allowed hunger to be seen as a social problem rather than as providential or a sign of moral failure; a focus on the technical mechanisms by which social and nutritional scientists sought to identify objectively which children were in need of school meals, as well as what and how they should be fed; and, finally, an account of the proliferating range of experts charged with engineering lessons in the civility and solidarity of society through the everyday practices and material infrastructures of the school meal. Vernon's story of the experimental and compromised endeavors of social experts who developed the school lunch program challenges more deterministic theories of governmentality and accounts of the emergence of the welfare state.

AHR Forum Essay

Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro ask two interlocking questions: What importance should historians assign to school history? Should it be at the forefront of their professional commitments? They explain that although historians have often asked these questions since school reform became a prominent policy issue in the 1980s, they have never given a strong, decisive answer. Nor have they taken any definite action. Meanwhile, Orrill and Shapiro maintain, other institutional actors—notably in government and business—moved to put their stamp on policies that determine the history taught in American schools. In challenging the current reluctance of historians to participate in the debate over teaching history in the schools, Orrill and Shapiro argue that historians should remember the leading role that the profession played in the making of school history. They describe how the American Historical Society (AHA) invented school history in the early twentieth century and remained at the forefront of K–12 policymaking until just prior to World War II. They then explain how the AHA abandoned its long-standing activist stance and allowed school history to be submerged within the ill-defined, antidisciplinary domain of the “social studies.” In recovering this professional past, Orrill and Shapiro insist that educational activism for the profession should be understood not

as a new departure but instead as “a return to a task left unfinished.” They then challenge the profession to engage in a full discussion of this task and to decide what part it should have in the organizational structure of the AHA and the actions of its members. Their essay is intended to spark a discussion about the role of historians in school policy making. *AHR* readers who want to engage in this debate can do so in an online discussion of the article during the first two weeks of September 2005. Details can be found in the introduction to the Forum Essay.



FRONTISPIECE: International appeal of the biblical patriarch. Sir Moses Montefiore as depicted on the cover of the American *Harper's Weekly* to mark his 99th birthday in 1883.

Rethinking Sir Moses Montefiore: Religion, Nationhood, and International Philanthropy in the Nineteenth Century

ABIGAIL GREEN

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IS FULL OF FORGOTTEN HEROES. Sir Moses Montefiore (1784–1885)—once the most famous Jew in the world—is merely one among many. For a major public figure, he has been astonishingly neglected. There is as yet no scholarly biography, and there have been no attempts to locate his activities in a wider, non-Jewish environment.¹ In the context of nineteenth-century historiography, however, this neglect appears less than surprising. Ultimately, the scholarship on Montefiore reflects the segmentation that predominates in the historiography of nineteenth-century religion. Yet closer analysis reveals that his multifaceted role and broad resonance as a public figure could provide a useful corrective to the simplistic categories and “idealist” oppositions too readily applied to the history of the nineteenth century.

Montefiore has long been recognized as a towering figure in the history of nineteenth-century Jewry, but his importance in the non-Jewish world remains unexplored. In fact, Montefiore was far from being the peripheral, ghettoized figure that this lack of interest implies. He mixed freely with the elite of British society and, rather more intimately, with evangelical and dissenting middle-class reformers. His quasi-diplomatic interventions on behalf of oppressed Jewry attracted international press coverage, bringing him into contact with foreign rulers such as Napoleon III and Tsar Nicholas I, as well as a host of lesser officials. Montefiore

Publication of this article was made possible by the generous support of the British Academy, the Lucius N. Littauer Foundation, the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, and Oxford University. I would also like to thank Dr. Peter Claus, Dr. Ruth Harris, and Dr. David Rechter for their helpful comments on various drafts of this article, and Robert and Anita Sebag-Montefiore for their kind hospitality when I consulted the family archives in Switzerland.

¹ On Montefiore, see Lucien Wolf, *Sir Moses Montefiore: A Centennial Biography, with Extracts from Letters and Journals* (London, 1884); Paul Goodman, *Moses Montefiore* (London, 1925); and Umberto Nahon, *Sir Moses Montefiore, Leghorn 1784–Ramsgate 1885: A Life in the Service of Jewry* (Jerusalem, 1965). Wolf's authorized work is essentially a primary source; the other two are to some extent pieces of Zionist propaganda. Two more recent works, Myrtle Franklin and Martin Bor, *Sir Moses Montefiore, 1784–1885* (London, 1984), and George Collard, *Moses, the Victorian Jew* (Oxford, 1990), are based on relatively little primary research. Of more academic interest are the following collections of articles, published in the years surrounding Montefiore's bicentenary in 1984–1985: Vivian D. Lipman, ed., *Sir Moses Montefiore: A Symposium* (Oxford, 1982); Sonia Lipman and Vivian D. Lipman, eds., *The Century of Moses Montefiore* (Oxford, 1985); Israel Bartal, ed., *The Age of Moses Montefiore: A Collection of Essays* (Jerusalem, 1987) [Hebrew and English]; and special issues of *Pe'amim* 20 (1984) and *Cathedra* 33 (1984). The gist of this historiography is well reflected in the title of *Moshe Montefiori, Metsiut ve'Agada* (Jerusalem, 1989).

was a man of national importance and international renown. He is therefore an excellent example of a figure who was closely associated with a particular religious and cultural world—in his case that of British and European Jewry—but who negotiated a whole range of different spheres and contexts: Jewish, Christian, even Muslim; local, national, and international. His appeal transcended national and religious divides, but his symbolic function and meaning varied in the process, enabling us to explore the cultural interchange between these contexts in ways that undercut more traditional interpretations of the European nineteenth century.

Until recently, historians saw this period through the prism of modernization theory. According to this model, industrialization and the emergence of capitalist economies drove the transition from the particularized, traditional societies of the early modern era to the democratic nation-states of the late twentieth century. The “modernization” that characterized nineteenth-century Europe was a process of massive social change, which in turn generated an essentially normative series of political transformations. Viewed from this perspective, class and nation emerged as crucial categories of historical analysis, and the development of collective class-based and national identities at the expense of older local, regional, or religious ones became a major focus of historical inquiry.

The certainties of modernization theory have long since been overtaken by an appreciation of the complexities of nineteenth-century reality. Revisionism does not deny the importance of the socioeconomic and political trends that characterize the modernization model. Instead, it reconceptualizes the interaction between these “modern” trends and more “traditional” elements of the nineteenth-century world, shifting from a model in which the former displace the latter to an awareness of the coexistence of old and new. In practice, “modernity” has proved most useful to the historian in describing trends present within an “ideal-type” society, rather than as a value-laden term associated with Western models of development. For the concerns of this article, two aspects of this revisionist critique are of central importance: a tendency to question the primacy of the nation-state as a tool for understanding the nineteenth century, and a growing recognition of the centrality of religion in the culture and politics of the period.

First, the traditional historical emphasis on popular nationalism and the nation-state has been undercut—both by those who emphasize the persistence of local and regional loyalties, and by those who see the nineteenth century as an era of globalization. On the one hand, recent work on Germany and France has shown the extent to which regionalism coexisted with an emergent sense of national identity focused on the state.² In this new historiography, regionalism is no longer tarred with the brush of antimodernism but is itself seen as a product of

² For an overview of recent literature on regionalism in Europe, see Celia Applegate, “A Europe of Regions: Reflections on the Historiography of Sub-national Places in Modern Times,” *AHR* 104, no. 4 (1999): 1157–82. For a comparative study of regionalism and nation-building in France, Germany, and Italy, see Abigail Green, “How Did German Federalism Shape Unification?” in Ronald Speirs and John Breuilly, eds., *Germany's Two Unifications: Anticipations, Experiences, Responses* (Basingstoke, 2005). More specifically, on cultural regionalism in Germany, see Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), and Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871–1918* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997). For recent work on cultural regionalism in France, see Anne-Marie Thiesse, “L'invention du régionalisme à la Belle Époque,” *Le Mouvement Social* 160 (July–September 1992): 11–32, and work on

“modernity.”³ On the other hand, historians have begun to emphasize the importance of transnational and international contexts and patterns, focusing particularly on cultural transfer and the emergence of a transnational public sphere.⁴ Only very recently, however, have historians begun to link all three levels of analysis—local, national, and international—and to examine the interplay between them.⁵ In particular, we have little sense of how individual figures such as Montefiore moved between these different spheres. While it has become a commonplace that nineteenth-century individuals could, and did, juggle many different identities at the same time, we need to know more about how they actually negotiated these boundaries.

Second, the “secularization thesis” has increasingly given way to recognition of the continued importance of religion. If anything, religion is emerging as more important than class as a category of identification and analysis for much of the nineteenth century.⁶ Olaf Blaschke has gone so far as to argue that the period from 1820 to 1970 was a second Confessional Age.⁷ This claim reflects a historiography that focuses primarily on conflictual confessional relationships. The conflict between science and religion, the conflict between liberalism and ultramontane Catholicism, militant anti-Catholic Protestantism, the growth of popular and violent antisemitism—all these have received due scholarly attention. Apart from this focus on religious and cultural conflict, however, there is a marked tendency for the historiographies of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews to remain separate fields.⁸ It is no surprise that the first challenges to these deeply rooted tendencies have emerged in German historiography, since Germany remained confessionally mixed

the Félibrige, for instance, Philippe Martel, “Le Félibrige,” in Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. III: *Les Frances*, pt. 2: *Traditions* (Paris, 1992), 567–611.

³ See, for instance, Abigail Green, *Fatherlands: State-Building and Nationhood in Nineteenth Century Germany* (Cambridge, 2001); William H. Rollins, *A Greener Vision of Home: Cultural Politics and Environmental Reform in the German Heimatschutz Movement, 1904–1918* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1997); and Julian Wright, *The Regionalist Movement in France, 1890–1914: Jean Charles-Brun and French Political Thought* (Oxford, 2003).

⁴ For an example of the new emphasis on the development of global uniformities in the nineteenth century, see C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914* (Oxford, 2004). For a stimulating reinterpretation of national political and cultural developments in a European context, see Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser, eds., *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, 2003). On the emergence of a European public sphere, see Jörg Requate and Martin Schulze Wessel, eds., *Europäische Öffentlichkeit: Transnationale Kommunikation seit dem 18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt, 2002). Studies of European *causes célèbres* such as the Damascus Affair (1840) and the Mortara Affair (1858) have developed this perspective. See Jonathan Frankel, *The Damascus Affair: “Ritual Murder,” Politics and the Jews in 1840* (Cambridge, 1997), and David I. Kertzer, *The Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara* (London, 1997).

⁵ See, for instance, Maiken Umbach, “The Vernacular International: Heimat, Modernism and the Global Market in Early Twentieth Century Germany,” *National Identities* 4, no. 1 (2002): 45–68.

⁶ See, for instance, the interpretations of nineteenth-century British politics given by John Parry, *Democracy and Religion: Gladstone and the Liberal Party, 1867–1875* (Cambridge, 1986), and Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785–1865* (Oxford, 1988).

⁷ For an elaboration of this thesis, see Olaf Blaschke, “Der ‘Dämon des Konfessionalismus’: Einführende Überlegungen,” in Olaf Blaschke, ed., *Konfessionen im Konflikt, Deutschland zwischen 1800 und 1970: Ein zweites konfessionelles Zeitalter* (Göttingen, 2001), 13–70.

⁸ This argument is well made in Helmut Walser Smith and Christopher Clark, “The Fate of Nathan,” in Helmut Walser Smith, ed., *Protestants, Catholics and Jews in Germany, 1800–1914* (Oxford, 2001), 3–32.

to a degree unknown in other parts of Europe.⁹ This approach could fruitfully be applied to the historiography of other countries. In Britain, for instance, historians are aware of the slippage between the Catholic revival and Tractarianism, symbolized by a few high-profile conversions from the Church of England to Catholicism; of the common preoccupations of Evangelicals and Tractarians; and even of the extent to which British Reform Judaism was influenced by Anglicanism.¹⁰ Yet the focus has been on dogma, not culture. The interplay between the different religions of Victorian Britain as subcultures, capable of deploying publicly shared language, symbols, and figures in more culturally specific lives, rituals, and narratives, remains to be explored. It is here that study of a specific figure such as Montefiore can prove particularly illuminating.

There are obvious points of contact between antinational and religious critiques of modernization. Religion, like local and regionally based particularisms, has traditionally been seen as a remnant of the premodern world. Like regional particularism, however, religion is now being reclaimed as both shaped by and constitutive of modernity.¹¹ There are affinities, too, between religion and internationalism, in that religions such as Judaism and Catholicism—even, to a lesser extent, Protestantism—were inherently international phenomena.

Yet the religious and international nature of the Jewish community did not prevent old-style Zionist historians from applying a historical model that drew heavily on the twin themes of secularization and nationalism. Thus the Jerusalem School saw modern Jewish history in terms of the catastrophic impact of the nation-state on traditional Jewish communal and religious structures, as a result of emancipation, assimilation, and their by-product, secularization.¹² The ways in which Jews sought to integrate into different national communities in turn provoked new, secularized forms of antisemitism. This, alongside the outstanding preoccupation with emancipation, contributed to the birth of a specifically “Jewish” politics and led eventually to the emergence of Zionism. The underlying assumption was that emancipation in the West brought about so thorough a transformation of Jewish society that only Jews in the East remained guardians of traditional religious culture.

This version of Jewish history has been attacked both for its reliance on a German model of Jewish development and for the way in which it homogenizes a wide range of experiences and contexts. Three landmark collections of essays—bringing together the work of a whole generation of revisionist historians—have sought to rethink the idea of a common Jewish encounter with modernity in terms of plurality and diversity.¹³ Contributors to these collections stress the importance

⁹ See the essays collected in Smith, *Protestants, Catholics and Jews*, which explore the coexistence and cultural interchange between Catholics, Protestants, and Jews in Germany, as well as the clashes and collisions between these groups.

¹⁰ On this last, see David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840–1914* (New Haven, Conn., 1994), 48–65.

¹¹ For a recent example, see Christopher Clark, “The New Catholicism and the European Culture Wars,” in Clark and Kaiser, *Culture Wars*, 11–46.

¹² David Vital, *A People Apart: The Jews in Europe, 1789–1939* (Oxford, 1999), is a good recent example of this phenomenon. For an analysis of the Jerusalem School, see David N. Myers, *Re-inventing the Jewish Past: European Jewish Intellectuals and the Zionist Return to History* (Oxford, 1995).

¹³ Jacob Katz, ed., *Toward Modernity: The European Jewish Model* (New York, 1987); Pierre

of national context and the ways in which Western Jewry retained an authentic Jewishness. Emancipation may have brought integration, but it did not necessarily equate with radical assimilation or the loss of Jewish identity. Likewise, the supposedly “traditional” Jewish world of Eastern Europe has emerged as less cohesive, more politicized, and more responsive to change than the Zionist school of historians assumed.¹⁴ Montefiore’s complex relationship with a wide variety of contexts and publics—Jewish and non-Jewish alike—reinforces this critique. At the same time, the international and transdenominational nature of his philanthropic activities merits further consideration.

Much has been written on the transformation of European philanthropy in the nineteenth century. Once again this historiography relies heavily on the modernization paradigm. Historians have emphasized the relationship between the rise of capitalism and “scientific” approaches to philanthropy, which prioritized self-help and the “deserving poor” over the injunction to give for religious reasons alone.¹⁵ This interpretive framework requires modification to reflect a growing recognition of the role of religion and belief as motivating forces in nineteenth-century politics and society. Nowhere was this motivation more apparent than in the largely overlooked international dimension of nineteenth-century philanthropy.

MOSES HAIM MONTEFIORE WAS THE SON of a second-generation Italian Jewish immigrant living in London. He was born in Livorno, Italy, in 1784, but grew up in London, where he made his fortune on the Stock Exchange. When he died in 1885, he left nearly £375,000.¹⁶ Montefiore was also well connected. He married Judith Barent Cohen, whose sister Hannah was married to Nathan Rothschild. Ties of blood and marriage linked him with the other leading Jewish business dynasties: the Mocattas, the Goldsmids, the Cohens, and the Salomonses.

Birnbaum and Ira Katznelson, eds., *Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States and Citizenship* (Princeton, N.J., 1995); Jonathan Frankel and Steven J. Zipperstein, eds., *Assimilation and Community: The Jews in Nineteenth Century Europe* (Cambridge, 1992). Some of the contributors to these collections have elaborated these arguments in their work on different national Jewries. See, for instance, Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England, 1714–1830: Tradition and Change in a Liberal Society* (Philadelphia, 1979); Eli Lederhendler, *The Road to Modern Jewish Politics: Political Tradition and Political Reconstruction in the Jewish Community of Tsarist Russia* (Oxford, 1989); and Steven J. Zipperstein, *The Jews of Odessa: A Cultural History, 1794–1881* (Stanford, Calif., 1985).

¹⁴ See Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002); Michael Stanislawski, *Tsar Nicholas I and the Jews: The Transformation of Jewish Society in Russia, 1825–1855* (Philadelphia, 1983); Michael Stanislawski, *For Whom Do I Toil? Judah Leib Gordon and the Crisis of Russian Jewry* (Oxford, 1988); and Gershon David Hundert, *Jews in Poland-Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century: A Genealogy of Modernity* (Berkeley, Calif., 2004).

¹⁵ On the intellectual basis for this shift in attitude, see Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age* (London, 1984). For an interesting analysis of the interplay between traditional religious approaches and modern philanthropy, see Adele Lindenmeyr, *Poverty Is Not a Vice: Charity, Society and the State in Imperial Russia* (Princeton, N.J., 1996).

¹⁶ Montefiore’s brother and business partner Abraham left £500,000 when he died in 1825. See William Rubinstein, “Jewish Top Wealth-Holders in Britain, 1809–1909,” *Jewish Historical Studies: Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 37 (2001): 133–62, especially 146 for details of Sir Moses Montefiore’s wealth on his death, and 138 for Abraham. On Sir Moses Montefiore’s business career more generally, see P. L. Cottrell, “The Business Man and the Financier,” in Lipman and Lipman, *The Century of Moses Montefiore*, 23–44.

Montefiore made his name when, like many Victorian businessmen, he scaled down his business interests and devoted himself to philanthropy and communal politics.¹⁷ After his return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1827, during which he reverted to strict Jewish orthodoxy, he was elected to the Board of Deputies, the representative body of Anglo-Jewry. In the 1830s, he spearheaded the campaign for Jewish emancipation alongside Nathan Rothschild, Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, and David Salomons. On a more personal level, he sought to shore up his social status in the non-Jewish world. He became a Fellow of the Royal Society, joined the exclusive Athenaeum club, purchased a landed estate at Ramsgate, and was the second Jew to be appointed Sheriff of the City of London—which brought him a knighthood in Victoria's coronation year.¹⁸ Montefiore finally came into his own during the Damascus Affair of 1840.¹⁹ In response to blood libel accusations in the East, he traveled to Alexandria with his French Jewish counterpart Adolphe Crémieux, where they obtained the release of Jews accused of the ritual murder of a missing Catholic priest. Montefiore continued to Constantinople, where the sultan issued a decree, publicly declaring the blood libel to be a calumny and promising the Jews "the same advantages and . . . the same privileges as . . . other nations who submit to our authority."²⁰ Thenceforth, although Montefiore remained president of the Board of Deputies for some forty years, foreign Jewry became his prime preoccupation.²¹

The Damascus Affair was the first of many spectacular international missions on behalf of persecuted Jews, all but one of which appeared to contemporaries to be crowned with success. In 1846, Montefiore traveled to Russia to alleviate the conditions of Russian Jewry, who were threatened by forced assimilation and expulsion from a swath of border territory. In 1858, he traveled to Rome, where he failed to obtain the release of Edgardo Mortara, a Jewish child who had been secretly baptized and seized by the papal police to ensure that he would be brought up a good Catholic. In 1863, Montefiore traveled to Morocco, where he freed Jews falsely accused of murder and obtained a decree from the sultan promising just treatment of the country's Jewish and Christian subjects. In 1867, Montefiore traveled to Romania after a series of high-profile anti-Jewish outrages, obtaining promises from Prince Carol that Jews there would be well treated in the future. Finally, in 1872, he traveled again to St. Petersburg. In addition, Montefiore visited the Holy Land seven times and fostered the development of pre-Zionist Palestine. Paradoxically, he sought to render the Jewish community there less dependent on diaspora charity by promoting education, health care, agriculture, and industry, at

¹⁷ On the life cycle of the Victorian businessman, see R. J. Morris, "The Middle-Class and the Property Cycle during the Industrial Revolution," in T. C. Smout, ed., *The Search for Wealth and Stability: Essays in Economic and Social History Presented to M. W. Flinn* (London, 1979), 91–113.

¹⁸ On Montefiore's gentrification, see Sonia L. Lipman, "The First Half of Montefiore's Biography," in Bartal, *The Age of Moses Montefiore*, xxxv–xlii, and Sonia L. Lipman, "The Making of a Victorian Gentleman," in Lipman and Lipman, *The Century of Moses Montefiore*, 3–22.

¹⁹ For an excellent analysis of this episode, see Frankel, *Damascus Affair*.

²⁰ Cited after Dr. Louis Loewe, ed., *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, Comprising Their Life and Work as Recorded in Their Diaries from 1812 to 1883* (London, 1983; facsimile of the two-volume 1890 ed.), 1: 279.

²¹ On Montefiore's engagement with the Board of Deputies, see Israel Finestein, "The Uneasy Victorian: Montefiore as Communal Leader," in Lipman and Lipman, *The Century of Moses Montefiore*, 45–70.

the same time that he was raising funds on their behalf. Montefiore was instrumental in establishing the first Jewish settlement outside the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem, and in building the windmill that has become one of the symbols of the state of Israel.²²

Montefiore's high-profile activities meant that his centennial birthday celebrations in 1883 and 1884 attracted unprecedented excitement in the Jewish world. Testifying to their importance, the Zionist and Montefiore enthusiast Paul Goodman claimed:

the centenary of Sir Moses Montefiore and his death are among the most vivid memories of [my] childhood. These were events that struck the Jewish imagination to an extent hardly realized in the present age. The impression they produced on the most outlying portions of the Jewish Diaspora were only equaled about a decade subsequently by the meteoric appearance on the Jewish horizon of the Messianic figure of Theodor Herzl.²³

Montefiore's appeal as a Jewish symbol has been explored by Israel Bartal, who argues that Montefiore captured the Jewish imagination because of his ability to be all things to all men.²⁴ To modernizers, Montefiore represented the achievements of emancipated Western Jewry through his wealth, his social status and Western dress, and his endorsement of education in the vernacular. To traditionalists, he represented the triumph of religious values, since he was famous for his religious observance. Bartal argues that Montefiore was at home in neither camp. His strict orthodoxy prompted an uncompromising stand toward Reform Judaism, and he prioritized religious tradition over civil and political equality in England. In Palestine, too, he was unwilling to impose change in the face of orthodox opposition. Nevertheless, Montefiore had no real understanding of the traditional Jewish world—and must have appeared foreign indeed to the Jews of Russia when he turned up in Western dress without a beard. Politically, Bartal argues that Montefiore was a transitional figure, caught between the era of international Jewish organizations such as the Alliance Israélite Universelle, and the traditional mediating role of the *shtadlan*—the individual “court Jew” whose personal prestige enabled him to intercede on behalf of the wider Jewish community.

Bartal's analysis highlights the customary opposition between traditional and modernizing camps, which has emerged as one of the central dividing lines within specific religious cultures such as Judaism, and within European culture at large. Yet the combination of personal attributes that enabled Montefiore to please such different audiences underlines the difficulty of regarding either “traditionalism” or “modernity” as a homogeneous category. Montefiore's clean-shaven appearance did not exclude him from the world of traditional Judaism in his own Western

²² On the Montefiore windmill, see Saul Sapir, “From Canterbury to Jerusalem: New Disclosures about the English Windmill in Jerusalem,” *Cathedra* 81 (1996): 35–60.

²³ D. A. Jessurun Cardozo and Paul Goodman, *Think and Thank: The Montefiore Synagogue and College, Ramsgate, 1833–1933* (Oxford, 1933), 91. Besides contributing to this history of the Montefiore Synagogue, Goodman was also the author of a biography of Montefiore; see Goodman, *Moses Montefiore*.

²⁴ Israel Bartal, “The First Nationalist or a Belated Shtadlan? Thoughts on the Works of Moses Montefiore,” in Bartal, *The Age of Sir Moses Montefiore*, 5–24; Israel Bartal, “Between Two Worlds: Reconsidering Sir Moses Montefiore,” paper presented at the conference “Britain and the Holy Land 1800–1914,” May 1989, University College London, Institute of Jewish Studies.

European context. To be, as Montefiore was, an “orthodox” Jew in London was not the same as being “orthodox” in the Pale, where cultural traditions had always been different. Moreover, although both Protestant Britain and Orthodox Russia remained highly religious societies, they were religious in fundamentally different ways. The contrasting values attributed to Montefiore by both camps actually demonstrate the extent to which “modern” and “traditional” Jews continued to draw on shared experiences and symbols, although their widely differing culture and lifestyles meant that they interpreted them in radically different ways. The emergence of an international Jewish press, containing both Orthodox and Reform voices, added an extra dimension to this common pool of experience.

IF, HOWEVER, WE WANT TO UNPACK the assumptions about religion and nationality underlying the historiography of the nineteenth century and traditional interpretations of Montefiore’s life, we need to examine Montefiore’s appeal beyond the Jewish world. This has been completely ignored by historians, reflecting both the ghettoization of Jewish historiography and the failure of national historical traditions to integrate the Jewish experience in their own particular country. Yet Montefiore’s appeal in the non-Jewish world remains one of the most persistent themes in the articles, sermons, and congratulatory addresses produced in the Jewish world to mark his centennial birthdays and to commemorate his death. A typical article in the German Jewish newspaper *Jüdische Presse* declared proudly:

But not only we, not only the *Jews*, celebrate him; no, all the adherents of other religions, in whose breast the pained cry of misery and wretchedness finds an echo, all those who can value selfless achievement and efforts in the service of suffering humanity without jealousy, they all respect and love *him*, a son of *our* tribe [*Stamm*].²⁵

In keeping with this emphasis on Montefiore’s supradenominational appeal, Jewish authors stressed the way Montefiore’s generosity transcended religious difference. Addressing Montefiore on the occasion of his 100th birthday, for instance, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights declared: “Not for Israel alone have you labored. Whenever the cry of distress reached your ears, you opened wide the hand of relief without stint or question, regarding the needy and the poor of all sects and creeds as brethren.”²⁶

Public statements such as this one reflected the desire of Jewish communities to feel appreciated rather than rejected by the dominant culture at a time of increased political vulnerability. Earlier tributes to Montefiore placed less emphasis on his transdenominational activity. Even so, an address from Ancona to mark Montefiore’s return from Morocco in 1864 refers to his securing rights “not solely for your religious brethren, but for all inhabitants of Morocco who do not profess the Mahomettan religion.” It concludes that in so doing, he provided the world with “new proof . . . of the universal humanitarian principles of the religion of which you

²⁵ “Zum Achten Marcheschwan, Berlin, 22 Oktober—Aus der ‘Jüdische Presse,’” in Joseph Fiebertmann, ed., *Internationales Montefiore-Album* (Frankfurt am Main, 1880–1889), 60.

²⁶ Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights, New York, October 1884, to Sir Moses Montefiore, Mocatta Library, Montefiore Testimonials, Room 101.

are such a brave champion.”²⁷ Nevertheless, references to a growing climate of antisemitism indicate that this aspect of Montefiore’s activities appeared peculiarly relevant in the 1880s.

Extensive press coverage of and popular engagement in Montefiore’s birthday celebrations indicate that Jewish pride in his transdenominational appeal was more than wishful thinking. In October 1883, a public meeting was held in Ramsgate to establish a Montefiore commemorative committee. Speakers included the vicar of Ramsgate, a leading local Catholic, a local Oddfellow, four Anglican clergymen, and the mayor of Margate. Dignitaries willing to join the committee included Lord Grenville, Baroness Burdett-Coutts, Lord Sydney, Lord Shaftesbury, Sir Erasmus Wilson, the M.P.s for Kent, the deans of Canterbury and Windsor, the lord mayor-elect of London, and the mayors of Canterbury, Dover, and Margate.²⁸ Clearly there was a local aspect to this initiative. Montefiore was Ramsgate’s leading notable and gave generously to its charities. Yet the Ramsgate initiative was taken up at a national level, with plans for a grand public meeting to be held in the Mansion House. Speakers included Lord Shaftesbury, the bishop of Bedford, the Hon. C. W. Freemantle, Cardinal Manning, Rabbi Herman Adler, Sir John Lubbock, M.P., the Reverend G. E. Banks, Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild, and Arthur Cohen, M.P.²⁹ The meeting was canceled at the last minute, in accordance with Montefiore’s express wishes: modestly, he claimed that he did not want so much fuss.³⁰ Even so, the venue and the list of those scheduled to speak testify to his resonance as a genuinely national figure. This is borne out by the fact that Britain’s foremost newspaper, the *Times*, marked both Montefiore’s 99th and 100th birthdays with leading articles.³¹ In the latter, the *Times* declared: “Englishmen without distinction of creeds contemplate Sir Moses Montefiore’s career with as much pleasure as his co-religionists.”³²

This enthusiasm was not, in fact, restricted to “Englishmen.” Among those who sent congratulatory addresses to Montefiore to mark his 100th birthday were groups as far-flung as the Freemasons of Chile and the Annual Convention of the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union in West Virginia.³³ Press coverage of his centennial celebrations was similarly international. The *Jewish Chronicle* reported that in Russia, “The leading journals in St. Petersburg, even the anti-Jewish *Nowoje Wremja*, have dwelt at length, and in favourable terms, on the universal celebration

²⁷ Università Israelitica d’Ancona, May 27, 1864, to Sir Moses Montefiore, Mocatta Library, Montefiore Testimonials, Room 101 (464).

²⁸ “Supplement to the Jewish Chronicle: Ramsgate,” *Jewish Chronicle*, October 26, 1883, 7.

²⁹ Sir Moses Montefiore Memorial, Announcement of public meeting to be held at the Egyptian Hall, Mansion House, 22 January, 1884, JM 2002/27 (43), Letters of Sir Moses Montefiore, 1869–83, Jewish Museum, London.

³⁰ N. M. de Rothschild, Chairman, Sir Moses Montefiore Memorial, New Court, 21 January, 1884, JM 2002/27 (44), Letters of Sir Moses Montefiore, 1869–83, Jewish Museum, London.

³¹ Reproduced in Lipman and Lipman, *The Century of Moses Montefiore*, 362–68.

³² *Times*, leading article, October 23, 1884. Cited after Lipman and Lipman, *The Century of Moses Montefiore*, 368.

³³ Address of the Freemasons of Chile, Mocatta Library, Montefiore Miscellaneous (as yet uncatalogued) B17, Resolutions of the Annual Convention of the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union, Wheeling, West Virginia, in honour of Sir Moses Montefiore, 24 September, 1884, Mocatta Library, Montefiore Testimonials, Room 101.

of the Montefiore centenary."³⁴ When he died, the Vienna *Allgemeine*, the *Vossische Zeitung*, the *Nationalzeitung*, and the *Tagblatt* all commented favorably on his life and works.³⁵

The celebrations prompted widespread interest in the non-Jewish world because Montefiore was already a well-known public figure. Events such as the Damascus and Mortara affairs had generated reams of newspaper coverage—not to mention civic action. The persecution of the Jews of Russia in the 1840s and Romania in the 1860s and 1870s was a staple of foreign news reporting. Montefiore's interventions received due attention as part of the wider picture. These activities did not usually attract leading articles and comment pieces. When they did, such articles were almost invariably reproduced in the Jewish press—favorable or otherwise. Nevertheless, a steady diet of correspondence pieces—enriched by occasional letters from Montefiore in the *Times*, press releases from the Board of Deputies, and Montefiore's sponsorship of fund-raising appeals—ensured his place in the public eye. The Montefiore centenary celebrations amplified existing tendencies in the public sphere and crystallized a view of Montefiore that was inherent in earlier press coverage.

In seeking to explain Montefiore's supradenominational popularity, three elements appear particularly striking. The first is his age. In the nineteenth century, it was extraordinary to reach the age of 100 at all; this was clearly one reason why Montefiore's 99th and 100th birthdays attracted so much attention. The makers of Richmond Gem Tobacco picked up on this theme in an advertisement published in the *Illustrated London News* and the *Jewish Chronicle*, proclaiming, "All may not reach Sir Moses Montefiore's great age, but all may prolong their lives and add to their enjoyment by smoking Allen & Ginter's absolutely pure Cigarettes."³⁶ (See Figure 1.)

Undoubtedly, too, Montefiore's age added romance to his foreign missions. On his return from Morocco, *The Daily Telegraph* praised:

What one good old man had done to wipe away tears from streaming eyes and cause oppression to cease . . . His last of many such noble works is his greatest, and cannot fail to be followed by justice and amity along the shores of Africa . . . Honour to the good grey hairs of the aged baronet!³⁷

This quotation highlights a second aspect of the gentile Montefiore myth, namely the idea of Montefiore as a bearer of European and specifically British civilization to the East. The *Graphic* published an obituary of Montefiore in August 1885, illustrated with scenes from his life.³⁸ About half the illustrations accompanying this article related to his foreign missions. In two-thirds of these, Montefiore appears in Western dress—usually in uniform—surrounded by colorful "Oriental"

³⁴ "Sir Moses Montefiore: St. Petersburg," *Jewish Chronicle*, November 14, 1884, 9.

³⁵ "Supplement to the *Jewish Chronicle*: The Press," *Jewish Chronicle*, July 31, 1885, 7.

³⁶ "Richmond Straight Cut No. 1 Are the Best; Richmond Gem Always Reliable," *Jewish Chronicle*, October 31, 1884, 12. Reproduced in Anne and Roger Cowen, *Victorian Jews through British Eyes* (London, 1998), 74.

³⁷ Cited after David Littman, "Mission to Morocco," in Lipman and Lipman, *The Century of Moses Montefiore*, 171–229, 192.

³⁸ *Graphic*, August 15, 1885. This article is reproduced in full in Cowen and Cowen, *Victorian Jews*, 75–79.

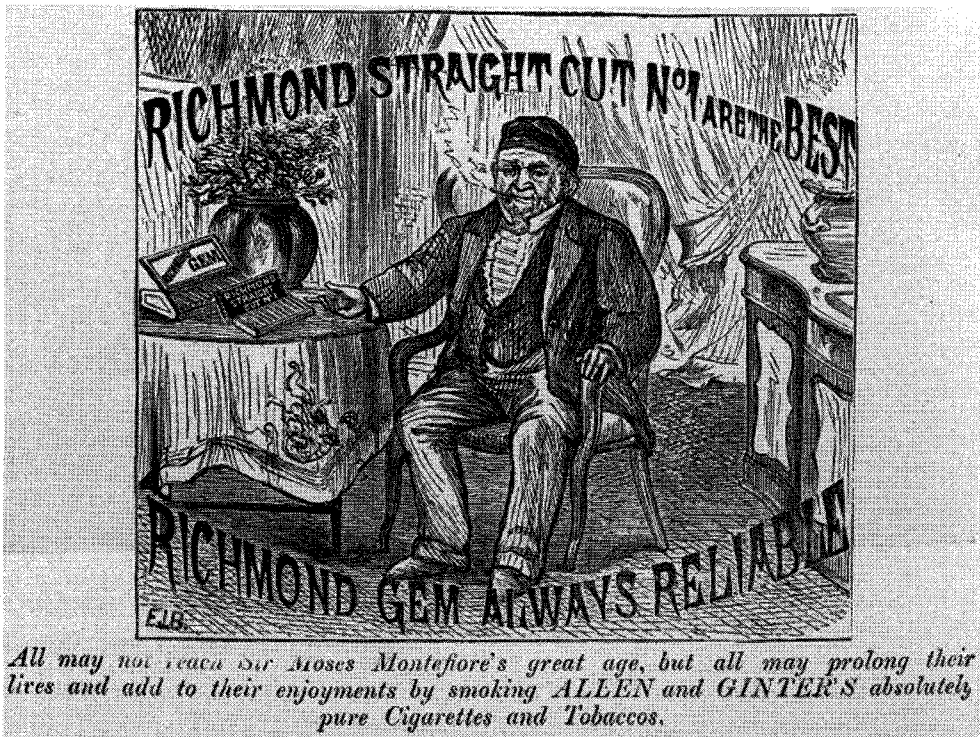


FIGURE 1: The glamour of old age. Advertisement appearing in the *Illustrated London News* and the *Jewish Chronicle* to coincide with the Montefiore centenary, October 1884.

characters wearing flowing robes and turbans. (See Figure 2.) He looks dashing and improbably youthful; yet he would have been at least fifty-five years old then. This vision of Montefiore as a romantic imperial adventurer is confirmed elsewhere.³⁹ (See Figure 3.) The Britishness of Montefiore's appeal was underlined in the *Times* leading article marking his 100th birthday in 1884: "he has been the victorious defender of persecuted Jews because he was the perfect English gentleman."⁴⁰ Here, the *Times* explicitly acknowledged the inherently British nature of Montefiore's mission.

There is an undeniable irony in this depiction of a Jew as ambassador of British culture and values abroad, given the halting progress of Anglo-Jewish emancipation at home. After all, Montefiore was past seventy by the time that Lionel de Rothschild took his seat in the Commons in 1858, and the Rothschilds did not enter the Lords until just before Montefiore died. In the eyes of many, Jews remained indelibly associated with the Oriental—an association Disraeli actively encouraged. This irony is the more profound because in many ways Montefiore's Jewishness remained central to his appeal. In exploring this third aspect of his popularity in the gentile world, the contrast between images of Montefiore as a "young" man on his missions abroad and as an old man is particularly instructive. In the former, he is

³⁹ See, for instance, the illustrations accompanying the article "Sir Moses Montefiore," *Illustrated London News*, November 3, 1883, reproduced in full in Cowen and Cowen, *Victorian Jews*, 67–70.

⁴⁰ *Times*, leading article, October 23, 1884. Cited after Lipman and Lipman, *The Century of Moses Montefiore*, 367.

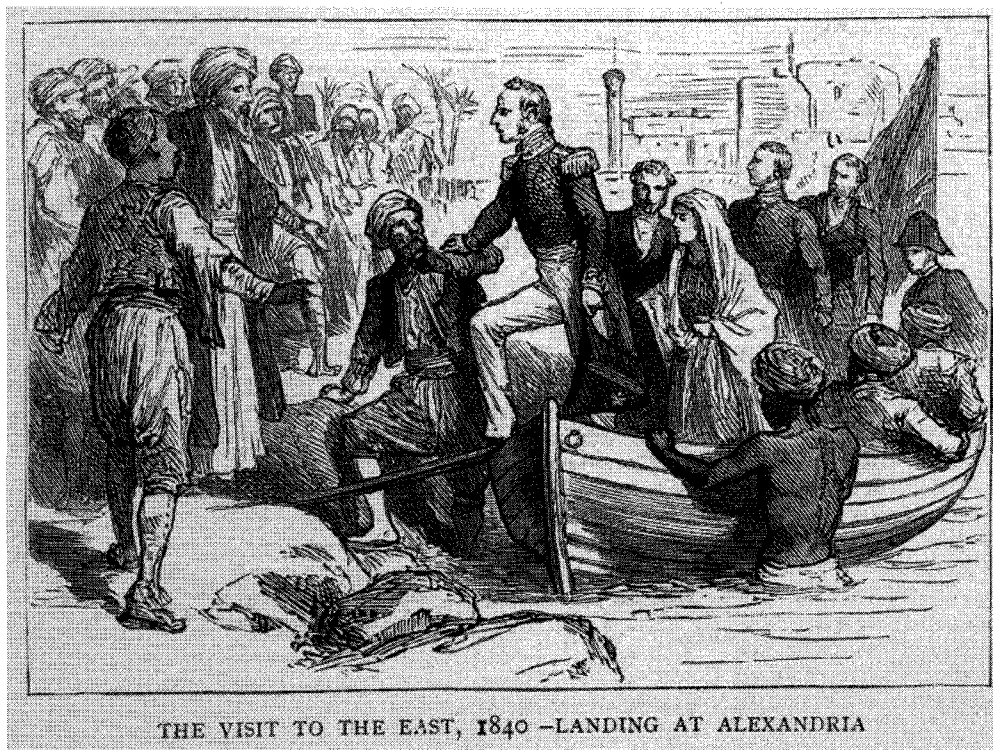


FIGURE 2: Bearer of British civilization in the East. Montefiore's arrival in Alexandria, 1840, as depicted in the *Graphic* obituary, 1885.

very much the English gentleman, but in the latter, he is a biblical patriarch—wearing his trademark black skullcap, not his city uniform.⁴¹ (See Figure 4.) Montefiore was not merely a figure who managed to appear both enlightened and religious to the Jewish world. He also appeared both “one of us” and “foreign” to a non-Jewish audience. This tension is best encapsulated by the *Times*:

In his own person he has solved once for all the problem of the competence of the most faithful Jews to be not the less a complete Englishman . . . Both as Jew and as Englishman he demanded abatement of his kinsmen's grievances of Emperors, Sultans, Pashas, and Parliaments. None could dispute the union in him of this double claim.⁴²

Ultimately, however, it was Montefiore's Jewishness—not his Englishness—that captured the wider imagination. There were many imperial adventurers, but as a quasi-biblical figure, Montefiore was unique. His contemporaries loved to imagine themselves in the presence of biblical history made flesh. Two Scottish missionaries who came across Montefiore's camp in Palestine in 1839 described how “[it] called up to our minds the events of other days, when Israel were not strangers in their

⁴¹ Images of the elderly Montefiore as lieutenant of the City of London did exist, but they were not reproduced in the popular press. See, for instance, Franklin and Bor, *Sir Moses Montefiore*, facing 32.

⁴² *Times*, leading article, October 23, 1884. Cited after Lipman and Lipman, *The Century of Moses Montefiore*, 367–68.

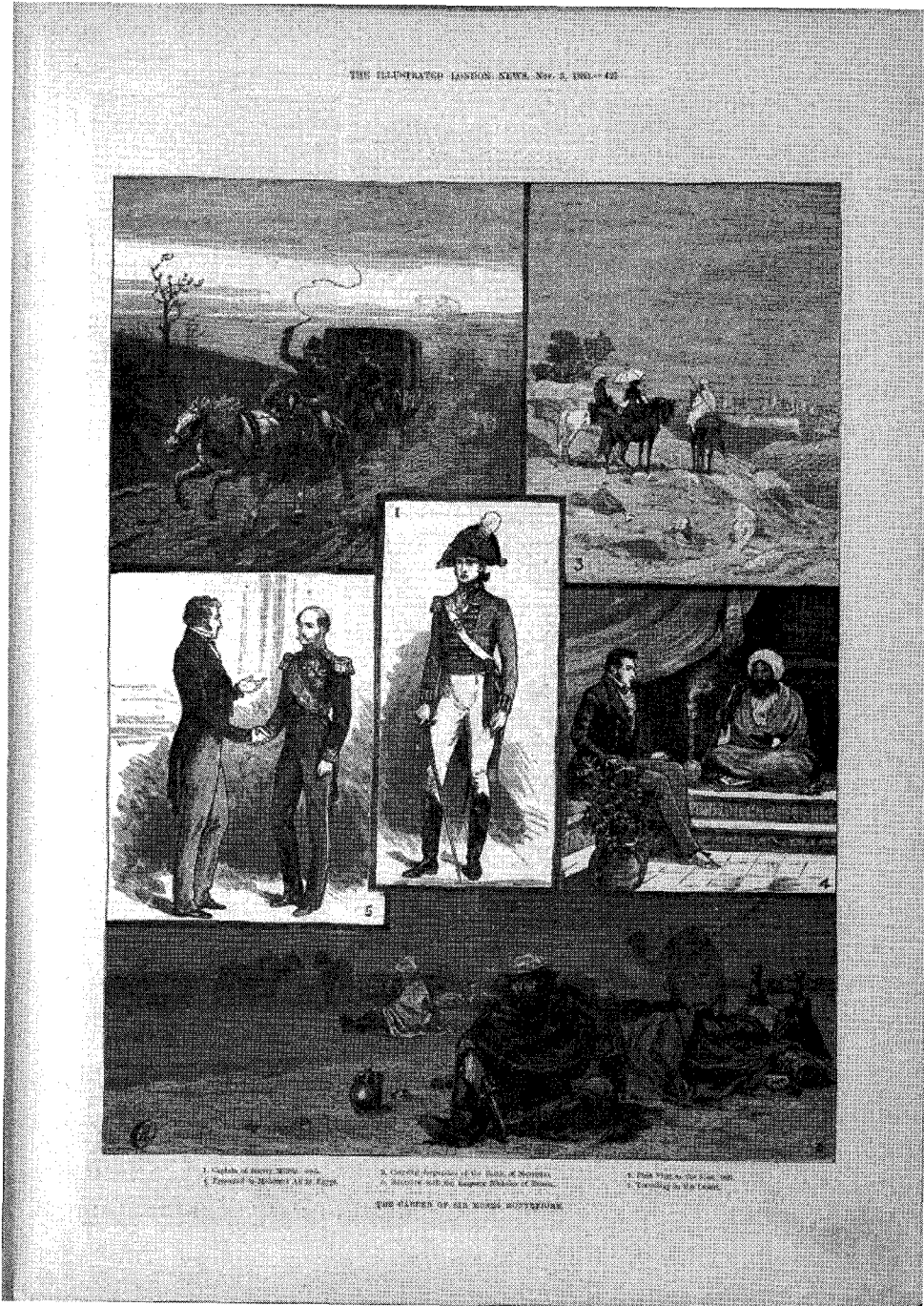


FIGURE 3: Excitement and adventure overseas. “The Career of Sir Moses Montefiore” as depicted by the *Illustrated London News*, 1883.



FIGURE 4: The elderly Jew. A typical image of Montefiore in old age, appearing in the *Illustrated London News*, 1883.

own land.”⁴³ Similarly, the German scholar Professor Max Müller visited Montefiore on the Feast of Tabernacles, when observant Jews traditionally spend a week living in a temporary shelter known as a *Succah*.⁴⁴ Müller described how “sitting in the tabernacle at the table with Sir Moses Montefiore, I can fancy myself in the

⁴³ K. Bonar and R. M. Mac Cheyne, *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839* (Edinburgh, 1842), 190.

⁴⁴ On Müller, see G. Beckerlegge, “Professor Friedrich Max Müller and the Missionary Cause,” in *Religion in Victorian Britain*, vol. 5: *Culture and Empire*, ed. John Wolffe (Manchester, 1997), 178–219.

presence of the Patriarch Abraham, sitting in his tent.”⁴⁵ Contemporaries found the image of Montefiore in his tent so appealing that the *Illustrated London News* even carried a picture of his *Succah*.⁴⁶ (See Figure 5.)

These responses to Montefiore’s Jewishness reflected the strong British tradition of Protestant philosemitism. Certainly, Montefiore appealed to this audience, as is indicated by his role in heading many of the fund-raising campaigns highlighted in the Rubinsteins’ study of philosemitism.⁴⁷ Indeed, he had close links with such pillars of the Evangelical establishment as Sir Culling Eardley and Lord Shaftesbury. There are indications that he actively cultivated these ties, based on a common appreciation of the Old Testament and the Bible lands. In 1871, he sent the future Sir Charles Hunt a pair of cups carved in Jerusalem, as a memento of Hunt’s late sister. In his letter of thanks, Hunt noted, “you spoke to her I believe with strong affection for the Book of Zechariah, & in a Bible she latterly used, she read that book with great care.”⁴⁸ Yet the Evangelical preoccupation with Judaism was motivated above all by conversionism. David Feldman has demonstrated that even apparently philosemitic conversionists were highly critical of the kind of traditional Jewish culture upheld by Montefiore.⁴⁹ Equally, not all Evangelicals were philosemites or Restorationists. Indeed, Eitan Bar Yosef has argued that Restorationism represented the lunatic fringe of Evangelical culture.⁵⁰ In this context, Montefiore’s popular appeal as an Orthodox Jew, strongly resistant to both Reform and conversionism, should not be taken for granted.

Montefiore’s popularity is especially striking when we consider both its international scope and how late it comes in the nineteenth century. In Germany, the 1870s and early 1880s are associated with the emergence of political antisemitism.⁵¹ In Russia, both the government and the press evinced progressively greater hostility toward Jews in the 1870s, which culminated in the 1881–1882 pogroms.⁵² In Britain, the 1870s saw anti-Jewish feeling reemerge into the mainstream.⁵³ For both Jews and non-Jews alike, Montefiore presented a proudly Jewish face to the world at a time when to do so was increasingly difficult.

It would be easy to dismiss the enthusiastic response to Montefiore’s centenary in the non-Jewish world as an exceptional case. Favorable coverage of the occasion by newspapers such as *Nowoje Wremja* certainly did not prevent the very same

⁴⁵ Cited after Goodman, *Moses Montefiore*, 225–26.

⁴⁶ *Illustrated London News*, November 3, 1883. Reproduced in full in Cowen and Cowen, *Victorian Jews*, 70.

⁴⁷ William D. Rubinstein and Hilary L. Rubinstein, *Philosemitism: Admiration and Support in the English-Speaking World for Jews, 1840–1939* (Basingstoke, 1999).

⁴⁸ Charles Hunt, October 24, 1871, to Sir Moses Montefiore, Cambridge University Library, MS Add.8331/2.

⁴⁹ Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, 53–57.

⁵⁰ Eitan Bar-Yosef, “Christian Zionism and Victorian Culture,” *Israel Studies* 8, no. 2 (Summer 2003): 18–44. For the classic example of the contrary view, see Nahum Sokolow, *History of Zionism, 1600–1918* (London, 1919).

⁵¹ See, for instance, Richard S. Levy, *The Downfall of the Anti-Semitic Political Parties in Imperial Germany* (London, 1975).

⁵² See John Doyle Klier, *Imperial Russia’s Jewish Question, 1855–1881* (Cambridge, 1995). See also, for instance, Shmuel Ettinger and Israel Bartal, “The First Aliyah: Ideological Roots and Practical Accomplishments,” in Jehuda Reinharz and Anita Shapira, eds., *Essential Papers on Zionism* (London, 1996), 63–93.

⁵³ Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, 89–120.



FIGURE 5: Montefiore's *Succah* as depicted in the *Illustrated London News*, 1883.

publications from printing anti-Jewish articles. Arguably, presenting a positive view of the Montefiore centenary gave such newspapers greater latitude when pursuing an antisemitic agenda. Such an interpretation is too simplistic. Studies of the Russian press testify to a sea change in attitudes toward Jews in the 1870s; they do not indicate that “judeophobe” newspapers such as *Nowoje Wremja* were in any way embarrassed about antisemitism.⁵⁴ Moreover, Montefiore’s international activities on behalf of oppressed Jewry, particularly in the East, rendered him vulnerable to antisemitic attacks. David Feldman argues that the Bulgarian atrocities and the Congress of Berlin were central to the emergence of a new British antisemitism, which criticized Disraeli for pursuing a “Jewish” foreign policy in the East and drew on racial arguments to demonstrate that the Jews were inherently unassimilable.⁵⁵ Feldman cites O’Connor’s description of Disraeli’s reception by a ninety-five-year-old Montefiore on the former’s return from Berlin: “By that small scene the meaning of this apotheosis of Lord Beaconsfield by a Christian people is written in letters of light. That day represented the triumph, not of England, not of an English policy, not of an Englishman. It was the triumph of Judea, a Jewish policy, a Jew.”⁵⁶ Disraeli is the main target here, but Montefiore appears as shorthand for Jewish self-interest and Jewish politics. Unsurprisingly, the “Manifesto to the Govern-

⁵⁴ Klier, *Imperial Russia’s Jewish Question*, especially pt. 3.

⁵⁵ Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, 97–120.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 118.

ments and Populations of the Christian States Oppressed by Judaism,” produced by the Dresden Antisemitic Congress of 1882, portrayed Montefiore as a leading figure in the international Jewish conspiracy.⁵⁷

This context renders the unanimous celebrations of the Montefiore centenary particularly remarkable. The extent to which Jews were influenced by the culture of European “host societies” has long been acknowledged; the ability of a proudly Jewish symbol such as Montefiore to percolate into the non-Jewish public sphere in a positive way has been overlooked.

CLOSER EXAMINATION OF MONTEFIORE’S PHILANTHROPIC ACTIVITY may help to explain the phenomenon. Montefiore’s Jewish contemporaries assumed that he was motivated by a pious concern for both his fellow Jews and fellow men.⁵⁸ In one letter from Jerusalem, for instance, Montefiore is enjoined “to make many *mitzvot*.”⁵⁹ The signatories express their belief that he “will stand courageous to make a *tikkun* to the sons of the city.” Reflecting their traditional world view, the authors understood Montefiore’s generosity to the Jews of Palestine in terms of fulfilling religious commandments (*mitzvot*)—in particular, the concepts of *tikkun olam* (repairing the world through social action) and *pikuach nefesh* (saving life).⁶⁰ Another supplicant stated: “he who saved one soul from Israel has saved the entire world, and in that made himself a partner to the creator. And this *mitzvah* is multiplied if he saved us and our sons so that they grow up, learn Torah, get married, and make *mitzvot* themselves.”⁶¹ In keeping with this interpretation of Montefiore’s philanthropy, groups of Jews regularly promised to dedicate study sessions to Montefiore and his wife, to name religious academies or *yeshivot* in their honor, and to pray for them and their companions. More generally, correspondents assured Montefiore, “your reward will be great and G-d will lengthen your days with happiness and goodness and you will be granted to see the rebuilding of Zion and Jerusalem.”⁶²

This naive interpretation of Montefiore’s philanthropic motivation sits awkwardly with the functionalist approach taken by recent historiography. The anthropologist Marcel Mauss emphasized the reciprocity of giving and the role of philanthropy in enhancing social status.⁶³ Historians have developed this idea in two ways. First, they have stressed the role of philanthropy as a form of social

⁵⁷ “The Anti-Semitic Agitation,” *Jewish Chronicle*, December 29, 1882, 7.

⁵⁸ See Montefiore Manuscripts Collection, Montefioriana Miscellaneous MSS, vols. 575 and 577.

⁵⁹ Shmuel Nehemiah Yitzhak Mizrachi, Shlomo Parnass, Moshe Yehudah Mizrachi, Yehudah Borla, Yossef Avraham Peretz, Jerusalem, Ellul 1849, to Sir Moses Montefiore and Lady Judith, Montefiore Manuscripts Collection, Montefioriana Miscellaneous MSS, vol. 577.

⁶⁰ *Tikkun olam* is one of the traditional categories of *tzedakah* (righteousness and justice). The word *tikkun* first appears in the book of Ecclesiastes (1:5; 7:13; 12:9), where it means “setting straight” or “setting in order.” The most notable early rabbinic source for the phrase *tikkun olam* is the Aleinu prayer, in which the phrase expresses the hope of repairing the world through the establishment of the kingdom of God.

⁶¹ Yoel Blach, Shmuel Segal, my wife Rivka, my son Yossef, and my son Shmuel, [1849], to Sir Moses Montefiore, Montefiore Manuscripts Collection, Montefioriana Miscellaneous MSS, vol. 577.

⁶² Kollel Vehlin, Holy Community of Ashkenazi Hasidim, Jerusalem, 1849, to Sir Moses Montefiore and Lady Judith Montefiore, Montefiore Manuscripts Collection, Montefioriana Miscellaneous MSS, vol. 577.

⁶³ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London, 1954).

control, a source of social power, and a forerunner of the modern welfare state.⁶⁴ Thus the transition from “traditional” to “modern” forms of giving is linked to the emergence of capitalism and the need to assuage the tensions inherent in a class society. Second, historians have argued that philanthropy is another form of internal politics among social elites.⁶⁵ Studies of Jewish philanthropy reflect these preoccupations. Derek Penslar and Rainer Liedtke stress the importance of the non-Jewish environment in dictating the philanthropic concerns of Jewish elites—the desire to acculturate, the need to care for the Jewish poor within the community, and the impact this had on wider perceptions of the Jewish world.⁶⁶ According to historians such as Mordecai Rozin, Jewish giving reflected the socioeconomic needs of Jewish elites, not the Jewish poor.⁶⁷ This literature rejects the idea that Jewish religious preoccupations with *tzedakah* (charity) had anything to do with modern Jewish philanthropy.

This perspective is of limited use in understanding a figure such as Montefiore. On the one hand, it fails to address his genuine spirituality and the religious framework in which his Jewish contemporaries interpreted his actions. On the other hand, by focusing almost exclusively on the relationship between Jewish elites as givers and the Jewish poor as recipients, it does not do justice to the transdenominational dimension of Montefiore’s activities.

Montefiore was not given to introspection. Little in his diaries or his surviving correspondence explains his more mundane philanthropic activity. We know that he was philanthropically active by the 1820s, because in 1823 he presented the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in London with an estate of thirteen almshouses. Pious reflections in his diaries indicate that he was religiously inclined at this stage. His 1826 diary opens with a prayer: “Renew in me, O Lord, the right spirit.”⁶⁸ Nevertheless, his first pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in 1827, greatly enhanced these existing tendencies. On his birthday, which he spent on board ship, he wrote:

I humbly pray to the God of my forefathers, my God, the one only true God, to grant that I may henceforth become, a more righteous and better man, as well as better Jew, and that I may daily be more deserving of his abundant mercies; that I may, to the end of my days, be guarded and directed by His Almighty Providence, and when it pleases Him to take me from this world, May He graciously receive my soul, pardon & forgive my iniquities; support

⁶⁴ See, for instance, the following collections of essays: Jonathan Barry and Colin Jones, eds., *Medicine and Charity before the Welfare State* (London, 1991); Peter Mandler, ed., *The Uses of Charity: The Poor on Relief in the Nineteenth-Century Metropolis* (Philadelphia, 1990); and Hugh Cunningham and Joanna Innes, eds., *Charity, Philanthropy and Reform: From the 1690s to 1850* (Basingstoke, 1998).

⁶⁵ Sandra Cavallo, “The Motivations of Benefactors: An Overview of Approaches to the Study of Charity,” in Barry and Jones, *Medicine and Charity before the Welfare State*, 46–62.

⁶⁶ See, for instance, Derek Penslar, *Shylock’s Children: Economics and Jewish Identity in Modern Europe* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001), 90–123; Nancy L. Green, “To Give and to Receive: Philanthropy and Collective Responsibility among Jews in Paris, 1880–1914,” in Mandler, *The Uses of Charity*, 197–226; and Rainer Liedtke, *Jewish Welfare in Hamburg and Manchester, c. 1850–1914* (Oxford, 1998). Penslar also emphasizes the function of philanthropy in constructing an international Jewish community in the context of the nineteenth-century world—clearly something of particular relevance to Montefiore; see *Shylock’s Children*, 105–07.

⁶⁷ Mordechai Rozin, *The Rich and the Poor: Jewish Philanthropy and Social Control in Nineteenth-Century London* (Brighton, 1999). Rozin’s introduction provides an extensive discussion of the literature on Jewish philanthropy and *tzedakah*.

⁶⁸ Loewe, *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore*, 1: 32.

and comfort my dear dear wife. This day I begin a new era. I fully intend to dedicate much more time, towards the welfare of the poor, and to attend as regularly as possible on Monday, Thursday, and Saturday Synagogue.⁶⁹

This vision of the twin pillars of philanthropy and nonphilanthropic religious observance as two sides of the same coin prompts a reconsideration of the relationship between “traditional” and “modern” forms of giving.

In practice, Montefiore’s philanthropy ranged from traditional forms of Jewish charity through more modern forms of Jewish philanthropy to non-Jewish philanthropic concerns. Some aspects of his giving reflected his traditional Jewish world view. On the anniversary of his father’s death in 1821, he “visited his tomb, distributing gifts to the poor and needy, and on my return passed the whole of the day in fasting and religious meditation.”⁷⁰ Likewise, Montefiore was, for most of his life, a *lavador* in the Spanish and Portuguese Jews’ Congregation. This role entailed preparing the bodies of the dead for burial—an important (but unworldly) form of *zedakah*. He was an active supporter of traditional Torah scholarship, subsidizing individuals, such as Rabbi Abraham Belais in London, and institutions, including the Yeshivat Ohel Moshe ve Yehudit in Hebron. He founded a center of traditional religious study at Ramsgate in memory of his wife, Judith, stipulating that the scholars were to pray regularly for her—and, in due course, for them both.

At the same time, Montefiore’s activity reflected contemporary philanthropic practices and ideas about poor relief. This is apparent from his description of a visit among London’s Jewish poor in 1830: “we . . . visited the rooms of about 112 persons. To 108 we gave cards to obtain relief from the General Committee on Thursday.”⁷¹ Equally, his account of a visit to the almshouses that he founded in Jerusalem demonstrates a typically Victorian concern with hard work:

I satisfied myself that the inmates were fully deserving of the advantages they were enjoying . . . scrupulous attention is paid to the preservation of order and cleanliness, and the inmates are cheerful and happy, devoting a portion of their time to religious observances and study; but nevertheless not neglecting the following of industrial pursuits.⁷²

In Russia and Turkey, Montefiore supported Jewish occupational restructuring and educational modernization, rather than defending the traditional way of life.

Montefiore was also an active supporter of non-Jewish causes, such as Lord Shaftesbury’s Ragged Schools. On a small scale, his transdenominational philanthropy is apparent in his role as the benefactor of Ramsgate.⁷³ More generally, a close reading of Loewe’s edition of the Montefiore diaries reveals numerous small donations to non-Jewish charities.⁷⁴ For Montefiore, giving to non-Jewish causes

⁶⁹ Wednesday October 24th, [1827], At Sea, Journal of Sir Moses Montefiore 1827–1828, Heirloom, Fair Copy, Montefiore Family Papers.

⁷⁰ Loewe, *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore*, 1: 26.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁷² Moses Montefiore Grosvenor Gate, August 28, 5626–1866, to J. M. Montefiore, Esq., President pro tem of the Board of Deputies, 3rd Half Yearly Report, Ellul 5626–Sept 1866, London Metropolitan Archives Acc/3121/A/010 (facing fol. 127)

⁷³ See the various accounts of his generosity to Ramsgate charities in the *Jewish Chronicle*, for instance, “Sir Moses Montefiore,” *Jewish Chronicle and Hebrew Observer*, September 15, 1876, 879.

⁷⁴ A random selection of these references is listed here: Loewe, *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore*, 1: 114 (£200 cholera relief in Naples), 135 (£44 given at a dinner for the Corporation of the

did not merely reflect a desire to become part of the host community, as Rozin has argued. It reflected the way he saw himself as already belonging to that community, manifested in a sense of social responsibility that stretched beyond the Jewish world. This sense of belonging to the host community manifested itself in Montefiore's much-vaunted patriotism—patriotism so strong that on occasion it actually undercut his Jewish activism. In 1858, when Montefiore arrived in Rome to intercede on behalf of Eduardo Mortara, he refused to apply to the French ambassador at a time when the pope's position depended on French military support, because he felt himself "so much of an Englishman that I prefer the English representation, and would only act in accordance with the advice of Mr. Russell."⁷⁵

Arguably, Montefiore, along with other Jewish figures such as Goldsmid and Crémieux, saw Jewish problems as part of a wider spectrum of social and political issues. It is therefore worth asking whether the distinction between Jewish and non-Jewish causes, implicit in the literature on Jewish philanthropy, was as significant for men like Montefiore as the distinction between "traditional" and more "modern" forms of giving.

This kind of crossover between Jewish and mainstream philanthropy has been underexplored by existing historiography. The Rubinstein's study of philosemitism mentions it but focuses on Christian donations to Jewish causes.⁷⁶ The work of Mordecai Rozin on Anglo-Jewish charity devotes considerable attention to the donations of Isaac Lyon Goldsmid to non-Jewish charities.⁷⁷ Yet Rozin's approach to this problem is limited by his excessively functionalist view of philanthropy as an instrument of class control and interelite politics. In essence, Rozin sees Goldsmid's philanthropy as a means of bolstering his position in the gentile world and furthering the cause of emancipation. But careful study of the subscription lists and accounts of fund-raising evenings that figure repeatedly in the *Jewish Chronicle* demonstrate a dense, interlocking network of Christian and Jewish philanthropic activity, in which prominent Christians patronized obviously Jewish charities and vice versa.⁷⁸ Rozin's simplistic model cannot begin to explain this phenomenon.

As Alan Kidd has argued, a functionalist approach to philanthropy that emphasizes the implicit reciprocity of giving denigrates innumerable acts of compassion and generosity of spirit, which may bring meaning to individual lives in a wide variety of different ways.⁷⁹ Certainly, in Montefiore's case, functionalism manifestly fails to explain the more traditional aspects of his religious philanthropy.

Sons of the Clergy), 138 (£10 given to a charitable meeting presided over by the Bishop of Winchester), 144 (some £20 to an appeal for the erection of a public monument in honor of Lord Nelson); 2: 19 (£100 toward the Great Exhibition), 36 (£200 to the Patriotic Fund to support widows and orphans of British soldiers, sailors, and marines who died in the Crimean War), 225 (several donations to Lord Shaftesbury's Ragged Schools).

⁷⁵ Loewe, *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore*, 2: 88.

⁷⁶ Rubinstein and Rubinstein, *Philosemitism*.

⁷⁷ Rozin, *The Rich and the Poor*, 77–79.

⁷⁸ Rubinstein and Rubinstein, *Philosemitism*, especially chapters 1 and 2, deploy this material to some extent but focus primarily on international causes. There is room for much interesting further research on this topic.

⁷⁹ Alan Kidd, "Philanthropy and the 'Social History' Paradigm," *Social History* 21, no. 2 (May 1996): 180–92.

Equally, it does not do justice to his strong English identity. The functionalist interpretation reveals important truths about philanthropic motivation, but we need a more multidimensional understanding of why men such as Montefiore gave.

MONTEFIORE'S "MODERN" PHILANTHROPIC ENGAGEMENT can be understood in terms of a continuity of vision and purpose that transcended the religious divide, as is borne out by an analysis of his higher-profile political activities. Both his interventions on behalf of distressed Jewry abroad and his involvement in the campaign for Jewish emancipation can be placed within a wider spectrum of activity that included the non-Jewish world. In this context, his activities in the 1830s merit special attention.

Montefiore is usually seen as a half-hearted supporter of Jewish emancipation, principally because of his statement in 1837 that he was "most firmly resolved not to give up the smallest part of our religious forms and privileges to obtain civil rights."⁸⁰ Likewise, historians have made much of Goldsmid's criticism of the Board of Deputies' lack of action over emancipation under Montefiore's leadership.⁸¹ Yet Montefiore's diaries make it clear that he was very active in lobbying for emancipation during the 1830s. Indeed, Goldsmid himself recognized Montefiore's contribution to the early stages of the emancipation campaign when he wrote to the Board in 1848, suggesting that it should rally the forces of civil society in the Jewish cause through petitions and mass meetings. In a cover letter to Montefiore, Goldsmid noted that in the past, "you & I co-operated together in pursuing the system & were convinced of, and experienced its beneficial effects."⁸² Goldsmid thereby acknowledges Montefiore's engagement with a more populist politics during the 1830s.

This acknowledgment is important because the methods described by Goldsmid were deployed over a wide range of issues in the early 1830s—most famously parliamentary reform, but also the antislavery movement and reform of the Poor Law. Often, those who mobilized to support one such campaign also supported others. Thus David Turley locates antislavery within the wider context of what he terms "the middle class reform complex."⁸³ Turley notes the links between antislavery activists and other causes such as parliamentary reform, penal reform, and education, as well as issues relating to religious freedom for dissenters, Catholics, and Jews. This complex reflected deep anxieties about the social and political order, and a desire to effect the moral renovation of the world.

It is relatively uncontroversial to link Jewish emancipation with this wider Reform complex from the perspective of non-Jewish activists. Emancipation was supported by figures such as Daniel O'Connell, Elizabeth Fry, and Robert Owen, as

⁸⁰ Loewe, *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore*, 1: 111.

⁸¹ See, for instance, M. C. N. Salbstein, *The Emancipation of the Jews in Britain: The Question of the Admission of Jews to Parliament, 1828–1860* (London, 1982), 91–94.

⁸² Baron Isaac Lyon de Goldsmid, January 2, 1848, to Moses Montefiore, given in Minutes of meeting of the Board of Deputies held January 2, 1848, Moses Montefiore in the chair, London Metropolitan Archives Acc/3121/A/006 (fols. 101–06).

⁸³ David Turley, *The Culture of English Antislavery, 1780–1860* (London, 1991), 108–51.

well as pillars of the Whig establishment, including Lord Holland.⁸⁴ This was not a one-way relationship. Goldsmid's involvement with leading Whigs and Radicals and his commitment to less explicitly Jewish causes, such as the founding of University College London, have always been acknowledged. In many ways, the same was true of Montefiore. Writing to Lord John Russell in 1838, Montefiore underlined his commitment to the reforming Whig administration of the 1830s:

I feel the deepest gratitude to that Government by whose Energy the Reform was effected, and by whose prudence it has been consolidated and brought into beneficial operation, and as far as my Influence extends (and it's sphere is not very contracted) it will be steadily exerted in the support of the existing Ministry, and in maintenance of the Principles held by them.⁸⁵

Such principles were very much in keeping with Montefiore's social circle. His diaries in the 1830s list endless social engagements at which he encountered prominent Whig and Radical politicians. Similarly, his business network reached beyond his Jewish relatives. As a director of the Alliance Assurance Company and the Imperial Continental Gas Association, he also had close links with prominent dissenting families, including the Gurneys and the Attwoods. Figures such as Sam Gurney and Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, M.P., who founded the Alliance with Montefiore in the 1820s, were leading antislavery campaigners, as was Montefiore's close friend Thomas Hodgkin. And during the 1830s, Montefiore himself became actively involved in the antislavery campaign, as well as in exclusively Jewish politics.

Popular biographies of Montefiore often note in passing that his last major business transaction was as joint contractor with Nathan Rothschild for the £20 million loan for compensation to owners of freed slaves, which enabled the British government to pass the Slave Emancipation Act in 1835. This loan merits closer consideration. The fact that Montefiore underwrote it ten years after he had nominally retired from business should attract our attention. Clearly it testified to his personal commitment to the antislavery cause. Montefiore's diaries, which were heavily edited by his secretary Louis Loewe, refer to his attending at least one public antislavery meeting.⁸⁶ Montefiore's engagement with the flagship issue of antislavery enables us to locate him and his activities on behalf of Jewish emancipation, like Goldsmid and Rothschild, within Turley's wider middle-class reform complex.

The link between Jewish issues and Montefiore's wider philanthropic concerns in the 1830s, notably antislavery, remains apparent in his subsequent activities. Tellingly, when he went to Alexandria in 1840, he did not restrict himself to obtaining the release of the Jewish prisoners in Damascus. During his first meeting with Mehmet Ali, he was accompanied by Dr. Madden, who presented a petition of thanks to Mehmet Ali from the London Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade

⁸⁴ See the correspondence collected in Lionel Abrahams, "Sir I. L. Goldsmid and the Admission of the Jews of England to Parliament," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 4 (1903): 106–76.

⁸⁵ Sir Moses Montefiore, Grosvenor Gate, Park Lane, April 25, 1838, to Lord John Russell, Montefiore Family Papers, Grey File: VERY IMPORTANT Papers, Documents Etc.

⁸⁶ Loewe, *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore*, 1: 135.

in recognition of the pasha's recent abolition of slavery.⁸⁷ Mehmet Ali discussed the matter with Montefiore at some length, a conversation that, according to Montefiore's diaries, "led Sir Moses to hope that a heart which could be thus moved by humane sentiments, would surely not sanction such tortures and sufferings as the Damascus prisoners had been made to endure."⁸⁸ The link between Montefiore's commitment to the cause of oppressed Jewry and his antislavery activity is clearly demonstrated here. Unquestionably, the plight of his coreligionists abroad fitted within a wider spectrum of his concern for humanitarian issues.

For Montefiore, the link between persecuted Jewry and wider humanitarian concerns remained very much alive in subsequent decades, just as his contacts with the world of dissenting reform and evangelical Christianity persisted alongside his deepening involvement in the world of traditional Judaism. It would be naive to assume that this link was entirely disinterested. As Montefiore became an increasingly public figure, he became more self-conscious in his attempts to link the condition of Jews in the Muslim world, in particular, with wider issues of religious toleration and civil rights. He made considerable efforts to demonstrate that his commitment to these issues transcended religious loyalties—hence the claim that his generosity was unbounded.

In 1860, Montefiore provided the impetus behind a campaign to raise funds for destitute Christian refugees in Syria, after thousands had been massacred by the Druze. That he and Crémieux independently launched identical fund-raising initiatives on the very same day highlights the close interplay between international Jewish politics and the wider humanitarian agenda. The cause raised more than £30,000 from Britain, Europe, and the United States, and attracted cross-denominational support from evangelicals, such as Sir Culling Eardley and Lord Shaftesbury; from politicians, such as Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell; and from Jewish leaders, including Montefiore, Crémieux, and the Rothschilds.

Similarly, during his mission to Morocco in 1863, Montefiore did not merely obtain the freedom of several Jews accused of murder, he also interceded on behalf of a Muslim who had been unjustly imprisoned for the murder of a Jew. On his arrival in Marrakesh, he appealed to the sultan of Morocco for fairer treatment of both Christians and Jews. This aspect of Montefiore's mission to Morocco was appreciated in Britain. On his return, a public meeting unanimously adopted a motion proposed by Sir Anthony de Rothschild and seconded by Gladstone, stating that "by his successful representations . . . on behalf of all non-Mahometan subjects," Montefiore had "rendered an important service to the cause of humanity."⁸⁹ In keeping with this stance, when Montefiore received news of famine in the Holy Land in 1870, he promptly gave £100 to the Jews, £100 for relief of the Christian poor, and £100 for relief of the Muslim community.⁹⁰ On hearing of the famine in Persia in 1871, he responded in an ostentatiously nonsectarian way, sending £50 to the Jews, £25 to the Christians, and £25 for relief of the Muslim

⁸⁷ For more on the abolitionist aspect of this journey, see Dr. Richard Robert Madden, *Egypt and Mohammed Ali: Illustrative of the Condition of His Slaves and Subjects* (London, 1841).

⁸⁸ Loewe, *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore*, 1: 249.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 2: 158.

⁹⁰ "Famine at Tiberias," *Jewish Chronicle and Hebrew Observer*, March 25, 1870, 3.

population.⁹¹ Once again, his generosity received due acknowledgment in the gentile world, prompting a leading article in the *London Mirror*. On both occasions, Montefiore's engagement with these causes prompted large-scale transdenominational and international fund-raising efforts, which brought in significant sums of money.

The images of Montefiore prevalent in the non-Jewish world reflected both the narrowly Jewish and the wider humanitarian aspects of his activities. Upon his death, the *Church Times* commented bitterly that, "Having been an earnest philo-Judaean, he has been mistaken by the public for a great philanthropist."⁹² This lone critical voice in a sea of adulation testifies to Montefiore's success in projecting an image of his activities as transcending narrowly sectarian interests and of himself as a representative of both Jewish and British values.

IT IS TEMPTING TO DISMISS MONTEFIORE'S NAVIGATION of the boundaries between religious and national identities, and between local, national, and international worlds, as an exceptional case. Yet this view overlooks the underlying structures and trends that enabled him to function in this way. Montefiore's activities and resonance as a public figure were paradigmatic of a particular kind of transnational humanitarian activity, very much of its age—both in terms of the sentiments evoked and in terms of the means deployed. As a Jewish figure whose activities reflected and exploited these wider currents, Montefiore undoubtedly achieved exceptional public resonance. But the nature of his interaction with these wider philanthropic environs was not, in itself, unique. Instead, he was successful in projecting an image of himself as a universal philanthropist, rather than a specifically Jewish figure, precisely because of the popular appeal of international and humanitarian philanthropy at the time. Historians of the nineteenth century have overlooked the scale and importance of international humanitarian activity because it fits awkwardly with traditional historiographical preoccupations, which have focused on the growth of nationalism and on religious conflict rather than on transdenominational cooperation.

Religious conflict was a central strand in nineteenth-century European history, just as it was in Montefiore's own lifetime, but this conflict took place in a context that did not exclude transdenominational collaboration. Admittedly, international institutions such as the Red Cross and the Alliance Israélite Universelle have attracted historical attention, but historians have seen them in isolation, rather than as part of a wider internationalist movement.⁹³ In fact, there were tacit connections between these movements and the figures that inspired them. Henry Dunant, one of the founders of the Red Cross, was a supporter of Jewish colonization in

⁹¹ "Famine in Persia," *Jewish Chronicle and Hebrew Observer*, August 4, 1871, 2.

⁹² "The Late Sir Moses Montefiore," *Jewish Chronicle*, August 21, 1885, 6.

⁹³ On the Red Cross, see John F. Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross* (Boulder, Colo., 1996); on the Alliance Israélite Universelle, see André Chouraqui, *Cent Ans d'Histoire: L'Alliance Israélite Universelle et la Renaissance Juive Contemporaine (1860–1960)* (Paris, 1965); Aron Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860–1925* (Bloomington, Ind., 1990); and Georges Weill, *Emancipation et Progrès: L'Alliance Israélite Universelle et les Droits de l'Homme* (Paris, 2000).

Palestine, a cause espoused by the Alliance Israélite Universelle.⁹⁴ Equally, the Alliance Israélite itself was modeled on the Protestant Evangelical Alliance. Montefiore collaborated closely over the Mortara Affair and the appeal on behalf of the Syrian Christians with Sir Culling Eardley, who dominated the Evangelical Alliance. The Evangelical Alliance is generally seen as a militantly Protestant organization with a strongly anti-Catholic and implicitly conversionist agenda. Yet it is worth noting that shortly before it took up the cause of Edgardo Mortara against the papacy in 1858–1859, it appealed to the king of Sweden in the name of religious liberty on behalf of a handful of Swedish women who had converted to Catholicism and lost their citizenship as a result.⁹⁵ For all its partisanship, the Evangelical Alliance thereby demonstrated a genuine commitment to more universal principles of human rights.

This activity acquired a strikingly political character in the aftermath of the Mortara Affair. In November 1859, Sir Culling Eardley led a deputation to the British foreign secretary, Lord John Russell, urging him to raise the case of Edgardo Mortara at a congress intended to resolve the Italian question. The *Jewish Chronicle* saw this initiative as the basis for a new international politics, in which such interference was justified in terms of universal moral principles, deploying something very close to the modern language of international human rights: “[t]he only means we see for preventing the recurrence of any such crime is to memorialize the Foreign Secretary to press upon the attention of the approaching Congress the expediency of establishing liberty of conscience . . . as an international law of the civilized world.”⁹⁶

The Rubinstein’s recent work on philosemitism has drawn attention to this kind of humanitarian activity, insofar as it was espoused by Anglo-Saxon Christians on behalf of persecuted Jewry.⁹⁷ Yet the Rubinstein’s fail to set this activity in a wider context of humanitarian philanthropy. There were appeals on behalf of massacred Eastern Christians as well as Jewish victims of Russian pogroms. There were appeals on behalf of the starving in Persia, China, and India, as well as in Palestine. Evidence in the *Jewish Chronicle* indicates that Jews subscribed generously to these international humanitarian appeals.⁹⁸ That Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild, Sir Albert Sasson, and Baron de Stern were all members of the Mansion House Indian Famine Relief Fund committee underlines the extent to which Montefiore’s international humanitarian activity was part of a wider phenomenon.⁹⁹ Protestant Anglo-Saxon philosemitism may have been part of the picture, but it cannot explain other kinds

⁹⁴ See reference in “The Projected Jewish Colonisation of Palestine,” *Jewish Chronicle and Hebrew Observer*, March 1, 1867, 2.

⁹⁵ “01/08/1858: Transactions—Address to the Swedish Minister on the Banishment of the Six Roman Catholic Women, from Evangelical Alliance to His Excellency, Count Platen, Swedish Ambassador,” *Evangelical Christendom: Its State and Prospects* XII (1858): 257–60.

⁹⁶ “The Deputation to Lord John Russell,” *Jewish Chronicle and Hebrew Observer*, November 18, 1859, 2.

⁹⁷ Rubinstein and Rubinstein, *Philosemitism*.

⁹⁸ For details on Jewish contributions on behalf of famine victims in China, see “China Famine Relief Fund,” *Jewish Chronicle*, April 26, 1878, 2.

⁹⁹ N. M. Rothschild subscribed £1,000, Messrs de Stern £500, Messrs R. Raphael and Sons £200, and Sir Francis and Lady Goldsmid £125. For further details, see “Town and Table Talk,” *Jewish Chronicle*, August 24, 1877, 13.

of humanitarian activity or, indeed, Montefiore's positive profile in less famously philo-semitic countries and the international scope of his fund-raising activities.

Ultimately, Montefiore operated as a public figure within local, national, and international public spheres. As a stockbroker and one-time Sheriff of London and Middlesex, he was an important figure in the City. As the owner of a large estate, he was the leading local notable in Ramsgate. We can therefore situate him within two specific local communities, one urban and one rural, in which he fulfilled very different roles. He also moved within two contrasting national frameworks. He was a preeminently Jewish figure, and by the end of his life he had acquired the status of a "national" hero in this emergent national community. At the same time, he was an important player within the Victorian establishment, and his close connections with the Foreign Office lent a specifically "British" tinge to his foreign missions. Both Jewish and British to the core, he was the quintessential Victorian Jew. Yet Montefiore also transcended the "national" worlds of Victorian Britain and nineteenth-century Jewry, functioning in an international public and diplomatic sphere. His foreign interventions were reported extensively in the European and American press, and his activities relied heavily on international networks—both Jewish and non-Jewish. His ability to move seamlessly between local, national, and international worlds reveals the interplay between these different arenas at a time when the twin processes of nation-building and globalization were undercutting traditional particularisms.

Montefiore's interventions in the Damascus and Mortara affairs, just like his fund-raising initiatives on behalf of Moroccan Jewish refugees in Gibraltar in 1860 or the starving Jews of Palestine and Persia, combined local, national, and international activity. First, these efforts rested on the voluntarist forces of civil society at a local level. Second, they often appealed to particular religious or national communities—most obviously through encouraging a sense of Jewish solidarity, but also through fostering British ideas of the civilizing mission, or Christian Restorationist hopes for a return of the Jews to Palestine. Finally, they were consciously conceived of as international, reaching beyond a narrowly British or Jewish community through appeals to foreign organizations and advertisements published in the international press. This internationalism explains the universalist and humanitarian language deployed.

Paradoxically, efforts on behalf of suffering "humanity" were successful not least because they appealed to a wide variety of different constituencies, often for quite contradictory reasons, and in arguments couched specifically in religious and national terms. An article that appeared in the *Irish Times* in connection with the Palestinian famine of 1870 gives an excellent sense of how this worked in practice:

There is again, as of old, a great "famine in the land" of Judea, and there is no part of the Christian world that is not bound by obligations of religion and humanity to come to the rescue of the sufferers. Ireland is a comparatively poor country, but out of her poverty she can minister to the necessities of those that are poorer still; and every pound she contributes will evoke ten from richer nations by the influence of a spirited example . . . In mosque and synagogue, in Greek and Latin Church, the voice of supplication is heard crying for aid against a foe that is only too familiar and dire a visitor to some portions of this island. As

the East is from the West, still further from the Irish heart be the inhumanity that would leave that well-known cry unanswered.¹⁰⁰

The language here is avowedly transnational and interdenominational. The *Irish Times* hopes that the Irish contribution to the appeal will spark other, “richer nations” to contribute; it talks about the sufferers in mosque, synagogue, and church and the obligations of “humanity.” Yet the appeal is also couched in self-consciously religious and national terms, with its mention of the “Christian world,” talk of the “Irish heart,” and reference to the Irish potato famine and the vision it sets forth of poor but generous Ireland inspiring the rest of the world.

This combination of particularism and universalism was central to Montefiore’s own sense of public mission, and also to his unique public resonance. In practice, the humanitarian internationalism of the nineteenth century rested on religious identity, national loyalties, and local activity, while apparently undercutting religious and national distinctions. It was Montefiore’s particular achievement to locate specifically Jewish concerns at the heart of this wider universalist and humanitarian agenda.

There is a distinction between diffuse humanitarianism of this kind and the more focused concerns of the human rights movement in the twentieth century. In this sense, Kenneth Cmiel was right to open a recent review article with this statement: “Prior to the 1940s, the term [‘human rights’] was rarely used. There was no sustained international movement in its name.”¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, the transdenominational humanitarian campaigns of men such as Montefiore, Eardley, and Crémieux should cause us to rethink the origins of modern human rights activity. Hitherto, historians have located these long-term origins in the shifting emphasis from “duties” to “rights” among eighteenth-century philosophers, culminating in the French Revolutionary Declaration of the Rights of Man.¹⁰² In the context of nineteenth-century politics, however, this inevitably prompts an association with the forces of democratization, secularization, and political change traditionally highlighted by modernization theory. Yet support for international humanitarian activity was not motivated primarily by abstract concerns with a secular theory of human rights. Nor did it particularly engage secular “radical” currents, whether liberal internationalist or socialist in character. Instead, international humanitarian activity tended to be motivated at some level by religious concerns.

The religious agenda demonstrated itself above all in the battle for religious and civil liberty. Jews such as Montefiore and Christians such as Eardley were united behind a common political agenda that aimed, above all, at establishing freedom of conscience the world over. The Hatt-i Humayün of 1856, which granted equality to Jews and Christians in the Ottoman Empire, and the Congress of Berlin, which made Jewish emancipation a precondition of Serbian and Romanian independence in 1878, were both examples of this agenda in action. Often, it fundamentally undermined the existing relationship between religion and polity in countries as

¹⁰⁰ “The Jerusalem Relief Fund,” *Jewish Chronicle and Hebrew Observer*, March 25, 1870, 9.

¹⁰¹ Kenneth Cmiel, “The Recent History of Human Rights,” *AHR* 109, no. 1 (2004): 117–35. <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/109.1/cmiel.html> (30 Nov. 2004).

¹⁰² See *ibid.* for a good analysis of this literature.

diverse as the Papal States and the Ottoman Empire. Paradoxically, in the long term this promoted secularization and the privatization of belief.

Christian emancipation in the Ottoman Empire was inevitably a particular concern for religious Christians. Likewise, Jewish leaders lobbied hard behind the scenes to obtain international guarantees on behalf of their coreligionists. Yet men such as Montefiore, Eardley, and Crémieux genuinely accepted the underlying principle of civil liberty—even when, as with the Swedish Catholics, it counteracted their natural inclinations. Similarly, Jewish and Christian religious sentiment favored fund-raising appeals that focused on Jewish suffering and the Holy Land, but the many who gave on behalf of the starving in India and China demonstrated a less partisan awareness of the common human condition. That they did so reflected a growing ability to transcend the particular and draw links between their own specific experiences and wider human concerns. In this regard, international humanitarian activity reflects the kind of transformation of moral consciousness outlined in Thomas Haskell's critique of the functionalist, class-based historiography on antislavery.¹⁰³

Religious activists such as Montefiore deployed new communications and the local forces of civil society in promoting an international agenda that drew on secular ideas about human rights and civil liberties. They thereby encouraged the exportation of a "modern" Western model of the relationship between religion and state, demonstrating clearly the importance of religion as an international force in the evolution of what we now consider to be modernity.

¹⁰³ Thomas Haskell, "Capitalism and the Origins of Humanitarian Sensibility," *AHR* 90, no. 2 and 90, no. 3 (1985): 339–61, 547–661. The most powerful statement of the "capitalist" explanation is David Brion-Davis's classic work *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1973). For Davis's riposte to Haskell, see David Brion-Davis, "Reflections on Abolitionism and Ideological Hegemony," *AHR* 92, no. 4 (1987): 797–812.

Abigail Green is Tutor and Fellow in Modern History at Brasenose College, University of Oxford. As the author of *Fatherlands: State-Building and Nationhood in Nineteenth Century Germany* (Cambridge, 2001), she has written widely on regionalism and federalism in Germany. She is now completing a major biography of Sir Moses Montefiore. Her wider interests include identity formation, the role of the press in politics, and the interplay between the local, the national, and the international.

A Tale of Second Cities: Autonomy, Culture, and the Law in Hamburg and Barcelona in the Late Nineteenth Century

MAIKEN UMBACH

"THE CITY IS EVERYWHERE AND EVERYTHING."¹ This may not be a fair summary of modern history, but it is not a bad summary of current historiography. Cities have long featured in historical writing as the venues where key episodes of political and social history unfolded. Under the auspices of the *spatial turn*, however, the city's material reality has become a major subject of historical investigation. The built environment is read as a source in its own right, which, if carefully decoded, can shed light on the indirect means of government that characterize modern regimes.² Such studies aspire to be more than urban histories. They treat the city as a paradigmatic site, a microcosm of the state. If "politics" originated in the polis, it has now returned there. Not only are modern municipal administrations important political actors in their own right, but city living has become so universal in the Western world that the interaction between "the state" and "the citizen" in general is exemplified by the process of urban governance. The origins of this trend can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century, to the dual process of mass urbanization and the rise of mass politics. Emerging nation-states capitalized on the opportuni-

I have accumulated many debts of gratitude in the preparation of this article. I would like to thank the staff of the Staatsarchiv Hamburg, as well as the staff of the Arxiu Històric de la Ciudad of Barcelona, the Arxiu Administratiu of Barcelona, the library and historical archive of the Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, the Biblioteca Catalunya, and the Humanitats Department of the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, who generously accommodated me during my research in Spain. Special thanks go to my research assistant, Natàlia Mora Sitja, whose help in accessing Catalan sources was vital. For their invaluable criticisms of the first draft, I am grateful to Stephen Jacobson (King's College London), Jo Whaley (University of Cambridge), Stefan Berger (University of Glamorgan), and Siobhan Harty (University of Aberystwyth), as well as the anonymous readers of the *AHR*. Thanks are also due to seminar audiences who commented on different versions of this article when it was delivered as a paper at the Center for European Studies at Harvard, the University of California, Berkeley, Columbia University, the University of Cambridge (UK), and Brisbane University (Australia), and at the conferences "The Two Unifications of Germany" (Birmingham, 2002), "The Built Environment in German History" (German History Society AGM, 2002), and "Nationalism in Europe, 1789–1914" (German Historical Institute London, 2003). Much of the research was generously funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board, as well as, in the final phase, the Leverhulme Trust.

¹ Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift, *Cities: Reimagining the Urban* (Cambridge, 2002), 1.

² Useful introductions to the "spatial turn" and its impact on the writing of modern history are Simon A. Gunn, "The Spatial Turn: Changing Histories of Space and Place," in Simon A. Gunn and R. J. Morris, eds., *Identities in Space: Contested Terrains in the Western City since 1850* (London, 2001), 1–14; David Blackbourn, *A Sense of Place: New Directions in German History* (London, 1999); Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London, 1989); and Anne Kelly Knowles, "Envisioning History," review essay, *Historical Geography* 27 (1999): 225–29.

ties offered by the rapidly expanding cities of the industrial age, which provided a captive audience for political pedagogy and propaganda. European capitals, from Napoleon III's Paris to William II's Berlin, were subjected to extensive building programs that expressed the respective regimes' imperial aspirations.³ Anthems, flags, royal processions, national festivals, monuments, and commemorations proliferated in the cityscape. Outside Europe, new capital cities such as Washington, New Delhi, and Canberra were laid out in ways that symbolized the political aspirations of the state while also providing a three-dimensional blueprint for its operations.⁴ The city became a way of "making citizens"; by comparison, turning "peasants into Frenchmen" proved a much harder task.⁵

The recent proliferation of historical writing on the city can be attributed only in part to these historical developments. Theoretical trends within the academy have played their role, too. The most influential of these is the Foucauldian notion of "liberal governmentality."⁶ It has shifted attention away from the more obvious political symbols in the cityscape, such as monuments, toward more subtle spatial strategies, which managed and manipulated people's perceptions and behavior in the urban space. In this view, the city was itself an "actant."⁷ Material interventions, ranging from pipes and drains, via slum clearance, to the creation of boulevards and public parks, all contributed to the conditioning of the "liberal subject." They were a "technology of liberal governmentality," devices that encouraged forms of behavior that rendered direct political rule superfluous.⁸ Much of this historiography focuses on the role of the senses. The premodern city (as well as the modern slum), Chris Otter argued, was a world dominated by the senses of proximity, such as smell. By contrast, "the respectable mastered their passions in public spaces conducive to the exercise of clear, controlled perception: wide streets, squares and parks. In their homes, separate bathrooms and bedrooms precluded promiscuity

³ On nineteenth-century Paris, see David Harvey, *Paris: Capital of Modernity* (New York, 2003); Patrice de Moncan, *Le Paris d'Haussmann* (Paris, 2002); Willet Weeks, *The Man Who Made Paris* (London, 1999); David P. Jordan, *Transforming Paris: The Life and Labors of Baron Haussmann* (New York, 1995); Dennis Paul Costanzo, *Cityscape and the Transformation of Paris during the Second Empire* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1994); and David Theodore Van Zanten, *Building Paris: Architectural Institutions and the Transformation of the French Capital, 1830–1870* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994). On Berlin, see Brian Ladd, *Urban Planning and Civic Order in Germany, 1860–1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); Douglas Klahr, *Instrumente der Selbstdarstellung eines Kaisers: Die Schlossfreiheit und das Berliner Stadtschloss* (Berlin, 2003); Peter Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996); and Alan Balfour, *Berlin: The Politics of Order, 1737–1989* (Milan, 1990).

⁴ A useful comparative discussion of the political layout of these capital cities is Wolfgang Sonne, *Representing the State: Capital City Planning in the Early Twentieth Century* (Munich, 2003).

⁵ Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (London, 1979). Where European nation-building floundered, this was frequently linked to slow urbanization; Italy, where nationalists famously failed to "make Italians," is the prime example. David Laven, "Italy: The Idea of the Nation in the Risorgimento and Liberal Eras," in Mark Hewitson and Timothy Baycroft, eds., *Nationalism in Europe, 1789–1914: Civic and Ethnic Traditions* (Oxford, forthcoming 2005).

⁶ The concept is defined in Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, eds., *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Chicago, 1991), 87–104.

⁷ The phrase is borrowed from Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* (Milton Keynes, 1987), who introduced the neologism "actant" as a neutral way to refer to actors irrespective of intentions, in both the human and the material world.

⁸ See also the interesting contributions in a special issue of the *Journal of British Studies* 43, no. 3 (2004).

and indecency.”⁹ Nikolas Rose made a similar point when he suggested that citizens of the liberal city were governed not through the imposition of “duties, but by throwing a web of visibilities . . . over personal conduct.”¹⁰

This perspective opens up exciting new possibilities for understanding the significance of cities, but it also contains pitfalls. Foucauldian cultural history, even where it concerns itself with particular places, treats these as exemplars of *the* city, a microcosm in which the operations of *the* liberal state can be studied.¹¹ In the process, the issue of agency is relegated to the margins of the inquiry. Yet it was at the level of political agents (or, to employ an even less fashionable term, interest groups) that the principal political conflicts between modern city governments and modern states occurred. Such conflicts have been the topic of a different brand of urban histories, typically written in the 1970s and 1980s, under the now significantly less fashionable auspices of modernization theory. A seminal example of this genre is Richard J. Evans’s study of Hamburg’s response to the cholera epidemics of the later nineteenth century.¹² This authoritative account takes the issue of disease containment as a prism through which we can analyze the clash between the bureaucratic forces of the modern nation-state and the traditional institutions of city-state government.

In experimenting with the new methodologies of cultural history, we should not lose sight of the historical significance of such conflicts. The city was not just a “metaphor” for the nation; at times, municipal and national actors pursued diametrically opposed interests, and these conflicts can often better account for the paradoxes of modern urban governance than the cunning of liberal Reason. It would also be misleading, however, to assume that city governments necessarily clashed with the nation-state. As some recent empirical scholarship has emphasized, a sophisticated municipal and regional political substructure could help the nation-building effort.¹³ The economic and political interests of urban and national elites may have diverged, yet municipal and city-state governments still played an important part in the broader project of educating citizens who could successfully be “managed” by the modern state. In addition, the revival of localist and vernacular sentiments around 1900 provided an important bridge between the real community of social experience and the abstract or imagined community of the

⁹ Chris Otter, “Making Liberalism Durable: Vision and Civility in the Late Victorian City,” *Social History* 27, no. 1 (January 2002): 1–15, quote 3.

¹⁰ Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom* (Cambridge, 1999), 73.

¹¹ This conception of the liberal state was propagated by James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, Conn., 1998). Perhaps the most important study to connect this approach to the history of the city is Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London, 2003).

¹² Richard J. Evans, *Death in Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years, 1830–1910* (Oxford, 1987).

¹³ Abigail Green, *Fatherlands: State-Building and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge, 2001); Dieter Langewiesche and Georg Schmidt, eds., *Föderative Nation: Deutschlandskonzepte von der Reformation bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Munich, 2000); Maiken Umbach, ed., *German Federalism: Past, Present, Future* (Basingstoke, 2002); Simone Lässig, Karl Heinrich Pohl, and James Retallack, eds., *Modernisierung und Region im wilhelminischen Deutschland: Wahlen, Wahlrecht und politische Kultur* (Bielefeld, 1995); James Retallack, ed., *Saxony in German History: Culture, Society, and Politics, 1830–1933* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2000). On the relationship between democratization and regionalism, see James Retallack and Larry Jones, eds., *Elections, Mass Politics, and Social Change in Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1992).

nation.¹⁴ And finally, the existence of municipal and regional administrations provided a political and legal infrastructure that extended the reach of new national institutions, even when the actual policies pursued on the different levels were sometimes at odds.¹⁵

This ambiguous relationship between city and nation-state is particularly acute in the case of "second cities." In many other European countries, for much of the nineteenth century, second cities rivaled the capital city in terms of population size and resources. Faced with the task of assimilating vast new immigrant populations from the countryside, second cities became prime sites for experimenting with new forms of symbolic politics, and thereby played a vital role in defining the political culture of the state. Yet their relationship with the national center was also problematic, especially where they had strong aspirations to political autonomy. In such instances, two projects, that of liberal governance (as examined by Patrick Joyce and Chris Otter) and that of civic difference or particularism (as examined by Evans), had to be conducted side by side. The resulting political imperatives produced a material culture that was at once distinctive of second cities but at the same time was related to, and targeted at, the larger whole of the state.

THE FOLLOWING ANALYSIS ATTEMPTS TO SHED LIGHT on the dual role of second cities vis-à-vis the state through a close reading of their material culture. To that end, it offers a political decoding of some characteristic public buildings and spaces in two of Europe's economically most dynamic and politically most assertive second cities: Hamburg, Germany, and Barcelona, Spain.

For centuries, the relationship of Hamburg and Barcelona to Germany and Spain, respectively, had been laden with ambiguity that at times turned into open conflict. Both stood to lose from the process of greater national centralization in the nineteenth century. Yet in the same period, both cities' fortunes were revived by the advent of industrialization. Rapid demographic and economic expansion put their resources more or less on a par with those of the capital cities. Only in the twentieth century did Bilbao overtake Barcelona as Spain's industrial powerhouse,¹⁶ while Hamburg has managed to maintain this status in Germany to the present day, albeit with some competition from Munich. Hamburg and Barcelona thus defy a narrative in which second cities appear as inevitable victims of modern nation-building.

To compare Hamburg and Barcelona is to cut across traditional classifications

¹⁴ The model of the local as a national metaphor was first developed by Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), and Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany and National Memory, 1871–1918* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997). See also Georg Kunz, *Verortete Geschichte: Regionales Geschichtsbewusstsein in den deutschen Historischen Vereinen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 2000), and Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis, 1996), especially the section "The Production of Locality," 178–99. The trope of *Heimat* proved malleable to the extent that local peculiarity could be ironed out even while being celebrated. Yet cities, with their more highly developed political institutions and entrenched interests, proved more resistant to such national stereotyping.

¹⁵ Maiken Umbach, "Regionalism in Modern European Nation-States," in Hewitson and Baycroft, *Nationalism in Europe*.

¹⁶ On second cities in Spain, compare Enric Ucelay-Da Cal, *Llegar a capital: Rango urbano, rivalidades interurbanas y la imaginación nacionalista en la España del siglo XX* (Barcelona, 2002).

employed by urban historians. Barcelona's role as the capital of the former principality of Catalonia distinguished it from Hamburg's history as an autonomous city republic. In a typology of European cities that is based on constitutional history, Barcelona could more easily be compared with Munich, while Hamburg might be likened to Genoa.¹⁷ While Munich and Genoa had similar political histories, by the mid-nineteenth century neither could lay claim to being its country's second city; neither played a strategic role in "making citizens" for the new nation, and neither was the principal political rival of the national capital. Economic historians have devised alternative typologies that distinguish between industrial and commercial cities.¹⁸ Here, too, Hamburg and Barcelona fall into opposite categories. Hamburg was first and foremost a merchant city, and remained so well into the twentieth century. With the exception of its sizable ship-building industry, it was not so much an industrial producer in its own right, but the nodal point through which raw materials were imported and goods "made in Germany" were exported, and where many other wares changed hands without even entering the German customs system.¹⁹ Hamburg's merchant elite thus tended to support a free-trade agenda, comparable perhaps to that of Manchester in the same decades. In Barcelona, by contrast, the textile industry became the backbone of the city's wealth in the nineteenth century.²⁰ While the Godeffroys, Ballins, and O'Swalds owned shipping companies, the Güells and Samaranches owned textile mills. Unlike merchants, the Catalan textile magnates tended to be protectionists. They sought to shelter their fledgling enterprises from more advanced British competition.

Paradoxically, the economic difference between Hamburg and Barcelona strengthens rather than weakens the case for a comparison of their role as second cities. In each case, the economic interests of the city elites clashed with the policy pursued by the national government. After a brief flirtation with free trade during the so-called *Gründerzeit*, the German state began to support protectionism in 1878. As a result, Hamburg had to become increasingly involved in national politics to protect its own, different interests. In the same period, the Spanish state supported free trade. Thus, Barcelona's bourgeoisie, too, found itself at variance with the national mainstream, and had to devise new strategies for pushing its agenda in negotiations with Madrid. In both cities, this led to a shift from traditional particularism toward more active political involvement in national affairs. I will argue that this shift manifested itself in the transformation of the built environment of both cities. What we can observe, in other words, is neither an "increase" nor a "decrease" in particularist consciousness, but rather a transformation in the

¹⁷ A number of exemplary comparisons can be found in Helen Meller, *European Cities, 1890–1930s: History, Culture, and the Built Environment* (Chichester, 2001), which includes a chapter on Barcelona and Munich.

¹⁸ Within the latter group, port cities form a special category. See, for example, Josef W. Konvitz, "The Crises of Atlantic Port Cities, 1880 to 1920," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 36, no. 1 (Cambridge, 1994): 293–318.

¹⁹ Lamar Cecil, *Albert Ballin: Business and Politics in Imperial Germany, 1888–1918* (Princeton, N.J., 1967); Holger H. Herwig, *Luxury Fleet: The Imperial German Navy, 1888–1918*, rev. ed. (London, 1987); Achim Quaas, "Der Schiffbau," in Volker Plagemann, ed., *Übersee: Seefahrt und Seemacht im deutschen Kaiserreich* (Munich, 1988), 126–34.

²⁰ J. Nadal and J. Malaquer, "Catalunya, la fàbrica d'Espanya," in *Catalunya, fàbrica d'Espanya: Un segle d'industrialització catalana* (Barcelona, 1985).

relationship between center and periphery. Second cities learned to act within, rather than against, the nation-state, symbolically and politically.

THROUGH THE AGES, THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT was a powerful medium through which civic identity was represented and contested. Nineteenth-century urban elites were quick to capitalize on this potential. Municipal governments collaborated with architects and urban planners to transform the city's physical appearance on an unprecedented scale. In Barcelona and Hamburg, the key players who directed and financed this transformation were the bourgeois elites. They acted as patrons of major private building projects that came to dominate the cityscape, and they also controlled the governments that commissioned public buildings. Yet in doing so, they sought to establish a visual idiom that went beyond the representation of their particular social and economic status. In this regard, history proved to be a rewarding symbolic reservoir. Appealing to and reinventing the past became a way of grounding interests that were by definition socially exclusive and comparatively short-lived in the much more powerful and popular idiom of identity. Of course, municipal governments were not the only ones to adopt this strategy. Nation-states set the precedent.²¹ Much, for example, has been written on the centrality of the emergence of history as an academic discipline to the formation of national consciousness.²² This trend also affected the material culture of nation-states, most evident in the iconography of their aforementioned capital cities. Throughout Europe, the preferred style of government and other official buildings in this period was *beaux-arts*, which in the German-speaking world was usually referred to as *Historismus*, historicism. Architectural historicism combined styles from different historical periods. Like Rankean history writing, it was state-centered. Its allusions were to buildings associated with state power, from the Athenian Acropolis to the Versailles of Louis XIV.²³

For second cities, this historicist vocabulary did not easily tally with claims to autonomy from the nation-state. While they shared many of the state's political aims in using the built environment as a "silent course in civic ethics,"²⁴ the glorification of centralized power was at odds with their particularist aspirations. Uses of history thus had to be adapted to fit the specific requirements of second-city identity politics. This meant striking a compromise between the generic idiom of

²¹ In the vast literature on this topic, the following seminal studies provide useful introductions: John R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, N.J., 1994); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1992); and Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London, 1991).

²² Georg G. Iggers, *The German Conception of History: The National Tradition of Historical Thought from Herder to the Present*, rev. ed. (Middletown, Conn., 1983). A comprehensive study of this subject in a range of European countries is currently under way, and will be published in a book series entitled *Representations of the Past: National Histories in Europe*, to be edited by Stefan Berger, Christoph Conrad, and Guy P. Marshall.

²³ Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York, 1981); Neil Levine, "The Romantic Idea of Architectural Legibility: Henri Labrouste and the Neo-Grec," in *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts*, exhibition catalog (London, 1977), 325–416.

²⁴ The phrase was originally used by the Jacobins for the proposed remodeling of revolutionary Paris. Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (London, 1984), 20–21.

historicism and specific precedents that could be invoked to bolster civic rather than national identity. While *Residenzstädte* such as Munich, under the influence of princely courts, tended to compete with capital cities in their representational architecture,²⁵ Hamburg and Barcelona devised an urban iconography that expressed the different aspirations of their elites. Here the principal historical reference was to the Middle Ages, as the heyday of burgher liberty, civic pride, political autonomy, and maritime trade. Medieval precedents were carefully selected and reimagined, to give a specific urban twist to the historicist program. This choice was grounded in the historical experience of polycentric government during the medieval and early modern periods. To be sure, here, too, Catalan and Hanseatic histories diverged. The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation had been a classical “composite state,”²⁶ where ties between the individual territories were of an essentially voluntary nature. The component parts—referred to as estates, or, in the Swiss part, cantons—retained an extremely high degree of political autonomy well into the nineteenth century. Most chose to operate within a larger constitutional and defensive framework, designed to promote the “maintenance of law and peace.”²⁷ This created the foundation for the later liberal idea of the nation-state as a confederate *Rechtsstaat*.²⁸ Hamburg’s relationship with the Reich was thus comparatively harmonious throughout the medieval and early modern periods. In Spain, by contrast, autonomous principalities were brought together by the very different project of enforced state-building: Castile expanded its power and influence over Spain’s other territories step by step, sometimes by dynastic alliances and marriages, not infrequently by force.²⁹ As a result, the duchy of Catalonia lost its independence early, with the last remaining autonomous political institutions being abolished by the Bourbons in the eighteenth century. Yet even then, Spain no more fitted the idea of a unitary state than Germany. Postindependence Catalonia retained significant elements of its separate civic and legal traditions well into and indeed beyond the nineteenth century. This legacy

²⁵ On the relationship between Munich’s and Berlin’s representational programs, see Klahr, *Instrumente der Selbstdarstellung*.

²⁶ John H. Elliott, “A Europe of Composite Monarchies,” *Past and Present* 137 (1992): 48–71.

²⁷ Christoph Dipper, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1648–1789* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), especially 252–62; Joachim Whaley, “Federal Habits: The Holy Roman Empire and the Continuity of German Federalism,” in Umbach, *German Federalism*; Georg Schmidt, *Geschichte des Alten Reiches: Staat und Nation in der frühen Neuzeit, 1495–1806* (Munich, 1999).

²⁸ Michael Hughes, “Fiat justitia, pereat Germania? The Imperial Supreme Jurisdiction and Imperial Reform in the Later Holy Roman Empire,” in John Breuilly, ed., *The State of Germany: The National Idea in the Making, Unmaking, and Remaking of a Modern Nation-State* (New York, 1992).

²⁹ Thus it is also the case that in the period under consideration here, regionalist opposition to Spanish absolutism developed a more progressive dynamic than in Germany. This first became apparent in 1868, when Bourbon rule was temporarily overthrown. Although this “revolution,” initiated by the army, is perhaps better described as a coup d’état (Raymond Carr, *Spain, 1808–1975*, 2nd ed. [Oxford, 1982]), it did have a relatively progressive agenda. The new constitution introduced universal male suffrage. At the same time (and partly because one of the key military figures of the putsch was the Catalan general Prim), it granted a high degree of autonomy to the regions. In 1873, the constitution was succeeded by a full-fledged republic, in which regional autonomy was expanded yet further, to the point that the state of Spain almost ceased to exist as a single political entity. Although a more conservative bourgeois type of Catalanism subsequently rose to prominence, the working-class movement never became as hostile to the issue of Catalan autonomy as its German counterpart did to Hamburg particularism. See Klaus-Jürgen Nagel, *Arbeitschaft und nationale Frage in Katalonien zwischen 1898 und 1923* (Saarbrücken, 1991), and Nagel, “Arbeiter und Vaterland: Katalonien 1898 bis 1936,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 20 (1994): 349–63.

proved particularly potent when, toward the end of the century, the liberal regime in Madrid experienced a crisis, while the international fortunes of Spain declined simultaneously.³⁰ Thus, in both Hamburg and Barcelona, appeals to the medieval past were not empty political fantasies. They invoked a tradition of autonomy that still affected the present. The medieval revival became a powerful political tool in what we might call the first phase of second-city identities in the postunification period.

WHILE THE MIDDLE AGES WERE WIDELY REGARDED as the heyday of burgher liberty in nineteenth-century Europe, the civic elites of Hamburg and Barcelona could point to specific features in their respective cities' histories to motivate appeals to this particular historical precedent for contemporary particularism. In the case of Hamburg, it was above all the city's medieval status as a Free Hanseatic City that could be invoked to bolster contemporary claims to economic autonomy. Yet the Hanseatic trope not only legitimated particularist aspirations, it also tallied nicely with certain themes in the official discourse of empire. In a mostly landlocked country, the Hanseatic League provided the only significant precedent for what William II dubbed the new Reich's "seagoing" ambitions. The Hanse thus became a popular national myth, which was communicated to a wider audience through the use of monuments, popular prints, and political rhetoric.³¹ The appeal to Hamburg's old role as the German Reich's principal gateway for overseas trade could therefore take the antinational edge off particularist interests. The Hanse provided a useful symbolic legitimacy for what was perhaps Hamburg's most important urban-development project of the postunification years: the creation of the Free Port District.

The establishment of the free port was a result less of political than of economic unification in Germany. After 1871, Hamburg had maintained a precarious status outside the German Customs Union, or Zollverein. The international merchandise passing through its harbor was therefore exempt from national import and export taxes. In 1888, a new compromise was reached: the city-state joined the Customs Union in return for special exemption of the harbor district, which thereby became Germany's only free port. This privilege sparked the construction of a new warehouse district in an area formerly filled with cheap housing for dockworkers. Its planning phase coincided with a lively debate, conducted throughout Germany, about the rights and wrongs of this "unpatriotic exemption."³² Hamburg's urban planners responded by using the free-port building project to reinforce the message that the Hanseatic past was congruent with Germany's imperial destiny. The design of the new warehouses was loosely based on the characteristic Hanseatic red brick Gothic style. (See Figure 1.) Explanatory inscriptions, a bridge with sculptures of

³⁰ M. Tuñón de Lara et al., *Revolución burguesa, oligarquía y constitucionalismo, 1834–1923* (Barcelona, 1981).

³¹ This trend has been expertly discussed and illustrated in Volker Plagemann, ed., *Übersee: Seefahrt und Seemacht im deutschen Kaiserreich* (Munich, 1988), especially the chapter "Kultur, Wissenschaft, Ideologie," 299–308.

³² This charge was frequently leveled in the contemporary press, for example in the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Politik und Kulturgeschichte*, vol. C (Berlin, 1888), 38.

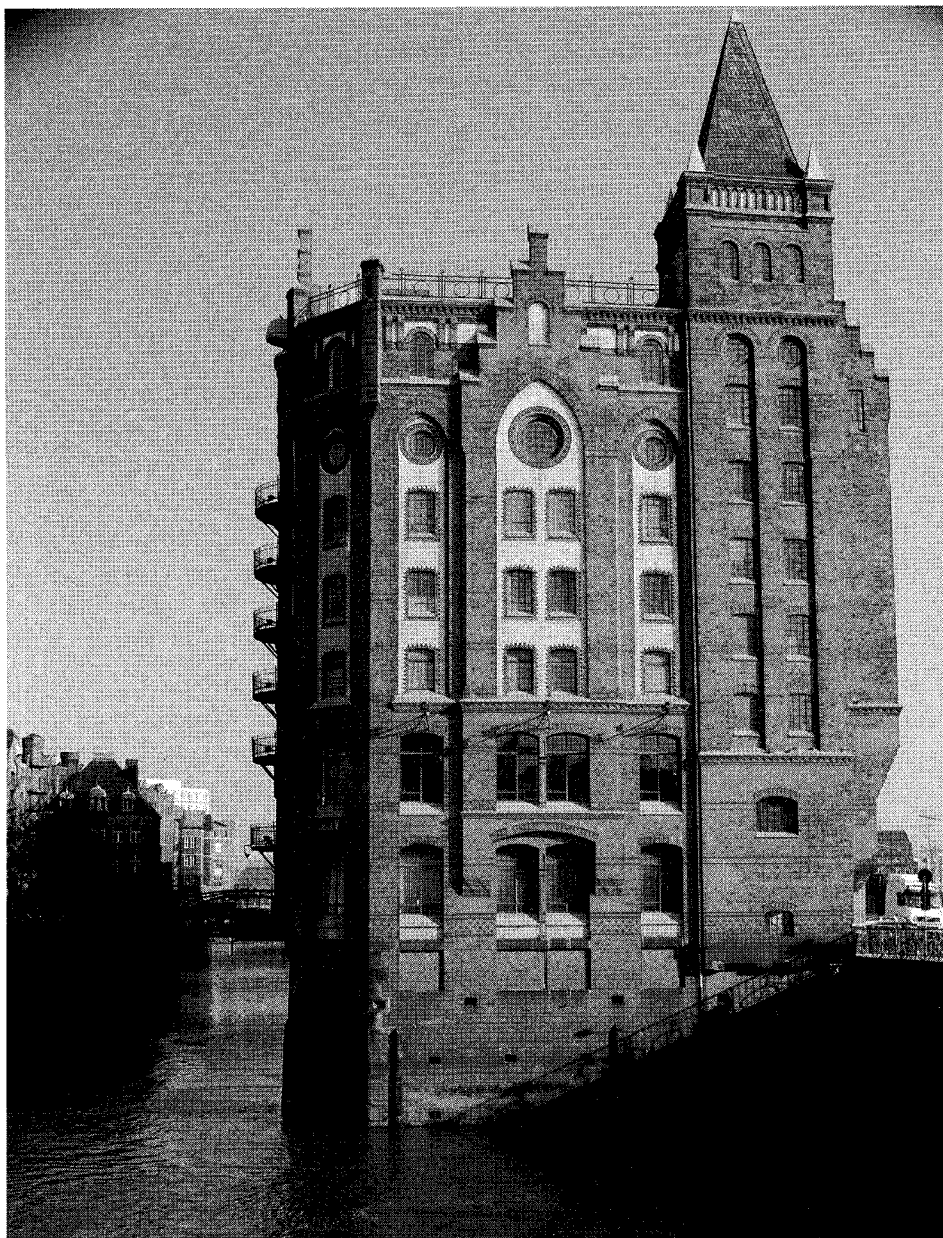


FIGURE 1: *Speicherstadt* (Free Port Warehouse District), 1880s, Hamburg. Photograph by the author.

the allegorical duo of Hammonia and Germania—patron saint of the city and embodiment of the nation, respectively—and a carefully crafted iconography of the opening ceremony itself brought home to Hamburgers and visitors alike that the Hanseatic past paved the way to a great imperial future.³³

³³ On October 29, 1888, William II laid the foundation stone for the entrance gate of the main bridge connecting the city to the *Speicherstadt*. Like the adjoining buildings, this gate emulated the medieval North German “red brick Gothic,” which was associated with the period of the Hanse’s greatest influence and wealth. In his speech for the occasion, Wilhelm II pressed home the point that

The neomedievalism of Hamburgers was loosely defined. The alleged historical synthesis of civic and imperial themes could also be associated with later periods, at least into the sixteenth century. In 1885, Hamburg's government embarked upon another landmark development: the construction of a new town hall. In the words of Alfred Lichtwark, director of the Hamburg art museum, the building housed the "government of an independent state," not just a municipal administration. The neo-Renaissance design that won the architectural competition resourcefully combined Hanseatic and imperial imagery.³⁴ (See Figure 2.) The structure of the new building reflected the city republic's traditional constitution, with wings for the senate and the lower chamber, and a representational space in the middle called the "Hall of the Republics," with paintings of Athens, Rome, Venice, and Amsterdam. The facade featured twenty life-size statues of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, matched by a series of keystones showing the crests of the members of the Hamburg senate of 1892 and sculpted figures displaying the attributes of local crafts and trades. The spire, emblem of civic liberty, was adorned with the coat of arms of the city of Hamburg, but above it towered the imperial eagle. The architects were well aware of the political potency of the architectural allegories. In medievalizing fashion, the team of architects entrusted with the hall's design called themselves a *Rathausbaumeisterbund*. One of the members commented that the success of their project depended on a political consensus acknowledging "the importance of small, vigorous, and independent states within the German federal state."³⁵

In the same period, developments in Barcelona followed a similar pattern. The Middle Ages were invoked as a golden era of national independence by advocates of "Catalanism" from the mid-nineteenth century onward. Catalanism differed from Hanseatic particularism, however, in that it viewed Catalonia as a nation in its own right, with Barcelona as its capital.³⁶ This transition from a regionalist to a nationalist rhetoric was based on three important factors. First, Catalans spoke not a dialect of Spanish, but a language that had developed independently from medieval Latin roots. In the nineteenth century, Catalan was codified in dictionaries and grammar books, and thus became a literary language, cultivated by urban elites.³⁷ By contrast, Hamburg *Platt* was merely a dialect, rarely written down, as the

Hanseatic particularism, far from undermining the empire, provided a precedent for Germany's reaching out to the world at large: "You are the ones who connect our fatherland with invisible ties to distant parts of the globe, trade with our products, and more than that: you are the ones who transmit our ideas and values to the wider world, and for this the fatherland owes you a debt of special gratitude." Quoted from Karin Maak, "Die Freihäfen," in Plagemann, *Übersee*, 110.

³⁴ A detailed discussion of the planning of the new Hamburg town hall can be found in Joist Grolle, ed., *Das Rathaus der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1997). On town hall iconography in general, see Martin Damus, *Das Rathaus: Architektur- und Sozialgeschichte von der Gründerzeit zur Postmoderne* (Berlin, 1988); see also G. Ulrich Großmann, "Die Renaissance der Renaissance-Baukunst," in G. Ulrich Großmann and Petra Krutisch, eds., *Renaissance der Renaissance: Ein bürgerlicher Kunststil im 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1 (Munich, 1992), 201–19.

³⁵ Wilhelm Hauers, 1885, quoted from Hermann Hipp, "Das Rathaus der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg," in Grolle, *Das Rathaus*, 15–35, quote 24.

³⁶ Stanley G. Payne, "Nationalism, Regionalism and Micronationalism in Spain," *Journal of Contemporary History* 26 (1991): 179–91; Daniel Conversi, *The Basques, the Catalans, and Spain* (London, 1997); Albert Balcells, *Catalan Nationalism: Past and Present* (New York, 1996).

³⁷ The standard work on the politics of the Catalan language is Joan-Lluís Marfany, *La llengua maltractada: El castellà i el català a Catalunya del segle XVI al segle XIX* (Barcelona, 2001). See also



FIGURE 2: Rathaus (Town Hall), Hamburg, designed by the *Rathausbaumeisterbund* under the direction of Martin Haller in 1880–1885, built 1886–1897. Photograph by the author.

city's bourgeoisie endeavored to speak *Hochdeutsch*. Size was the second major difference. Hamburg's hinterland was small, and could not possibly be imagined as a nation in the same way as Catalonia.³⁸ A third difference lay in the economic

Josep M. Fradera, *Cultura nacional en una societat dividida: Patriotisme i cultura a Catalunya, 1838–68* (Barcelona, 1992), and Balcells, *Catalan Nationalism*.

³⁸ On Barcelona's relationship with Catalonia, see Josep M. Fradera, ed., *Societat, política i cultura a Catalunya, 1830–1880* (Barcelona, 2002).

sphere. Hamburg, while proud of its independent tradition, stood to gain from its integration into the German economy and the expected increase in the volume of German exports, due to the expansion of industrial production and the takeoff of the imperialist project. Spanish imperialism, by contrast, was declining. The Catalan economy suffered acutely from the loss of the remunerative markets in the Antilles; before Spain's disastrous war with the United States, Cuba and Puerto Rico consumed approximately one-fifth of Catalan cotton production.³⁹

All of this means that, at first glance, the case for Catalan independence looks much more powerful than its Hanseatic counterpart, or indeed any other European regionalist movement. The few historians who have placed Catalanism in a comparative context have for the most part drawn parallels with other repressed "nations," such as the Irish.⁴⁰ Yet we need to be careful when translating the political rhetoric of the nineteenth century into social science categories of the twenty-first. First, while the existence of the Catalan tongue was frequently cited by Catalan nationalists to prop up their anti-Spanish stance, elsewhere the existence of separate languages led to no such claims; the Frisian language, spoken on the northwest coast of Germany, is a case in point. Second, the same cautionary note applies to the geographical argument. Hamburg was indeed compact; however, other formerly independent territories of the Holy Roman Empire, including the kingdom of Bavaria, were comparable in size to Catalonia. Yet no Bavarian nationalism seriously challenged the unity of imperial Germany. Thus it seems doubtful whether the nationalist rhetoric of Catalanism should preclude a comparison with regionalist or urban particularist movements. After all, no independent Catalan state existed in the nineteenth century, and, with the exception of a handful of radicals, nobody aimed at creating such a state. For all intents and purposes, Barcelona was Spain's second city in much the same way that Hamburg was Germany's. Like Hamburg's merchants, the textile manufacturers of Barcelona strove for greater autonomy, but it was to be achieved within the framework of a federalized nation-state. And even in economic terms, Catalanists did not necessarily seek to opt out of Spain. While the Spanish economy offered Barcelona fewer benefits than the German economy offered Hamburg, other considerations tied the fortunes of Barcelona's industrial elites even more firmly to the Spanish state. Here the fear of anarchy and social unrest was paramount. The cause of Catalan independence was fatefully intertwined with the legacy of the 1868 revolution and the political thought of Francesc Pi i Margall, which was indebted to Pierre-Josep Proudhon's federal anarchism.⁴¹ These suspicions were reinforced by the political terrorism of the 1890s. As a result, even the term "federalism," still popular in 1868, more or less vanished from official political debates in Barcelona during the later nineteenth century.⁴² Instead, a moderate proautonomy movement rose to promi-

³⁹ Joseph Harrison, "An Espanya Catalana: Catalanist Plans to Transform Spain into a Modern Capitalist Economy, 1898–1923," *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 7, no. 2 (2001): 143–56.

⁴⁰ Siobhan Harty, "Lawyers, Codifications, and the Origins of Catalan Nationalism, 1881–1901," *Law and History Review* 20, no. 2 (2002): 349–84.

⁴¹ A key figure in this anarcho-federalist movement was Valentí Almirall. Jordi Llorenz i Vil, *La Unió Catalanista i els orígens del catalanisme polític* (Barcelona, 1992).

⁴² J. A. González Casanova, *Federalisme i autonomia a Catalunya, 1868–1936: Documents* (Barcelona, 1974).

nence, supported by the property-owning classes and closely aligned with the promonarchical paper *El Diario de Barcelona*. At the same time, the democratic aspirations of Margall gave way to a limited franchise advocated in the *Bases de Manresa* of 1892.⁴³

In practice, then, the civic elites of Barcelona may have used nationalist rhetoric, but they were not nationalists, if by nationalism we understand a movement that aims at national independence. Instead, their goal was Catalan autonomy within the framework of the Spanish state, a compromise—federal in all but the name—that closely resembled the political aims pursued by Hamburg's bourgeois elites. As in Hamburg, in Barcelona this agenda found its first visual manifestation in a large-scale medieval revival. The two most influential cultural movements of the nineteenth century, the *Renaixença* (literally, "revival") and *modernisme*, both looked to medieval precedents, yet combined these with allusions to the modern technology on which Catalan prided itself.⁴⁴ The two most important architects of *modernisme* were Lluís Domènech i Montaner (1849–1923) and the younger Josep Puig i Cadafalch (1867–1956). Domènech's two flagship buildings in Barcelona creatively appropriated medieval themes. His restaurant for the 1888 Barcelona World's Fair—today a zoological museum—was built of red brick, which, as in Hamburg, was considered the vernacular material *par excellence*, and was adorned with mock medieval turrets, crenellation, and decorative bands of ceramic crests. (See Figure 3.) His second major landmark building in the city was the Palau de la Música Catalana, conceived as a counterpoint to the Liceu, or opera house. The Palau had been commissioned by the l'Orfeó Català, a choral society founded in 1891 for the cultivation of authentic Catalan music. The Catalan musical heritage had formed an important part of the Catalan cultural *Renaixença*, and had been celebrated annually since 1859 in the music and poetry festivals called Jocs Florals, which themselves revived the medieval tradition of bardic competitions. Inside the Palau, Domènech's elaborate iconography reached a curious climax in an ornamental arch framing the stage, depicting, on the left, Catalan country maidens singing and dancing, above whose heads musical notes drifted up through the air to be united in the center with a Germanic stream of consciousness rising from the right: Richard Wagner's Valkyries riding out of a "thought bubble" above a bust of Ludwig von Beethoven. (See Figure 4.)

Puig i Cadafalch's oeuvre in Barcelona presents an even more striking example of a creative appropriation of medieval iconographies. Puig had started his career very much as a discoverer and restorer of Catalonia's medieval past. Under his

⁴³ Isidre Molas, *Lliga Catalana: Un estudi d'estasiologia*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1972), 1: 27.

⁴⁴ On the *Renaixença*, see Antoni Rovira i Virgili, *Els Corrents ideològics de la Renaixença catalana* (Barcelona, 1966); Institució Cultural del CIC de Terrassa (Spain), *La Renaixença: Cicle de conferències fet a la Institució cultural del CIC de Terrassa, curs 1982–1983* (Montserrat, 1986); Joan R. Varela, *La Renaixença: la represa cultural i política, 1833–1886* (Barcelona, 1991); and Emili Giralt, Pere Anguera, and Manuel Jorba, *Romanticisme i Renaixença, 1800–1860* (Barcelona, 1995), especially the chapter by Ferran Sagarra, "Arquitectura i Urbanisme," 162–204. On *modernisme*, see Lluís Permanyer, *Barcelona modernista* (Barcelona, 1993); Antoni Sàbat, *Palau de la Música catalana* (Barcelona, 1974); and Institució cultural del CIC de Terrassa (Spain), *El Temps de Modernisme: Cicle de conferències fet a la Institució cultural del CIC de Terrassa, curs 1979–1980* (Montserrat, 1985). See also Joan-Lluís Marfany, *La cultura del catalanisme: El nacionalisme català en els seus inicis* (Barcelona, 1995).



FIGURE 3: Restaurant for the 1888 Barcelona World's Fair, by Domènech i Montaner, Barcelona. Photograph by the author.

direction, Romanesque churches throughout Catalonia were carefully restored.⁴⁵ At the same time, his own architectural oeuvre gave such precedents a distinctive new twist. Puig's houses in the new model district of Barcelona, the Eixample, emancipated themselves not only from the historical "authenticity" of the Catalan Romanesque, but also more generally from the grammar of historicist architecture.

⁴⁵ On Puig's restorations of Catalan monasteries, see Andrea Mesecke, *Josep Puig i Cadafalch, 1867–1956: Katalanisches Selbstverständnis und Internationalität in der Architektur* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995).



FIGURE 4: Palau de la Música Catalana, by Domènech i Montaner. Detail of the stage. Reproduced by permission of the Axel Menges Verlag.

This architecture resourcefully transformed the simple representation of a medieval past into a self-conscious narrative about the Middle Ages, allusions to which were displayed on ornamental surfaces—typically red brick adorned with colorful ceramic tiles—that resembled Oriental carpets more than exterior walls.⁴⁶

Characteristically, Domènech and Puig became personally involved in Catalan politics, as activists in the influential *Unió Catalanista*,⁴⁷ which created the manifesto for what became the first Catalanist party, the *Lliga Regionalista*. From there, Puig moved on to assume the office of president of the *Mancomunitat de Catalunya*. This connection was no coincidence. The *Lliga Regionalista* recruited its support from the wealthy businessmen of Barcelona—the same people who paid the architects of *modernisme* to construct their grand houses, public buildings, and even model factories in the new, authentically Catalan style.⁴⁸ In other words,

⁴⁶ Jordi Romeu Costa, *Josep Puig i Cadafalch: Obres i projectes des del 1911* (Barcelona, 1989); Lluís Permanyer and Lluís Casals, *Josep Puig i Cadafalch* (Barcelona, 2001); Judith Rohrer, Ignasi de Solà-Morales, Xavier Barral, and Josep Termes, *Josep Puig i Cadafalch: L'arquitectura entre la casa i la ciutat—Architecture between the House and the City*, exhibition catalog, Centre Cultural de la Fundació Caixa de Pensions (Barcelona, 1989).

⁴⁷ Harty, "Lawyers, Codifications."

⁴⁸ There is some debate about the precise nature of the relationship between the Barcelona bourgeoisie and the *Lliga*. Charles Ehrlich, "The *Lliga Regionalista* and the Catalan Industrial Bourgeoisie," *Journal of Contemporary History* 33 (1998): 399–417, challenges traditional Marxist accounts that saw the *Lliga* as a mere tool of urban business interest. While it is true that support for the *Lliga* was more diversified, and that some members of the business elites supported Spanish

cultural producers, the industrial elites who commissioned their work, and the Catalanists in the regional government worked closely together—sometimes in more than one capacity—to transform the cityscape of Barcelona into a visual testament to their political ambition: to revive the fortunes of the city, and Catalonia at large, by mobilizing its medieval heritage in defense of its modern ambitions toward autonomy.

HISTORIANS HAVE RIGHTLY GROWN SKEPTICAL of the teleological narrative of modernization theory, which posited the inevitable victory of nationalism over smaller-scale varieties of identity politics. In Germany and Spain, political regionalism made a remarkable comeback in the twentieth century, in part as a backlash against the repressive centralizing policies of fascist regimes.⁴⁹ The preconditions for this neoregionalism were sown in the decades around 1900. It was then that older forms of particularism, tied to an essentially historical vision of autonomy within the wider state, were transformed into a distinctly modern brand of municipal regionalism. In part, this move simply helped align the symbolic vocabulary of the bourgeoisie's representational politics with its stake in economic modernization. In part, it was driven from mounting "pressure from below." The working classes of both cities rightly felt excluded by the appeal to a medieval past. The German trade union movement especially capitalized on this sense of dissatisfaction. While its leaders preached international solidarity between workers, in practice they looked to the nation-state as an ally against particularism. When the German trade union cartel built its headquarters in Hamburg, it designed the building as a direct challenge to the Hanseatic iconography of the town hall. The style that was chosen closely mimicked the official style of representational buildings in Berlin—not, as the cartel was quick to admit, out of sympathy with the monarchical state, but because the national style, for all its flaws, was a useful weapon against Hamburg's elitist traditions.⁵⁰

dynastic parties instead, Harrison, "An Espanya Catalana," convincingly defends the basic proposition that the policies of the Lliga "confirmed it, first and foremost, as the party of [Barcelona] industrialists" (p. 146). A similar line is taken by Christopher Ealham, *Class, Culture and Conflict in Barcelona, 1898–1937* (London, 2004).

⁴⁹ On the pattern of forceful centralization and centrifugal backlashes in twentieth-century politics, see P. Waldmann, ed., *Die geheime Dynamik autoritärer Diktaturen* (Munich, 1982), and Philipp Ther and Holm Sundhaussen, eds., *Regionale Bewegungen und Regionalismen in europäischen Zwischenräumen seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Marburg, 2003), especially section 3, "Die Renaissance der Regionen," 161–260. On Germany, see also Jeremy Noakes, "Federalism in the Nazi State," in Umbach, *German Federalism*, 113–45.

⁵⁰ Heinrich Krug's 1905 design, with its symmetrical facade, grandiose monolithic pillars of deep red granite, hipped roof, and dome emphasizing the middle section, was reminiscent of a baroque palace. The guidebook *Das Hamburger Gewerkschaftshaus: Ein Führer durch das Hamburger Gewerkschaftshaus* (Hamburg, 1914) explained that such splendor was justified as a challenge to the town hall: it juxtaposed the Hanseatic iconography of the latter with a triumphal national idiom. Compare also Elisabeth Domansky, "Das Hamburger Gewerkschaftshaus," in Arno Herzig, D. Langewiesche, and Arnold Sywottek, eds., *Arbeiter in Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1983), 373–84. Some commentators were wary of this symbolic alliance with nationalism. The union cartel's own guidebook noted that aesthetically, "little reference was made to the simple and beautiful thought of the outstanding strength of the working class, which ought to have been captured in this building" (*Das Hamburger Gewerkschaftshaus*, 13–14). At the inauguration of the Trade Union Hall in 1906, the *Hamburger Echo* raised a similar

Faced with such challenges, in the early twentieth century, Hamburg's politicians and urban planners experimented with ways to make the idea of a specific second-city identity accessible to a wider audience. Hamburg assumed a pioneering role in this process when Fritz Schumacher, cofounder of the German Werkbund, became the city's head building director in 1910.⁵¹ Like most members of the Werkbund, Schumacher publicly championed an aesthetics of *Sachlichkeit*, or "objectivity," in the name of which he rejected the relevance of historical precedents and localism.⁵² Yet in practice, Schumacher's own work was not as universal as this rhetoric suggested. Local specificity was a defining feature of his vision of the modern city, which differed considerably from the clichés associated with the "International Style." Schumacher was not concerned with creating a city that was generically German, much less international, but rather one that evoked a powerful *genius loci*. Jennifer Jenkins rightly discusses his oeuvre under the heading "provincial modernity,"⁵³ and Charles Closmann finds a similar synthesis of localism and technological modernity in the transformation of the city's technical infrastructure under Schumacher's direction.⁵⁴ This sensitivity to place did not always coincide with the agenda of the *Heimatschutz* movement. Indeed, Schumacher violently objected to the irrationalism with which some of his contemporaries

point: "The exuberant splendor of a modernized baroque does not seem to be the most adequate monument to the working-class struggle for the betterment of social order" (quoted from Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, ed., *75 Jahre Gewerkschaftshaus Hamburg* [Hamburg, 1982], 14). And in 1911, the German socialist leader Clara Zetkin commented that "the style of our trade union, popular and commercial buildings differs little from their bourgeois counterparts . . . In other words, if we take style to be the visual expression of inner life, it seems that the working class has thus far failed to find an adequate architecture to correspond to its spiritual life" (quoted from Romana Schneider, "Volkshausgedanke und Volkshausarchitektur," in Vittorio Magnano Lampugnani and Romana Schneider, *Moderne Architektur in Deutschland 1900 bis 1950: Reform und Tradition* [Stuttgart, 1992], 184–99, quote 189).

⁵¹ Schumacher was appointed *Oberbaudirektor* of Hamburg in 1910. The most authoritative comprehensive study of Schumacher is Hartmut Frank, ed., *Fritz Schumacher: Reformkultur und Moderne* (Stuttgart, 1994). See also Jennifer Jenkins, *Provincial Modernity: Local Culture and Liberal Politics in Fin-de-Siècle Hamburg* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2003); Hermann Hipp, "Fritz Schumachers Hamburg: Die reformierte Großstadt," in Lampugnani and Schneider, *Moderne Architektur*, 151–83; and the conference proceedings *Zur Aktualität der Ideen von Fritz Schumacher: Akten des Fritz-Schumacher-Colloquium 1990* (Hamburg, 1992).

⁵² The term *Sachlichkeit* has given rise to much misunderstanding, being wrongly equated with abstraction and universalism. Literally, the term means "matter-of-factness" (from German *Sache*, "fact" or "object"), and could be invoked by traditionalists and modernists alike. It was this ambivalence that made the concept so fertile. Stanford Anderson, "Style-Architecture and Building-Art: Realist Architecture as the Vehicle for a Renewal of Culture," in Hermann Muthesius, *Style-Architecture and Building-Art*, introduction and translation by Stanford Anderson (Santa Monica, Calif., 1994), 38; Harry Francis Mallgrave, "From Realism to *Sachlichkeit*: The Polemics of Architectural Modernity in the 1890s," in Harry Francis Mallgrave, ed., *Otto Wagner: Reflections on the Raiment of Modernity* (Santa Monica, Calif., 1993), 281–323; Stanford Anderson, "*Sachlichkeit* and Modernity, or Realist Architecture," in Mallgrave, *Otto Wagner*, 323–62; and Mitchell Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity* (Cambridge, 1995). On the relevance of the concept for modernist architecture, the seminal essay remains William Jordy, "The Symbolic Essence of Modern European Architecture of the Twenties and Its Continuing Influence," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 23 (October 1963): 177–87, which identifies "symbolic objectivity," i.e., symbolic *Sachlichkeit*, as a central conceptual structure of modernist architecture.

⁵³ Jennifer Jenkins, *Provincial Modernity: Local Culture and Liberal Politics in Fin-de-Siècle Hamburg* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2003), especially 261–93.

⁵⁴ Charles Closmann, "Modernizing the Waters: Pollution and Political Ideology in Hamburg, 1900 to 1961," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 34 (Spring 2004): 85–97.

endowed vernacular materials. His ideologically charged controversy with the Hamburg *Heimat* architect Fritz Höger about the significance of red brick is a case in point.⁵⁵ For Höger, red brick, because it was made from clay, was “rooted in the soil”; it was also the building material of ancient civilizations, predating the rise of the “West” and modern rationality. On both counts, it had an authenticity and spiritual depth that set it apart from other materials. Schumacher objected to such irrationalism, as he saw it. For him, red brick was an “honest” material, because it revealed a building’s structural proportions. Moreover, in a north German context, it spoke to regional traditions, and could be invoked to build a bridge between the patrician particularism of the past and the identity of Hamburg’s ordinary citizens from the surrounding agricultural areas. Schumacher’s own works, including the Oberschulbehörde, displayed a marked affinity with Hanseatic historicism. (See Figure 5.) Not only the material—clinker, the famous Hanseatic variety of red brick—but also the proportions, with the large building subdivided into three vertical units reminiscent of Hanseatic or Dutch burgher houses of the early modern period, connected with the iconography of the Free Port District. Schumacher’s work differs from the earlier, historicist representations of Hanseatic particularism not because it put an “end to history,” but rather because he worked to render such historical precedents more socially inclusive. This is apparent in both the symbolic and the spatial features of the city’s transformation under his direction. Not only did Schumacher’s own public buildings, such as his fire stations, schools, swimming pools, and the aforementioned Oberschulbehörde, allude to local traditions, but he also worked closely with other architects, including the Gerson brothers, to ensure that new housing developments were created around these buildings that were affordable for the working classes, and that combined new functional standards of hygiene, air circulation, and light with a visual narrative of locality and civic tradition.⁵⁶ An interesting complement of this strategy was Schumacher’s preoccupation with greening the city. Thus, the *genius loci* was not only “narrated”; the organic link between the man-made city and the natural space also became a leitmotif in city planning, with massive green axes reaching from the outskirts right into the heart of the city, culminating in a huge emblematic Stadtpark designed by Schumacher himself.⁵⁷

In spite of Schumacher’s claims to have started an entirely new trend, the official historicist architecture of the years before his appointment had actually mapped out a similar paradigm shift. However, the driving force had been economic policy rather than the social question. Beginning in the 1890s, the cityscapes of Hamburg and Barcelona alike were transformed by a boom in what, superficially, looked much like the academic historicism that had characterized capital-city iconographies before. It is tempting to read this change as evidence of the surrender of second-city particularism vis-à-vis the more powerful national idiom. Yet the

⁵⁵ On Höger’s clash with Schumacher, see Claudia Turtenwald, ed., *Fritz Höger (1877–1949): Moderne Monumente* (Hamburg, 2003).

⁵⁶ Wolfgang Voigt, ed., *Hans und Oskar Gerson: Hanseatische Moderne—Bauten in Hamburg und im kalifornischen Exil 1907 bis 1957* (Hamburg, 2000).

⁵⁷ On Schumacher’s greening of the city, see Hartmut Frank, ed., *Fritz Schumacher: Reformkultur und Moderne* (Stuttgart, 1994), and Schumacher’s own pamphlet, *Ein Volkspark, dargestellt am Hamburger Stadtpark* (Munich, 1928).



FIGURE 5: Oberschulbehörde (Headquarters of the Education Department), Hamburg, by Fritz Schumacher, 1911–1913. Contemporary sketch by the architect.

historical truth is more complicated. The relationship between second cities and national centers had always been driven by economics, and it was first and foremost a change in this area that occasioned the shift toward a new idiom of identity politics, on both the cultural and the constitutional level. Two emblematic sites, Hamburg's Forum of Justice and Barcelona's Palau de Justícia, can shed light on this transformation.

Hamburg's Forum of Justice comprised a criminal court, a civil court, and the Hanseatic High Court of Appeal. The High Court building, visually the most

dominant of the three, was the last to be completed, in 1909. In a recent monograph dedicated to the Hamburg court buildings, Karin Wiedemann dismissed the Forum of Justice as an example of the “pompousness” and hollow political rhetoric of the Wilhelmine era.⁵⁸ Other studies described the structures as “theatrical,” “labored,” “typical Wilhelminism,” and “nothing but enclosed air.”⁵⁹ These judgments reiterate points already made by Schumacher. “Up to now [1910],” he wrote in his memoirs, “there has been no ordering principle in Hamburg that might have brought any sense of order into the artistic aspect of the city. This is clearly demonstrated by a monstrosity such as the newly created ensemble on the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Straße [the location of the Forum of Justice].”⁶⁰ Measured in terms of a trajectory from Hanseatic particularism to modernist regionalism, the architecture of Hamburg’s Forum of Justice seems to constitute a remarkable rupture, stylistically and politically. The Forum was located on what became the representational space *par excellence* of cities throughout Europe in the period: the circular strip of free land created when old city walls were razed.⁶¹ This was a “generic” urban location, with few connections to the unique traditional street pattern of the old city. Stylistically, much the same applied. The ring boasted a series of historicist buildings, including an art gallery, a museum for arts and crafts, a concert hall, a central post office, and several grand railway stations. Superficially, most of these structures matched similar projects in Berlin, and had few uniquely Hanseatic features.⁶² The Forum of Justice surpassed them all in grandeur, however, because, rather than just lining the ring, it created a new space between the three buildings. While town squares could be found in the old city, too, they tended to be intimate in scale, and even the relatively larger spaces—such as that in front of the new town hall—were surrounded by shops and offices, thus possessing a largely commercial rather than a purely representational character. By contrast, the Forum of Justice was just what its name suggested: a forum, an ostentatious public space from which all other commercial and civic activities were banished. Its sheer size, coupled with the overpowering historicist facades of all the court buildings, signaled a new phase in Hamburg’s architectural evolution. Urban development moved away from allegorical representations of the Hanseatic past, and toward an idiom more in tune with the latest architectural trends in the imperial center of Berlin.

This stylistic shift, evident in the public projects of the 1890s and 1900s, corresponded with a political sea change. At the time of unification, Hamburg had drawn upon its city-republican history as a symbolic resource to be mustered in defense of traditional trading privileges. Subsequent events undermined this

⁵⁸ Karin Wiedemann, *Von der Gerichtslaube zum Sievekingsplatz: Gerichtsgebäude in Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1992).

⁵⁹ The quotations represent a representative cross-section of judgments reached in the following works: Volkwin Marg and Gudrun Fleher, *Architektur in Hamburg seit 1900*, new ed. (Hamburg, 1968), especially 21; Hermann Hipp, *Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg: Geschichte, Kultur und Stadtbaukunst an Elbe und Alster* (Cologne, 1989), especially 213; Ralf Lange, *Architekturführer Hamburg* (Stuttgart, 1995), especially 55; and Volker Plagemann, *Kunstgeschichte der Stadt Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1995), especially 256 and 259.

⁶⁰ Fritz Schumacher, *Stufen des Lebens: Erinnerungen eines Baumeisters*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1949), 384, quote translated by the author.

⁶¹ Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*.

⁶² Klahr, *Instrumente der Selbstdarstellung*.

strategy. The two most important were the shift of national economic policy toward protectionism—which outraged the Hanseatic free traders—and legal codification. By the 1890s, protecting Hamburg's interests required a more proactive stance toward the nation-state. The challenge was to shape national policy in such a way as to accommodate the city's interests. The law became an important vehicle for this project. This is a dimension that is typically marginalized in accounts of German federalism, but it was vital to contemporaries—and to none more than the burghers of Hamburg. In their classic study *The Peculiarities of German History*, David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley showed that much of what they call Wilhelmine Germany's "silent bourgeois revolution" took place outside the framework of official politics. Instead, the law became an important vehicle for the expansion of bourgeois influence.⁶³ It also profoundly influenced center-periphery relations. For many centuries, the *jus appellandi* (the establishment of a territorial court of appeal signaling independence from imperial jurisdiction) had been one of the most important vehicles for political devolution in the German lands.⁶⁴ Because of the difference in population size, emancipation had proved harder to accomplish for smaller city-states than for more expansive principalities. After the empire's dissolution in 1806, the remaining free cities—Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, and Frankfurt am Main—founded a joint court of appeal.⁶⁵ It was this court that became the centerpiece of Hanseatic legal autonomy in the era of national codification, which evolved in several stages from 1867 to 1900.⁶⁶ Frankfurt am Main, not a port city, reacted very differently to the process than did the Hanseatic cities, and a purely Hanseatic High Court of Appeal (Hanseatisches Oberlandesgericht) was founded in 1879, located in Hamburg.

The High Court's primary function was not particularist but federalist: it was to champion Hanseatic interests on the national level. At every stage of the drafting

⁶³ David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford, 1984). On German liberalism and the ideal of the *Rechtsstaat*, see also Michael Stolleis, *Geschichte des öffentlichen Rechts*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1988 and 1992), and Kenneth F. Ledford, *From General Estate to Special Interest: German Lawyers, 1878–1933* (Cambridge, 1996).

⁶⁴ Modern historians have interpreted this trend as a symptom of the Old Reich's decentralization or even disintegration after 1648. Heinz Duchhardt, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte, 1495–1806* (Stuttgart, 1991); Hanns Gross, "The Holy Roman Empire in Modern Times: Constitutional Reality and Legal Theory," in James A. Vann and Steven W. Rowan, eds., *The Old Reich: Essays on German Political Institutions, 1495–1806* (Brussels, 1974), 3–29. Less pessimistic accounts are Ingrid Scheurmann, ed., *Frieden durch Recht: Das Reichskammergericht von 1495 bis 1806*, exhibition catalog (Mainz, 1994), and Volker Press, *Das Reichskammergericht in der deutschen Geschichte* (Wetzlar, 1987).

⁶⁵ Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck jointly had 170,000 inhabitants; the constitution of the Confederation required 300,000 for the *jus appellandi*. When Frankfurt am Main was included as the fourth free German city-state, this obstacle was overcome, and a joint court of appeal was founded in 1820 in Lübeck. The only detailed historical account of these developments dates from the Nazi era and is accordingly biased against "particularism": Hans Wogatzky, "120 Jahre Oberste Hanseatische Gerichte," in Curt Rothenberger, ed., *Das Hanseatische Oberlandesgericht: Gedenkschrift zu seinem 60 jährigen Bestehen* (Hamburg, 1939), 16–111. Jürgen Bolland, *Die Hamburgische Bürgerschaft in alter und neuer Zeit* (Hamburg, 1959).

⁶⁶ German codification began in 1867 with the introduction in the North German Confederation of uniform standards in immigration, patent, and copyright law; post, bank, and coining privileges; insurance; and press, criminal, and commercial law. The second important step followed in 1877 with a single *Code of Civil and Criminal Procedure*. The codification process finally culminated in a national civil code, the BGB, which came into force in 1900. Michael John, *Politics and the Law in Late Nineteenth-Century Germany: The Origins of the Civil Code* (Oxford, 1989).

of the BGB (*Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*, the German Civil Code), the Hanseatic High Court was involved in modifying and changing its contents to accommodate the city's interests.⁶⁷ The bulk of these proposals focused on commercial and maritime law, frequently advocating greater coordination with the equivalent English and, to a lesser extent, French laws, which Ernst Friedrich Sieveking (1836–1909), the court's president, knew intimately.⁶⁸ A characteristic episode occurred in 1880, when the Reichstag debated a reduction of general *Wechselfähigkeit*, the right to draw private bills of exchange. Skeptics claimed that *Wechselfähigkeit* introduced an element of uncertainty into the national economy that diminished the control of the state. Yet it was a principle at the heart of the entrepreneurial economy of autonomous trading cities. The Hanseatic High Court's report for the German Foreign Office made the case for retaining general *Wechselfähigkeit*. Interestingly, the text, which runs to more than eleven handwritten pages, foregrounds the potential benefits for the German economy as a whole.⁶⁹ In this respect, it differs sharply from the more unashamedly particularist line adopted by Hamburg's senators, whose report on *Wechselfähigkeit* was handed over to the Prussian ambassador on November 17 of the same year.⁷⁰ Interestingly, this federal argument put forward by the court also had a more progressive social dynamic. To limit the right to draw private bills of exchange to certain privileged groups, as Berlin suggested, was socially unjust, according to the Hanseatic High Court, because it would cement a hierarchy of estates that was already in a process of dissolution.⁷¹ The line adopted by the Hanseatic High Court fell on open ears in Berlin, and full *Wechselfähigkeit* was retained well into the 1930s.

In this instance, old-style particularism and the new federalist agenda had converged, yet there were occasions when the senate and the Hanseatic High Court clashed. The very idea of a strong and independent Hanseatic judiciary was anathema to many of the senators, who fought hard to retain control over judicial appointments, and sought to reduce the High Court's competencies. Faced with this opposition, the court used every opportunity to assert its sense of importance and authority, and the question of representation consequently assumed particular significance. When the High Court outgrew the town house in which it was

⁶⁷ The High Court produced 500 pages' worth of reports and modifications of the first draft of the BGB, and activity became even more frantic during the 1890s. Arnold Engel, "Die rechtsgutachtliche Tätigkeit des Hanseatischen Oberlandesgerichts," in Rothenberger, *Das Hanseatische Oberlandesgericht*, 128–41.

⁶⁸ Engel, "Die rechtsgutachtliche Tätigkeit," 129.

⁶⁹ Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Sign. 241–1 I Justizverwaltung IA d, vol. 1, "Gutachten des Hanseatischen Oberlandesgerichts, betr. die Frage der Beschränkung der Wechselfähigkeit," October 1, 1880, 11 fols.

⁷⁰ Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Sign. 241–1 I Justizverwaltung IA d, vol. 1, "Der Präsident des Hamburger Senats, Dr. Carl Petersen, an Sr Excellenz Herrn Geheimen Legationsrat und Königlich Preußischen auswärtigen Gesandten und bevollmächtigten Minister von Wentzel," November 17, 1880, unpaginated.

⁷¹ The report emphasized that this argument was "not a remnant of 1848-style revolutionary tendencies" but rather a sensible liberal response to the social transformations brought about by the recent expansion of modern German industry. This would be tantamount to "maintain[ing] differences in status, which no longer have any significance in real life, through an entirely arbitrary formal fiction, and to entrust[ing] a registrar with defining criteria for such differentiation at a time when even the legislator himself states that these are no longer perceptible." Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Sign. 241–1 I Justizverwaltung IA d, vol. 1, "Gutachten des Hanseatischen Oberlandesgerichts, betr. die Frage der Beschränkung der Wechselfähigkeit," October 1, 1880, quotations fols. 3 and 5–6.

temporarily housed in 1879, its president, Sieveking, argued that a new, much grander building was required symbolically to reinforce the Hanseatic claim to autonomy.⁷² Antifederalists in the Hamburg senate opposed Sieveking's move, and even the lower chamber, the *Bürgerschaft*, was reluctant. The debate that ensued in many ways mirrored simultaneous controversies surrounding the construction of the new Reichstag building in Berlin.⁷³ The architectural competition for the High Court was managed directly by the city government from beginning to end—an unusual procedure at the time, testifying to the building's special political significance.⁷⁴ As the archival evidence shows, Sieveking himself actively influenced the process at various stages, forcing the architects to change numerous aspects of their design.⁷⁵ If the resulting building matched the grandiose aspirations of German imperial architecture, this does not mean that the patrons behind the scheme toed Berlin's political line. However, Hamburg's more direct political involvement in imperial affairs necessitated a more grandiose visual idiom. A certain similarity with official buildings in Berlin was fully intended,⁷⁶ yet a specifically Hanseatic message was nevertheless expressed. This was particularly evident in the High Court building. Loosely neobaroque, its style was peculiar by the standards of historicism. The building's component parts were visually separated by the alternating heights of different sections of the facade, and by the insertion of columns of untreated rough stone between individual elements. (See Figure 6.) The closest historical model for this technique was English neo-Palladianism. This eighteenth-century reform movement aimed at creating an "enlightened" architecture by translating the "disorderly" dynamics of mannerist architecture into a rationalist system of architectural mathematics, which could be transposed by universal rules from textbooks even by the amateur architect.⁷⁷ There could hardly have been a more rationalist version of the baroque than that adopted as a model for Hamburg's High Court. The neo-Palladian allusion also pointed to Hamburg's traditional aspirations to "Englishness," which had dominated the lifestyle of the city's merchant elites

⁷² Wogatzky, *120 Jahre*, 59.

⁷³ Michael S. Cullen, *Der Reichstag: Die Geschichte eines Monumentes*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1990); Heinz Raack, *Das Reichstagsgebäude in Berlin* (Berlin, 1978); and Tilmann Buddensieg, "Die Kuppel des Volkes: Zur Kontroverse um die Kuppel des Berliner Reichstages," in Tilmann Buddensieg, *Berliner Labyrinth: Preußische Raster* (Berlin, 1993), 74–82.

⁷⁴ The senate and lower chamber of the Hamburg government managed the architectural competition, in direct contravention of the usual procedure, whereby such decisions were made by the Hochbauamt, the city's building office. Another peculiarity of this competition was that only architects who were native to one of the three Hanseatic cities were permitted to take part. Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Akte Baudeputation B626 (1885–1912), April 12, 1889, fol. 84.

⁷⁵ Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Akte Baudeputation B626 (1885–1912), May 21, 1904, for example, fols. 2–10, show that Sieveking meddled in questions of overall design on many occasions. In this instance, Sieveking wrote to Senator D. Gustav Ferdinand Hertz with suggestions for various improvements of the design. July 4, 1904, fols. 18–25 of the same file contain the reply of building director Carl Johann Christian Zimmermann.

⁷⁶ Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Akte Baudeputation B626 (1885–1912), February 14, 1907, fol. 20, contains a request by Werner Lundt and Georg Kallmorgen to travel to Berlin to study the new court buildings in Moabit and Schöneberg—prime examples of representational imperial architecture. They argued that this trip was essential for the design of the Hamburg High Court.

⁷⁷ John Harris, *The Palladians* (New York, 1982); Stephen Parissien, *Palladian Style* (London, 1994); Charles Hind, ed., *New Light on English Palladianism: Papers Given at the Georgian Group Symposium 1988* (London, 1989); James Stephen Curl, *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry: An Introductory Study* (London, 1991).

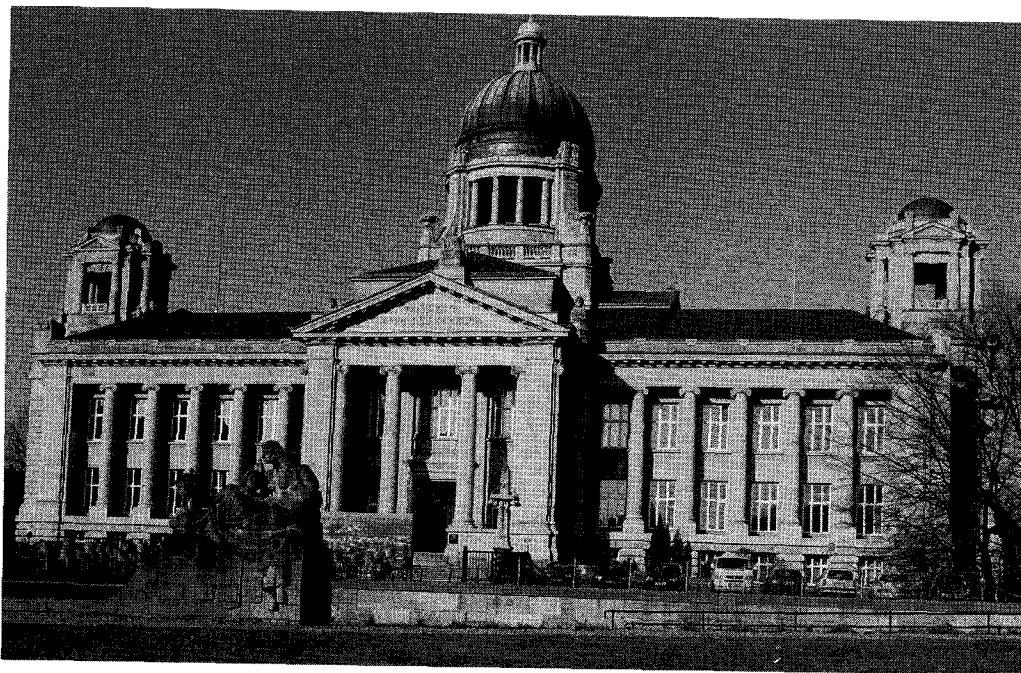


FIGURE 6: Hanseatisches Oberlandesgericht (Hanseatic High Court), Forum of Justice, Hamburg. Designed by Werner Lundt and Georg Kallmorgen in 1903. Photograph by the author.

since the eighteenth century.⁷⁸ Moreover, Sieveking's own important London connections and overall Anglophile outlook shaped his agenda for the High Court.

The inscription *JUS EST ARS BONI ET AEQUI* over the entrance of the High Court provides another significant political clue.⁷⁹ Cornelius Celsus, the author of these lines, was a Roman lawyer who lived during the reign of Hadrian. An article in the newspaper *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* in June 1911 explained the significance of the inscription. Celsus was a worthy authority to be invoked in this prominent fashion because, according to the anonymous author, he "belonged to the school of jurisprudence of the Proculians [who derived their name from the legal scholar Sempronius Proculus], who were distinguished from their opponents, the Sabinians [after their leader Masurius Sabinus], by their constant preoccupation with defending the legal legacy of the Republic, while the Sabinians supported the military monarchy and the Emperor."⁸⁰ Not all modern commentaries agree with this political interpretation.⁸¹ Yet historical accuracy is not the issue here: the

⁷⁸ Paul Th. Hoffmann, *Die Elbchaussee, Ihre Landsitze, Menschen und Schicksale*, 9th ed. (Hamburg, 1982); Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, ed., *Gärten, Landhäuser und Villen des hamburgischen Bürgertums: Kunst, Kultur und gesellschaftliches Leben in vier Jahrhunderten*, exhibition catalog (Hamburg, 1975).

⁷⁹ "The law is the art of the good and the appropriate."

⁸⁰ Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Justiz-Akten, Sign. 241–II, Justizverwaltung IV A h, vol. 1c, "article from the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* by Dr. P. C.," June 14, 1911, fol. 414, translated by the author. It is unclear who was hiding behind the abbreviation "Dr. P. C." (it is unlikely to have been a prophetic anticipation of political correctness...); the author may well have been *Landgerichtsdirektor* Dr. jur. Paul Crasemann, who was also chairman of the city's prestigious Hamburg Kunstverein.

⁸¹ Modern sources opt for largely apolitical interpretations of this controversy. Compare *Lexikon der Alten Welt* (Zurich, 1965), article "Recht" by J. G. Fuchs; Gerhard Dulceit, Fritz Schwarz, and Wolfgang Waldstein, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, 6th ed. (Munich, 1975), 22; Detlef Liebs, *Römisches*

contemporary commentary provides an explanation for the choice of an otherwise exceptionally obscure source for the inscription. The defense of (city) republicanism against the monarchic principle proved a useful precedent for Wilhelmine Hamburg.

The High Court's symbolic language thus provides us with a prime example of how the seemingly universal culture of Wilhelminism was adapted to suit Hamburg's cultural and political agenda. This symbolic sea change mirrored the development of German federalism in the postunification era. Hamburg was unable to exempt itself from the process of national codification. Although the title "Hanseatic High Court of Appeal" was maintained, codification meant that the law implemented in Hamburg after 1900 was imperial law. What autonomy remained related purely to questions of interpretation—as well as to those areas of the court's competencies that involved international maritime law.⁸² In addition, the court continued its task of advising and lobbying the central government on matters in which the Hanseatic cities had a particular stake. Among these, the battle against protectionism would prove to be the most important in years to come. In this sense, too, the High Court was not a particularist but a federal institution. It functioned not as a counterbalance to Berlin but as an integral part of the fabric of national government, albeit one that represented the interests of individual states within it.

One might conclude that this development was a German peculiarity: only here, it seems, and nowhere more than in Hamburg, could an old city-state transform itself into a center of modernization, lending a distinctly modern and global touch to the defense of older traditions of urban autonomy. Certainly nowhere else did federalists receive so friendly a reception on the national level. Admittedly, the landed classes, especially in Prussia, were powerful opponents, as were the heavy industrialists from the Ruhr region who collaborated with them politically in upholding protectionism. But other influential figures—notably those industrialists who promoted the export of manufactured quality goods "made in Germany," and indeed the emperor himself, who saw Germany's commercial expansionism as part of an imperialist project—were happy to grant Hamburg special rights to further these ends. Yet Hamburg's story was not unique. Other second cities in Europe also promoted a distinctly modern agenda, and staked their fortunes on their ability to outmaneuver agrarian interests on the national level. In nineteenth-century Spain, this role was played by Barcelona. On the surface, its economic history took a rather different turn. Unlike Hanseatic free traders, Barcelona's wealthy textile manufacturers supported protectionism; they stood to lose a lot more than their Spanish neighbors if the national and colonial market were to be opened up to cheaper English textiles.⁸³ In both cases, however, the conflict between second city and capital was driven by the confrontation between an industrialized city and a powerful agrarian faction with a marked influence on national politics (in the case

Recht: Ein Studienbuch (Göttingen, 1975), 55; and Wolfgang Kunkel, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, 11th ed. (Cologne, 1985).

⁸² The latter tradition was revived when the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea of the United Nations moved to Hamburg in 1996.

⁸³ On the linkage between political Catalanism and economic protectionism, see Harty, "Lawyers, Codifications," especially 372–74.

of Germany, these Junkers did of course operate in a close strategic alliance with certain branches of heavy industry). This juxtaposition created a need for the cities' respective political elites to increase their political influence on the national scale, in order to lobby more effectively for their particular interests.

In Barcelona, as in Hamburg, the law came to be seen as a crucial vehicle for this project. The challenge of legal codification in Spain was in many ways analogous to the codification debate in Germany. In a paradoxical twist, the special status of the law in the quest for Catalan autonomy resulted from Catalonia's having lost its political independence earlier than the city-state of Hamburg. After 1716, Catalan civil or "foral" law was celebrated as the only remaining institutional manifestation of Catalan identity, which had important implications for the development of federalism in Spain in general.⁸⁴ In 1851, a process of national codification began that, as in the German case, threatened regional legal autonomy. In this case, the main point of contention was the emphasis in Catalan laws on the concept of a stem family with testamentary liberty. By contrast, the draft Spanish code was centered around the nuclear family, with emphasis on a system of community property and partible inheritance.⁸⁵ Catalan defenders of their region's particular system cited two reasons for its superiority—one backward-looking, the other distinctly modern. First, they argued, testamentary liberty created a sense of continuity between generations, and protected the status of the father as the head of the Catalan household, in the *casa pairal* just as much as in the world of industry.⁸⁶ This led to the second, more modern argument. Testamentary liberty, writers such as Joaquim Cadafalch suggested, was integral to Catalonia's status as Spain's most industrialized region. Indeed, he continued, an international comparison revealed its similarity to the English legal system. One needed only to compare the English industrial revolution to the lethargy of French (and Spanish) economic development to see which system was superior.⁸⁷ Stephen Jacobson identifies this fusion of historical and proindustrial arguments as the Roman Catholic equivalent of Max Weber's Protestant ethic.⁸⁸ It is no exaggeration to claim that other foral regions "conserved their law only because of the strength of the Catalan protest" against a comprehensive codification.⁸⁹

These debates provided the context for the creation of Barcelona's political

⁸⁴ The *Nueva Planta* decree dissolved the Catalan political bodies, prohibited the official use of the Catalan language, and abolished Catalan public law. Catalan private law remained in force, but no further amendments were permitted. Santiago Sobrequés i Vidal, *Història de la producció del dret català fins al decret Nova Planta* (Girona, 1978). See also James S. Amelang, "Barristers and Judges in Early Modern Barcelona: The Rise of a Legal Elite," *AHR* 89, no. 5 (1984): 1264–84.

⁸⁵ Stephen Jacobson, "Law and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe: The Case of Catalonia in Comparative Perspective," *Law and History Review* 20, no. 2 (2002): 307–47, especially 326–28.

⁸⁶ Enric Prat de la Riba spoke of Catalan law as a "live entity, spontaneously produced by a national consciousness and evolving constantly" (Enric Prat de la Riba, *La nacionalitat catalana*, 4th ed. [Barcelona, 1998, originally published 1906]). This could almost have been a quotation from Friedrich Carl von Savigny's work from the period of the German Wars of Liberation, where he argued that, unlike the Code Napoleon, all legitimate laws sprang from the *Volksgeist*. H. S. Reiss, ed., *The Political Thought of the German Romantics, 1793–1815* (Oxford, 1955).

⁸⁷ Bartolomé Clavero, "Formación doctrinal contemporánea del derecho catalán de sucesiones: La primogenitura de la libertad," in *La reforma de la Compilació: El sistema successori* (Barcelona, 1984), 10–37.

⁸⁸ Jacobson, "Law and Nationalism," 337–38.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 315.

equivalent to the Hamburg High Court: the Palau de Justícia. Its construction coincided with the codification debate, and it can be read as a symbolic assertion of regional autonomy against the nation-state. It was also a supreme allegorical statement of the Catalan claim to a special identity—but one conceived within the framework of a liberal Spanish state. As we have seen, the *Renaixença* and *modernisme* movements provided Barcelona with an architectural idiom of Catalanism that resembled the Hanseatic red brick Gothic. Yet, like the Hanseatic High Court, Barcelona's Palau de Justícia was not a regionalist building in the orthodox sense. It, too, used a more generic historicist idiom, which is not at first glance recognizable as Catalan, and therefore does not feature in the standard architectural histories of the Catalan revival.⁹⁰ Instead, it followed the same representational imperative as the Hanseatic High Court, a visual assertion of power that was hardly distinguishable from Madrid's architecture of the same era. (See Figure 7.) This imperative applied to the choice of site as well as to questions of style. As elsewhere in Europe, the razing of Barcelona's city wall in the middle of the century had created new opportunities for urban expansion. The first stage was the creation of Ildefons Cerdà's grand plan for Barcelona's Eixample, which became the bourgeoisie's favored site for architectural representation and experimentation.⁹¹ In a second stage, as in Hamburg, the ring immediately surrounding the old center—the intermediate zone between the medieval town and the Eixample—was developed. Francesc de Paula Rius i Taulet, sometimes referred to as the “Haussmann of Barcelona,” and his liberal colleagues in the municipal government chose the section of the ring that bordered on the recently razed Bourbon Citadel for the site of the 1888 World's Fair, which became a showcase for the city's proud new identity.⁹² Only a few yards from the key exhibition buildings, the Palau de Justícia was built.⁹³

The Audiència Territorial of Barcelona, the city's supreme court, commissioned architect Enric Sagnier for the new building.⁹⁴ In stylistic terms, Sagnier's work remained comparatively aloof from the Catalan revival. Although Sagnier ran for election as a candidate for the Lliga Regionalista in the provincial elections of 1903,

⁹⁰ Francesc Fontbona and Francesco Miralles, *Història de l'art català* (Barcelona, 1996–2001), vol. 7: *Del modernisme al noucentisme, 1888–1917*.

⁹¹ Arturo Soria y Puig, ed., *Cerdà: The Five Bases of the General Theory of Urbanization* (Madrid, 1999).

⁹² A series of industrial expositions was initiated in 1888, in which Barcelona's bourgeoisie celebrated its own role in the process of economic progress and expansion. J. M. Garrut, *L'Exposició Universal de Barcelona de 1888* (Barcelona, 1976); M. C. Grandas, *L'Exposició Internacional de Barcelona de 1929* (Barcelona, 1988); Ignasi Solà-Morales, “L'Exposició Internacional de Barcelona (1914–1929) com a instrument de política urbana,” *Recerques*, June 1976, 137–45; and Solà-Morales, *L'Exposició Internacional de Barcelona, 1914–1929: Arquitectura i ciutat* (Barcelona, 1985).

⁹³ There was some debate about a suitable site, yet all of the options that were considered were located on the ring of the former city walls. Juan Miró y Murtó, *El Palacio de Justicia y la Ciudad de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1883).

⁹⁴ Sagnier collaborated with Domènech i Estapà, but he was the driving force behind the building's overall design: “Sagnier must have had a greater protagonism in the composition and aesthetical decisions, while the intervention of Domènech i Estapà was centered in structural aspects, in which he was more specialized.” Josep Emili Hernández-Cros, Gabriel Mora, and Xavier Pouplana, *Arquitectura de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1989), 290–91. This view is shared by Fontbona and Miralles, *Història de l'art català*, 7: 34.

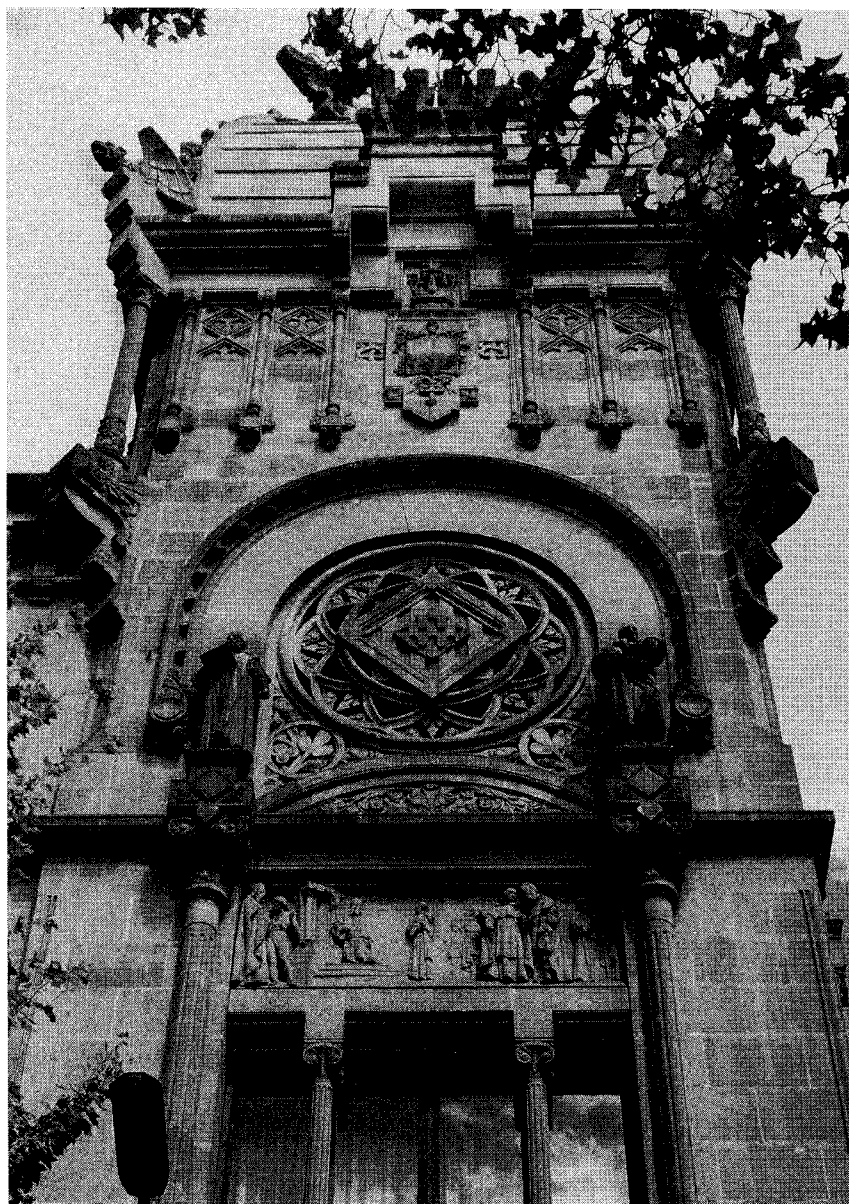


FIGURE 7: Palau de Justícia, Barcelona, by Enric Sagnier and Domènec i Estapà, 1887–1908. Detail of corner tower. Photograph by the author.

there is little evidence that he entertained regionalist sympathies in the 1880s.⁹⁵ In these years, he was active in the Cercle Artístic de Sant Lluç, which was staunchly Catholic, and rejected the contemporary avant-garde on moral grounds.⁹⁶ His design for the Palau de Justícia had as little in common with the explicitly Catalan

⁹⁵ To date, the only biography is Santi Barjau, *Enric Sagnier* (Barcelona, 1992).

⁹⁶ While most of the members of the Cercle were of Catalan origin, its name was Spanish. It was changed into Catalan only after Enric Prat de la Riba publicly reprimanded the association for its lack of patriotic conviction in the journal *La Renaixença* on March 3, 1894. Enric Jardí, *Història del Cercle Artístic de Sant Lluç* (Barcelona, 1976), especially 21.

style of the Palau de Música as the Hamburg High Court had with the town hall.⁹⁷ The building's enormous size alone created a sense of monumentality far removed from the rustic roots of the Catalan Romanesque. Sagnier also dispensed with the moralizing allegorical narratives that we find on Puig's facades or Domènech's famous arch. Nevertheless, like its Hamburg counterpart, Sagnier's Palau was anything but "politically hollow."

The first remarkable feature of Sagnier's design was the floor plan. The Palau consists of four separate building blocks of equal size, each framed by fanciful spires on all four corners. The blocks are joined in the middle by a surprisingly light structure that arches over a central passageway. In their project description for the Audiència, the architects proudly pointed to the innovative nature of this design, and also placed particular emphasis on the visible use of high-tech materials,⁹⁸ notably the cast-iron arches in the main hall and the cast-iron ornaments on the tips of all eight spires. As a result of the floor plan, the monumentality of the building was relativized. The Palau's main entrance was located at the center of the main facade, in front of the lowest and lightest part of the building. Where the observer would expect a monumental neoclassical portico, common in historicist architecture, the Palau's entrance is marked by a delicate narrow arch, which rests on two slender columns and displays only the subtlest of flat ornaments. The form is derived from the Catalan Romanesque, reminiscent of the slim naves of monasteries such as Cardona and St. Pere de Rodes. At the Palau, this motif is repeated in the arches on either side of all eight flanking towers. Catalan traditions, in other words, had not been dispensed with. Yet they were reduced to subtle quotations; the Palau can certainly not be described as neo-Romanesque in its overall effect.

What was true of the building's style was even more apparent in its allegorical program. The inscription over the entrance arch was a slap in the face of Catalan separatism: it read "Palacio de Justicia"—the Spanish spelling—with the letters forming a semicircle around a giant Spanish coat of arms. Above the arch sat a large statue of Moses, the first lawgiver, flanked by two allegorical female figures representing "Spanish Law" and "The Law and Privileges of the Regions."⁹⁹ Inside, the central section housed the Saló dels Passos Perduts, the principal room for official functions. It was decorated with allegorical paintings by José María Sert and others.¹⁰⁰ Their themes were mainly mythological and had no direct political reference, although one or two Catalan allusions were interspersed, including an image of Barcelona's patron saint, St. Jordi (by Sert). Fourteen stained glass windows depicted the coats of arms of Catalonia and the city of Barcelona in alternating sequence with the Spanish coat of arms.

⁹⁷ A useful modern history of the building is the booklet by Josep M. Mas i Solench, *El Palau de Justicia de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1990).

⁹⁸ Enric Sagnier and Josep Domènech i Estapà, "Proyecto de Palacio de Justicia: Memoria," Arxiu Administratiu, Barcelona, Q140, 2-E-7, box 1. (Although Mas i Solench, *El Palau*, still lists the Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat as the location of the document, the folder has since been moved.)

⁹⁹ Mas i Solench, *El Palau*, 60. Interestingly, the statue of Moses is already contained in the architects' "Proyecto," while the two supplementary allegories of Spanish law and regional privileges are first mentioned in the minutes of a meeting on December 26, 1897 (Manuel García Martín, *Estatuària pública de Barcelona*, 3rd ed. [Barcelona, 1986], 32–33).

¹⁰⁰ Mas i Solench, *El Palau*, 68–74. See also Alberto del Castillo, *José María Sert: Su vida y su obra* (Barcelona, 1947).

A similarly hybrid iconography, fusing Spanish and Catalan elements, can be identified in the forty-eight large statues that were placed at the first-floor level on all four facades of the structure. They received much attention in the contemporary press and several official guidebooks.¹⁰¹ To decipher their precise political significance, however, is no easy task.¹⁰² We know relatively little about the process by which the “distinguished personalities” for this iconographical program were chosen. Archival sources reveal that the Audiència Territorial, which commissioned the building, took the decision out of the architect’s hands and appointed two of their own members, Manuel Planas i Casals and Hermenegild Manfredi, to draw up a list, which was compiled between 1894 and 1898.¹⁰³ Thus, while building work on the Palau started before the introduction of the Spanish Civil Code, the final decision about the statues was made after codification, and can, in many ways, be read as a commentary on it. Of the forty-eight statues, twenty-four depicted Catalan jurists through the ages; another seventeen represented prominent legal or political figures from other regions of Spain, mostly Madrid; and the remaining seven portrayed two popes, one Italian jurist, and four ancient Romans. We can identify a number of leitmotifs in this selection. The first striking fact is the exact 50:50 ratio of Catalan and non-Catalan figures. A quest for balance and conciliation is also apparent in the omission of Catalan separatists.¹⁰⁴ Pere Amigant i de Ferrer (a seventeenth-century professor of Roman law at the University of Barcelona), who had been imprisoned by the Bourbon monarch Philip V, was an unusual choice. Most of the Catalans celebrated here were not resistance fighters; they were legal scholars from the thirteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, renowned mostly for their learning and professional expertise. That is not to say that they could not be tied to Catalan identity politics: many of them had distinguished themselves as commentators and translators of the *Usatges*, the historical centerpiece of the

¹⁰¹ The list of statues was first published in the *Diari de Barcelona* on December 13, 1894 (no. 14314). The first comprehensive description of the entire building, including its allegorical decorations, was provided by the architects themselves, and appeared under the title “Palacio de Justicia” in Asociación de Arquitectos de Cataluña, ed., *Anuario para 1899*, 201–19. It was followed, on the occasion of the building’s grand opening, by a piece of the same title in *Arquitectura y Construcción: Revista mensual ilustrada* 12 (1908): 176–83, ed. D. Manuel Vega y March. Later guides with information on the sculptures include Juan Bautista Martí Navarre, *El Palacio de Justicia de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1930). Another guidebook that identified all of the statues was published by the archivist of the Catalan Audiència, F. Duran Cañameras, *Palau de Justicia de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1937).

¹⁰² Manuel García Martín, *Estatuària pública de Barcelona*, provides short biographies of all the depicted figures. Unfortunately, there has been no attempt to identify patterns or themes, or to draw any other conclusion from this evidence. Moreover, the biographical details are somewhat sketchy and not entirely reliable; one wonders how Pere Nolasc Vives i Cebrià managed to survive from 1749 to 1874 (p. 37), whereas Pedro Sainz de Andino accomplished the even greater feat of dying (in 1863) before he was born, according to the author in 1875 (p. 41).

¹⁰³ The process is documented in the “Actas de la Junta creada para erigir un Palacio de Justicia en Barcelona: Expediente número 27 relativo a la ejecución de las cuarenta y ocho estatuas del piso 3º del Palacio de la Justicia,” Arxiu Administratiu, Barcelona, Q140 (Palau de Justicia), 2-E-7, boxes 8 and 9. They contain the letter sent by the architects to the president of the Junta on August 21, 1893 (fols. 1–3), indicating that a decision about the forty-eight suitable statues for the Palau’s facades was required; a letter dated June 22, 1894, sent by the Junta’s president, José Rodríguez de Roda, to D. Manuel Planas y Casals and D. José H. Manfredi, requesting that they draw up a suitable list (fol. 6); a follow-up request dated August 18, 1894 (fols. 7–8); and finally, the list of statues (fol. 11).

¹⁰⁴ Particularly notable is the exclusion of the famous seventeenth-century jurist Joan Pere Fontanella, who, with his son, was closely associated with the revolt of 1640.

Catalan legal tradition.¹⁰⁵ Another important criterion was membership in the Audiència Territorial of Barcelona itself: eight of its members from earlier periods were represented. The institution thus created a proud monument to its own tradition. Catalan achievements were also portrayed in a series of bas-reliefs. Some depicted historical scenes that had taken place in, or were connected with, the city. They included the promulgation of the *Usatges*; Christopher Columbus's return to Barcelona after the discovery of America (in Catalan history books, Columbus was presented as a Catalan hero); the 1888 World's Fair, which had been held in Barcelona; the inauguration of the first Spanish railway line (which connected Barcelona and Mataró); and the foundation stone ceremony for the Palau de Justícia. Others showed important Catalan political and legal institutions in session, including the Corts Catalanes (Catalonia's parliamentary assembly), the Consell de Cent (Barcelona's municipal council composed of leading citizens), the Audiència Territorial, and the regional government, the Generalitat. A third group consisted of allegorical representations of important milestones in Catalan legal history.

These Catalan motifs were counterbalanced by Spanish themes, including the seventeen statues of Spanish legal thinkers (some of whom had also distinguished themselves in other fields, such as politics, theology, literature, and science). Most interesting from a political point of view is the choice of King Alfonso el Sabio, represented by both a statue and a bas-relief, as well as the related statues of Jacob (a legal scholar and Alfonso's tutor) and Rotallà (a jurist involved in editing *Las Siete Partidas*). This document, which has been called the first law code of the Middle Ages, was commissioned by Alfonso in 1251, and was the reason for the king's prominent inclusion in the Palau's iconography.¹⁰⁶ The choice is all the more remarkable because the *Siete Partidas* are usually considered to be the single historical precedent for the legal codification of 1889. In the thirteenth century, Alfonso introduced the *Partidas* as a unifying legislative synthesis, inspired by ancient Greek and Roman legal philosophy, which replaced the bastardized Visigothic *Forum Judicum* in Asturias and León, and a host of local *fueros* in Castile. This brand of Catalanism, in other words, was compatible not only with the broader framework of a liberal Spanish state, but even with the idea of national codification.

In April 1887, one year before Rius i Taulet's famous World's Fair, the foundation stone ceremony for the Palau was held. The delegation consisted of several notables from Catalonia, including the president of the Audiència, the mayor of Barcelona, and the rector of the university, but it also involved the Spanish minister of justice, Manuel Alonso Martínez, who was the only contemporary to receive his own statue on the Palau's facade. By the time the Palau was finally completed, in 1908, legal codification was a *fait accompli*—as was the special status that Catalonia enjoyed within the new national framework. As we have seen, some aspects of the building were devised before and some after the actual promulgation of the code. In fact, the inclusion of the bust of Alonso Martínez—who by now was

¹⁰⁵ These included, in chronological order, Ramón Berenguer, Jaume Callís, Tomàs Mieres, Jaume Marquilles, Antoni Oliva, and Pere Nolasc Vives i Cebrià.

¹⁰⁶ See the introduction to the modern edition, *Las Siete Partidas*, translation by Samuel P. Ascott and introduction by Charles Lobinger (New York, 1931).

persona non grata to many Catalanist lawyers—caused some public protests when the Palau was inaugurated, and shows how quickly the symbolic fine-tuning of Catalanism shifted in these decades.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, certain themes remained constant. The Palau articulated a conciliatory stance that enabled Spanish codification to assume a federal character. The regions, Catalonia first and foremost, offered the nation-state a vision of collaboration that left their autonomous tradition intact but placed them in a truly national—and truly modern—political framework. Even in 1908, when Catalanism had allegedly taken an anti-Spanish turn, the Palau's opening ceremony was presided over by Alfonso XIII and a host of Spanish notables, as well as the usual suspects from Catalonia. Buenaventura Muñoz, the president of the Audiència, gave a speech focusing on the dualism of history and progress as the determining forces behind the Palau's construction.¹⁰⁸ He highlighted the reign of Jaume I as a seminal moment in Catalan history, which Muñoz portrayed not in the usual military terms but as a milestone in legal codification.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, the inauguration of the Palau signified a "moment of modernity" that had "affected every aspect of life" since "the city razed its walls and extended its riches, industry, and factories."¹¹⁰ Subsequently, Enric Prat de la Riba, at the time president of the Diputació Provincial, reminded the audience that Catalonia had "a very particular civil law," which ought to "be respected by those who exercise the law in the name of the king," not because "it is better or worse than the law of any other Spanish regions, but because it is our own, and expresses our Catalan conception of justice in relation to property law and the family."¹¹¹

IN GERMANY AND SPAIN, THE AUTONOMY of second cities, as indeed of all regions, ended with the centralizing policies of fascist regimes. For Barcelona's manufacturing elites, this meant that the carefully worked-out compromise between the Catalan legal tradition and Spanish codification came to a sudden end. Yet in the decades around 1900, nothing in the nature of the evolving relationship between national capital and second city suggested that such an outcome was inevitable, or even likely. If anything, Catalan autonomy had gained ground in this period. The *Institutions of Catalan Civil Law* of 1880 abolished the old notion of "foral law," because, its authors argued, this term implied a derivative or subordinate status.¹¹² Catalan laws continued to derive their authority from the region's historical sources, and the Spanish code merely provided a constitutional umbrella for their

¹⁰⁷ Similar shifts in the perception of such political symbolism have been observed concerning the naming of streets in the Eixample. Stéphane Michonneau, "Société et commémoration à Barcelone à la mi-XIX^e siècle," *Genèses* 40 (September 2000): 6–32, and Michonneau, *Barcelona: memòria i identitat: Monuments, commemoracions i mites* (Vic, 2002).

¹⁰⁸ Folder "Recull de premsa—Tema: Palau de Justícia," Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat, Barcelona (no fol. numbers).

¹⁰⁹ Jaume I's importance, Buenaventura Muñoz argued, lay less in the well-known territorial conquest by which he expanded Catalonia, and more in the fact that "he collected the laws and customs of Catalonia, and gave to its customary laws a status which they had hitherto been denied." *Discurso del presidente de la Audiència*, *ibid.*, 508.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 508.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 511.

¹¹² Published by Guillem Broca and Joan Amellin in 1880.

usage.¹¹³ In Hamburg, the city's legal autonomy was more strictly curtailed by the introduction of the BGB in 1900. Yet here, too, there was little evidence of a continuing dynamic toward centralization. Like Barcelona, Hamburg succeeded in defending many of its special rights and interests: the free port remained exempt from taxation, the city's autonomous political institutions survived largely unchanged until 1918, and the Hanseatic High Court exercised considerable influence in Berlin.

In both cases, the political success of second cities can be accounted for in terms of a transformation of particularism into a federal idiom, which defined second-city identity not as a rival to nationalism but as complementary. Hamburg and Barcelona offered the nation-state a mode of collaboration that protected some autonomous traditions yet involved the cities in national decision-making. It was only when this balancing act failed that subnational identities came to be viewed as a genuine alternative to national identities—a process strikingly evident in the periods following the collapse of totalitarian regimes and their centralist ambitions. But such confrontational scenarios resulted from very specific circumstances. The *longue durée* pattern of center-periphery relations, which took shape in the decades before World War I, pointed in a different direction. While agrarian regions may have viewed bureaucratic nation-states with some suspicion, second cities rarely rejected involvement in the wider nation. To them, the nation was no mythical collective in which all smaller affiliations would be dissolved for the benefit of the whole. Their view of the nation-state was not charismatic but pragmatic. They expected not salvation but political balance; not intervention but a constitutional framework for autonomy. They also did not regard the nation as the ultimate and exclusive source of collective identity. By emphasizing that municipalism, regionalism, and nationalism coexisted, second cities undermined what some historians have defined as the very essence of nationalism itself, at least nationalism of the ethnic variety: its claim to exclusivity, which turned it into the only legitimate focus of its citizens' loyalty.¹¹⁴ In a world often described as "postnational," we can appreciate the modernity of a political culture that allowed for such multiple identities. Undoubtedly, this political culture was rooted in social and economic interests rather than political idealism. Yet one thing is clear: when second cities learned to "speak national," they not only created a precedent for "diversity in unity," they also transformed themselves into objects of political and emotional identification by sections of the population previously excluded from bourgeois particularism. Schumacher's appropriation of *Heimat* for the city of Hamburg or Puig's elaborate Catalan "fantasy" architecture appealed to the emotions, the imagination, and the individual subjectivity of the observer. This new visual

¹¹³ The Spanish Civil Code of 1889 was applied only as a "supplement" in Catalonia, and it granted unprecedented degrees of autonomy to other regions, too. Juan Baro Pazos, *La codificación del derecho civil en España, 1808–1889* (Santander, 1992).

¹¹⁴ Dieter Langewiesche, "Nation, Nationalismus, Nationalstaat in der europäischen Geschichte seit dem Mittelalter: Versuch einer Bilanz," in Langewiesche and Schmidt, *Föderative Nation*, 9–30.

language helped transform the second city into a modern city, a distinctive homeland in its own right.

Maiken Umbach received her Ph.D. from Cambridge in 1966. She is senior lecturer in history at the University of Manchester, UK, and has held visiting appointments at the Australian National University, the Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona), the Center for European Studies at Harvard, and University College London. She specializes in the cultural politics of federalism and regionalism in modern Europe, and has a particular interest in political readings of the built environment. She is author of *Enlightenment and Federalism in Germany, 1740–1806* (London, 2000) and editor of *German Federalism: Past, Present, Future* (Basingstoke, 2002) and, with Bernd-Rüdiger Hüppauf, *Vernacular Modernism: Heimat, Globalization, and the Built Environment* (Stanford, Calif., 2005), and has written numerous related articles. She is currently preparing a book-length study of “German Cities and the Genesis of Modernism, 1890–1930.”

The Ethics of Hunger and the Assembly of Society: The Techno-Politics of the School Meal in Modern Britain

JAMES VERNON

How did we pass from a usage of the social understood as a problem of poverty, the problem of others, to its current definition in terms of a general solidarity and the production of a life-style; what enabled it to be made into a showcase for development, whose defence comes before all else, to be offered to the world at whatever cost?

Gilles Deleuze, in Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families*, xxvii

THE SCHOOL MEAL IS A PECULIARLY MODERN SOCIAL INSTITUTION. A late-nineteenth-century invention of European philanthropists, it soon spread across the globe as a central tool of welfare and development programs, until it became a favored target of neoliberal welfare reforms during the closing decades of the twentieth century.¹ The history of the school meal can then be seen as intricately related to a broader history of the social—that is to say, how society came to be perceived not only as distinct from other domains such as the economy or politics, but as *the* key site for the government of modernity. It is more than twenty-five years since Gilles Deleuze first provoked us to think about how quickly the social—as a new mentality of government articulated through a hybrid set of techniques designed to secure society from the vagaries of the market and the dislocations of modern life—came to be taken for granted. He was, of course, asking this question at precisely the moment when neoliberal governments began to proclaim the benefits of postsocial forms of government in ways that suggested that far less had been taken for granted

My thanks to all who participated in the following events: the Chauncey D. Leake Workshop on “Food, Expertise and the Science of Government,” University of California, Berkeley, May 9, 2003; the 72nd Anglo-American Conference of Historians on “The Body,” Institute of Historical Research, University of London, July 2–4, 2003; and the North American Conference on British Studies, Portland, Oregon, October 24–26, 2003. At Berkeley I learned a lot from discussions in two graduate classes and with my colleagues in the Townsend Humanities Center’s Initiative Group for Associate Professors. My special thanks to David Hollinger, Penelope Ismay, Patrick Joyce, Thomas Laqueur, Jonathan Lawrence, Christopher Otter, Sonya Rose, Yuri Slezkine, and Daniel Ussishkin, as well as this journal’s anonymous readers.

¹ In the 1870s, local philanthropic school meals services began to emerge in Germany, France, and Britain, quickly spreading across Europe to America by 1914. Holland, Switzerland, and Britain were the first to make national provision for school meals, in 1900, 1903, and 1906, respectively. L. S. Bryant, *School Feeding: Its History and Practice at Home and Abroad* (London, 1913). There are as yet no histories of the role of school meals in development programs. For an early indication of their centrality, see United Nations (FAO) Nutritional Studies, *School Feeding: Its Contribution to Child Nutrition* (Rome, 1953). In Britain, Margaret Thatcher first rose to prominence as the “milk snatcher” when she cut free milk in schools in 1971. A year after her election as prime minister, the 1980 Education Act removed the obligation for local authorities to provide school meals to children who were not entitled to free meals, while the 1986 Social Security Act limited the entitlement to free meals to those on income support.

than Deleuze imagined. Yet, surprisingly, especially at an intellectual moment when we are routinely told to denaturalize and historicize everything, this recent history has encouraged few to take the social seriously as a historical category.² In what follows, I belatedly take up Deleuze's invitation to track the rise of the social by focusing on how it transformed the meaning of hunger in modern Britain. To make this a manageable task, I focus on just one response to what came to be seen in the late nineteenth century as the social problem of hunger—the school meal. In particular, I am interested in how the school meal helped to generate an expansive redefinition of the social, away from the identification of the hungry as a particular problem to assembling a new and universal conception of the good society.

It is tempting to suggest that school meals in Britain have attracted more historical attention than those in other countries because its postwar historians could not forget their own experiences of spam, tapioca, and boiled cabbage at school. Yet, in fact, the histories we have are much less interested in food or the social meanings of the meal than in charting how school meal policies reflected the rise and fall of political ideologies, welfare states, and standards of living.³ In these accounts, the school meal is invariably a sideshow to the main event, the outcome of a zero-sum game in which the labor movement competed for control of a centralized state by articulating new ideologies of welfare and entitlement that would alleviate the hunger of those whose socioeconomic interests it represented. Hunger often remains an unproblematic category in these histories, presented as a self-evident *material* condition that can be affirmed by ahistorically reproducing the forms of nutritional representation by which it was measured.⁴ In contrast, I want to suggest that if we take the history of the school meal on its own terms, hunger appears also as a decidedly slippery *cultural* category. Indeed, as we shall see, the contests over the meaning and management of hunger generated their own remarkably diffuse networks of power, as well as new understandings of the social and its mode of government.⁵ Seen in this way, the school meal can be seen less as

² Notable exceptions include Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families* (New York, 1979); Denise Riley, "Am I That Name?" (Basingstoke, 1988); George Steinmetz, *Regulating the Social: The Welfare State and Local Politics in Imperial Germany* (Princeton, N.J., 1993); Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation* (Chicago, 1995); Janet R. Horne, *A Social Laboratory for Modern France: The Musée Social and the Rise of the Welfare State* (Durham, N.C., 2002); and Patrick Joyce, ed., *The Social in Question: New Bearings in History and the Social Sciences* (London, 2002).

³ See F. Le Gros Clark, *Social History of the School Meals Service* (London, 1948); John Hurt, "Feeding the Hungry Schoolchild in the First Half of the Twentieth Century," in D. J. Oddy and D. S. Miller, eds., *Diet and Health in Modern Britain* (London, 1985); John Burnett, "The Rise and Decline of School Meals in Britain, 1860–1990," in J. Burnett and D. Oddy, eds., *The Origins and Development of Food Policies in Europe* (Leicester, 1994); Bernard Harris, *The Health of the Schoolchild: A History of the School Medical Service in England and Wales* (Buckingham, 1995); Charles Webster, "Government Policy on School Meals and Welfare Foods, 1939–1970," in D. F. Smith, ed., *Nutrition in Britain: Science, Scientists and Politics in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1997); and John Stewart, "'This Injurious Measure': Scotland and the 1906 Education (Provision of Meals) Act," *Scottish Historical Review* 78, no. 205 (April 1999): 76–94. I have not been able to find a corresponding literature on school meals for any other country.

⁴ This is by no means confined to historians of the school meal; it remains a feature of even those accounts that address the politics of hunger. Hunger is always seen as a natural, material condition that generates disputes about the distribution of entitlement to food. See, for prominent examples, Amartya Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (Oxford, 1981); L. F. Newman, ed., *Hunger in History: Food Shortage, Poverty and Deprivation* (Oxford, 1990); and Belinda J. Davis, *Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000).

⁵ For other "culturalist" histories of hunger, see Nancy Scheper-Hughes, *Death without Weeping*:

an *outcome* of social democracy and the welfare state than as partly *constitutive* of them.

My contention is that the seemingly mundane practicalities of identifying hungry children and feeding them at school were intricately connected to a broader history of the changing meanings of hunger and ideas about the responsibilities of government. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, hunger, and especially the hunger of children, was increasingly seen to dramatize the systemic failures of the market as well as to threaten the political stability, racial health, and imperial strength of the nation. A decidedly ancient condition gained new significance as a social problem and—because the hunger of one was now the concern of all—demanded a new mentality of government to act on it in the interests of society as a whole. If this broad ethical shift enabled the school meal to be imagined as a potential solution to hunger's corrosive grip on society, it was not the product of any one politics or ideology. It is for this reason that I am wary of solely crediting the men or (more often) women pioneers of the labor movement with having delivered school meals to modern Britons. Rather, in my account, agency is relocated, or just redistributed, so that it is the emergent social and nutritional sciences that play the critical role in the actual instantiation of the school meal. By promising a scientific mechanism for identifying hungry children and calculating the minimum quantities of food required to satiate them, social and nutritional scientists provided ways of *translating* and *depoliticizing* the new social ethics of hunger into practical administrative techniques for the provision of school meals by the state. I have called this attempt to translate broader ethical problems into a set of administrative questions “techno-politics,” to signal both their failure to insulate technical systems from ethico-political questions, and their productive power in invoking a model of the good society—its patterns of sociability, solidarity, and civility—on behalf of which the state increasingly claimed to govern. Assembling this new vision of society through the school meal was a complex and difficult process. Alongside social and nutritional scientists, it demanded the expertise of educationalists, architects, engineers, and industrial designers, for it depended on the crafting of an appropriate moral and material environment for the performance of the new social rights and responsibilities inscribed in the school meal. Both human and nonhuman obstacles frustrated the proliferating forms of technical expertise that addressed the provision and delivery of school meals, compromising the model of society they sought to instantiate. This broader redistribution of agency in the making of Britain's school meals service does not diminish the contribution of human actors or their local political struggles. It is an insistence that would perhaps be less necessary had our histories of the social and the welfare state not remained unquestioned for so long.

My account of how the seemingly innocuous everyday practices of the school meal generated new networks of power and understandings of society draws upon the Foucauldian analytic of governmentality. Instead of seeing power as concen-

The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil (Berkeley, Calif., 1992); Susan Bordo, *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); Maud Ellmann, *The Hunger Artists: Starving, Writing, and Imprisonment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993); and Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton, N.J., 1995).

trated in a centralized and monolithic state, those who have taken up Michel Foucault's suggestive essay on governmentality take power to reside in, and roam across, diffuse and multiple coordinates. Viewed in this way, power is not exercised solely by the state over its population, but is mobilized as new forms of expertise address different objects of reform, intervening in ways that produce subjects with the appropriate mentality to govern themselves from a discrete distance.⁶ As others have recently argued, it is an analytic that must not be deployed too schematically without heeding the always already fractured nature of the techno-political interventions of experts, or the ways in which they were invariably frustrated by contingencies beyond their control.⁷ Part of my aim here is to demonstrate that the empirical work of the historian, who follows the devil into the details, can be theoretically productive. If we are more attentive to the often confused and conflicting rationales of new techniques and tactics for governing at a distance, as well as the failures and resistances that invariably greeted them (inciting, of course, further, fresh reforming projects), we may become less concerned with delineating epochal shifts from liberal to social modes, or cast-iron differences between metropolitan and colonial forms of governmentality.⁸ As I hope to show, the changing ethics of hunger and the techno-politics of the school meal serve to remind us that all governmentalities stutter in their realization and remain deeply implicated in each other. It should also demonstrate that in tracing the assembly of society in modern Britain, we need a diffuse and mobile view of power and agency that recognizes, despite the determined efforts of us moderns, the inseparability of the ethical from the technical, the moral from the physical, the human from the nonhuman.⁹

IT IS DIFFICULT TO GRASP THE SIGNIFICANCE of the new social ethic toward hunger that emerged during the nineteenth century without recalling its prior dispensations. Piero Camporesi's sweeping historical vision of the apocalyptic famished world of early modern Europe and its fevered alimentary imagination reminds us that there was a time in Europe when hunger was endemic and considered an unfortunate fact of life, beyond the government of man.¹⁰ Less metaphorically minded historians of early modern England, however, agree that such providential fatalism was offset by a complex set of paternalist checks and charitable balances.¹¹ By the eighteenth century, as E. P. Thompson demonstrated, these had come to inform a moralized

⁶ Michel Foucault, "On Governmentality," *Ideology and Consciousness* 6 (Autumn 1979): 5–22; Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society* (London, 1999); Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge, 1999).

⁷ An argument well articulated in Chris Otter, "Making Liberalism Durable: Vision and Civility in the Late Victorian City," *Social History* 27, no. 1 (2002): 1–15; Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley, Calif., 2003).

⁸ David Scott, "Colonial Governmentality," *Social Text* 43 (1995): 191–220; Gyan Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton, N.J., 1999); Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London, 2003).

⁹ Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993).

¹⁰ Piero Camporesi, *Bread of Dreams: Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago, 1989) and *The Land of Hunger* (Cambridge, 1996).

¹¹ John Walter, "The Social Economy of Dearth in Early Modern England," in J. Walter and R. Schofield, eds., *Famine, Disease, and the Social Order in Early Modern Society* (Cambridge, 1989).

view of emerging market relations that legitimized food riots and a range of other plebeian “emergency routines” against hated middlemen in times of dearth.¹² Like Karl Polanyi before him, Thompson wanted to dramatize the great transformation wrought by a political economy that had abstracted the market from its social relations. From Bernard Mandeville to Thomas Malthus, hunger was now to be understood in terms of the moral failure of individuals to learn the disciplines of a free market.¹³ Despite Adam Smith’s insistence that hunger was not a necessary spur to labor, that no moral stigma should haunt those who suffered as a consequence of markets that were everywhere in chains, the evangelical revival bolstered the less optimistic Malthusian view of hunger as a mark of moral failure, if a natural and necessary evil. If the bad news was that man’s sinful nature ensured that population growth always outstripped the market’s capacity to generate food, the good news was that hunger would helpfully eradicate the irredeemable and bring salvation to others. It not only proved an indispensable incentive to industry but could, in the chilling words of Joseph Townsend, “teach decency and civility, obedience and subjection, to the most brutish, the most obstinate, and the most perverse.”¹⁴ Although such views were contested by some, they became hegemonic during the “Age of Atonement” that was the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁵ Ideologically disparate groups—political economists, evangelical social reformers, and utilitarians—were increasingly unfaltering in their belief that philanthropic relief would only further demoralize the poor, rendering them more, not less, dependent. In this new market ethic, hunger was understood not as a problem of but as a solution to the ills of political economy—it became a key tool of market discipline.

The calculated administration of this tool was a central preoccupation of the new forms of statecraft emerging in early-nineteenth-century imperial Britain. Mike Davis has reminded us that it reached its fullest experimental expression in the colonies, where British officials presided over the loss of millions of lives to famine in Ireland and India, believing that they would provide (in the words of Charles Trevelyan) “the sharp but effectual remedy by which the cure is likely to be effected.”¹⁶ Yet what was possible in the colonies proved harder to practice at

¹² E. P. Thompson, “The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century” and “The Moral Economy Revisited,” in Thompson, *Customs in Common* (New York, 1991). See also Adrian Randall and Andrew Charlesworth, eds., *Moral Economy and Popular Protest: Crowds, Conflict and Authority* (Basingstoke, 2000).

¹³ Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston, 1957 [1944]).

¹⁴ Joseph Townsend, *A Dissertation on the Poor Laws by a Well-Wisher to Mankind* (Berkeley, Calif., 1971 [1786]), 27.

¹⁵ Gareth Stedman Jones, *An End to Poverty? A Historical Debate* (London, 2004); Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785–1865* (Cambridge, 1986); Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age* (London, 1984); Mitchell Dean, *The Constitution of Poverty* (London, 1991). My argument here concerns an ethical reorientation of hunger, not the varied and hybrid forms of poor relief or charitable action. On the latter, see Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers: The English Poor Laws and the People, 1700–1948* (Cambridge, 1998).

¹⁶ Mike Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World* (New York, 2001); Sir Charles Trevelyan, *The Irish Crisis* (London, 1848), 320. Trevelyan, brother-in-law to Thomas Macaulay, was knighted for his work at the treasury administering relief to Ireland during the famine.

home. The New Poor Law of 1834 infamously sought to effect a similar transformation through the principle of “less eligibility,” according to which conditions in the workhouse would serve as a deterrent by ensuring that standards of living within it never reached those of the lowest-paid laborer outside it. Nowhere was that principle better illustrated than in the insufficiency of the workhouse diet, which was intended to compel the poor to labor, with the idea that hunger would help to remoralize them as productive subjects. The workhouse, like those other great disciplinary institutions the prison and the army, became a veritable laboratory for rather clumsy dietetic investigations into minimum levels of healthy and productive subsistence.¹⁷ The calculated inhumanity of this use of hunger as a disciplinary tool appalled not only the Tory paternalists and radicalized working men and women of the Anti-Poor Law Movement, but also, less predictably, the statistician William Farr at the new Registrar General’s Office. The office was created in 1837 to record the births and deaths of what were confidently expected to be ever-healthier and wealthier Britons, but Farr used its annual returns to routinely record how many continued to die of starvation rather than enter the workhouse.¹⁸ In 1845–1846, at the height of this controversy, the Andover Scandal broke, exposing a brutal workhouse regime in which starving inmates ate putrid flesh off bones (some reportedly human) that were supposed to be ground for fertilizer.¹⁹ As the lurid details of the scandal receded, news came of the horrific scale of the famine in Ireland, causing even the most strident Christian political economist, Thomas Chalmers, to revise his providential view of hunger as due punishment for the idle and sinful.²⁰ The claim that hunger would remoralize the poor, teaching them decency, civility, and industry, began to look decidedly shaky.

I do not mean to suggest that this Malthusian ethic, which viewed the hungry as the immoral architects of their own misery, suddenly receded by the 1840s. It was only slowly challenged by a growing empathy for the hungry as innocent victims of systems beyond their control. This ethical shift was generated by the inability of the old Malthusian model to make sense of the hunger made manifest during events such as the famine in Ireland or, later, Lancashire’s Cotton Famine, which, in turn, helped facilitate new humanitarian and political responses to hunger. In documenting the tragic human scale of hunger, novelists and journalists did much to create a humanitarian narrative for it, making their burgeoning reading publics bear witness to, and sentimentally connect with, the suffering of particular individuals.²¹ From the forlorn request of a ravenous *Oliver Twist* for more gruel, starving women and children became staples of famine literature and the accounts of metropolitan

¹⁷ Valerie Johnston, *Diets in Workhouses and Prisons* (London, 1985); T. C. Barker, D. J. Oddy, and John Yudkin, *The Dietary Surveys of Dr Edward Smith, 1862–3* (London, 1971). Dietary experiments on the army and factory workers had a rather later history, concerned as they were with maximizing production rather than the minimal levels of subsistence. See Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992).

¹⁸ Christopher Hamlin, “Could You Starve to Death in England in 1839? The Chadwick-Farr Controversy and the Loss of the ‘Social’ in Public Health,” *American Journal of Public Health* 85, no. 6 (1995): 856–66.

¹⁹ Ian Astruther, *The Scandal of Andover Workhouse* (London, 1973); Parliamentary Papers, 1846 (663-1), *Report from the Select Committee on Andover Union*.

²⁰ Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*, 108–14.

²¹ For the genealogy of this humanitarian narrative, see Thomas Laqueur, “Bodies, Details, and the Humanitarian Narrative,” in Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989).

social explorers, for it was they who most clearly demonstrated the moral innocence of the hungry.²² By the early 1860s, as journalists reported on the scale of Lancashire's Cotton Famine to elicit charitable donations from the humanitarian publics that their shocking reports had helped create, the pitiful figures of hungry women and children were joined by the emaciated unemployed man as victims of a political economy beyond their control.²³ There was no political coherence to the humanitarian sympathies generated by these literatures; they were certainly not the sole preserve of the fledgling labor movement. The Anti-Corn Law League made the promise of a bigger loaf, once the market had been freed of protectionist impediments, central to its campaign. Indeed, it was that apostle of free trade Richard Cobden himself who did much to publicize the plight of Lancashire during the Cotton Famine, persuading the government to allow Poor Law guardians to raise loans for the financing of public works as well as encouraging the creation of soup kitchens to relieve the hunger of the distressed. Even for those most wedded to a liberal political economy, hunger was seen as a marker less of the moral weakness of the poor than of their heroic strength and virtue in the face of a failing political economy. Philanthropic social intervention would remain necessary until markets had been sufficiently liberalized to deliver the wealth of nations. Hunger was now a social problem.

We can see a new conception of the social being consolidated here. For much of the first half of the nineteenth century, the social had been the dustbin of liberalism, where those unable to improve themselves, or to be improved, had been subjected—the arena where difficult but discrete problems (the unsanitary, the poor, the criminal) were consigned for scrutiny and disciplinary regulation. Slowly, during the second half of the century, the social was reconceptualized as a system, the connective tissue between economics and politics that would enable the stability of those domains to be maintained. The nascent discipline of sociology, which, after the establishment of the Social Science Association in 1857, attracted the leading intellectuals and politicians of the age, posited the social as the key domain for the government of modernity.²⁴ Viewed from this perspective, hunger was no longer simply a problem for the hungry; it threatened political stability, economic production, and racial efficiency in ways that drew all of society into its vortex. It demanded not just philanthropic intervention but forms of statecraft that reflected a new ethic of collective responsibility.

It was in this context that school meals first emerged in Britain. The introduction of compulsory primary education by the Education Acts of 1870 and 1880 was itself

²² Charles Dickens's *Oliver Twist* was first published in 1837. Peter Keating, ed., *Into Unknown England, 1866–1913: Selections from the Social Explorers* (London, 1976); J. Marriot and M. Matsumura, eds., *The Metropolitan Poor: Semifictional Accounts, 1795–1910*, 6 vols. (London, 1999); Margaret Kelleher, *The Feminization of Famine* (Durham, N.C., 1997).

²³ At the height of the Cotton Famine in 1862—a famine caused by the blockade of cotton supplies during the American Civil War—a quarter of the county's population was receiving relief. On the valorization of the industrious but unemployed working man, see M. E. Rose, "Rochdale Man and the Stalybridge Riot: Poor Relief during the Lancashire Cotton Famine, 1861–1865," in A. P. Donaj-grodzki, ed., *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London, 1977). For later accounts evoking sympathy for unemployed men, see A. S. Krausse, *Starving London: The Story of a Three Weeks' Sojourn among the Destitute* (1886), and Bart Kennedy, *The Hunger Line* (London, 1908).

²⁴ Lawrence Goldman, *Science, Reform, and Politics in Victorian Britain: The Social Science Association, 1857–1886* (Cambridge, 2002).

a startling, bold acknowledgment of the state's new ethical obligations. In the broader interests of society, all children were now to be educated, regardless of their parents' interests or objections. Many of those elected to the new local school boards (especially women, who were allowed to both vote and hold office) immediately raised the question of whether, now that the state had assumed this responsibility, it should go further still. They suggested not only that compulsory education had inadvertently made more children hungry because they were no longer able to contribute to the family income, but also that this hunger wasted the state's precious resources because it impeded those children's opportunity to learn. Although these critics were often women of the left—Annie Besant in London and Margaret McMillan in Bradford are the usual iconic examples²⁵—they were never exclusively so, as was evident from their cooperation with the lady philanthropists who, during the 1880s, had begun to provide free school meals through organizations such as the Manchester and Salford Ladies Health Association and the London Free Dinner Association.²⁶ It is true that, from its inception in 1884, the Social Democratic Federation (SDF), that curious amalgam of radical politics and Marxism, used school board elections to campaign for universal free school meals. The Independent Labour Party (ILP) followed suit from the mid-1890s, just as the SDF had begun to articulate a fuller package of state maintenance for schoolchildren.²⁷ Indeed, it was partly because school boards had been radicalized in this way that they were abolished by Balfour's Conservative government in 1902. Yet by 1904, Bradford's city council became the first to introduce free school meals, the culmination of a twenty-year campaign led by two members of the ILP, Margaret McMillan on the Bradford School Board and Fred Jowett on the city council, with the considerable help of Dr. John Kerr, whom the school board had made the country's first school medical officer in 1892.²⁸ The same year that the battle was won in Bradford, Kerr (now chief medical officer to the London School Board) gave critical evidence to the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, whose final report recommended the state provision of school meals. This call was heeded when the 1906 Education (Provision of Meals) Act enabled (but did not compel) local authorities to supply meals for "those unable by lack of food to take advantage of the education provided them."²⁹ Although its voluntary nature and its

²⁵ Patricia Hollis, *Ladies Elect: Women in English Local Government, 1865–1914* (Oxford, 1987); Carolyn Steedman, *Childhood, Culture and Class in Britain: Margaret McMillan, 1860–1931* (London, 1990).

²⁶ The campaign for, and provision of, school meals was highly gendered from the outset, confirming Denise Riley's contention that by the late nineteenth century the social was frequently identified as a women's domain. Riley, "Am I That Name?"

²⁷ Karen Hunt, *Equivocal Feminists: The Social Democratic Federation and the Woman Question, 1884–1911* (Cambridge, 1996).

²⁸ In fact, the ILP campaign for school meals in Bradford was an extension of the philanthropic activities of Bradford's Cinderella Club, established in response to the calls of Robert Blatchford's *Clarion* for a Cinderella movement to provide welfare for children. By January 1903 they were providing 1,000 free meals a day, half of the need they had identified. Keith Laybourn, "The Issue of School Feeding in Bradford, 1904–1907," *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 14, no. 2 (July 1982): 30–38.

²⁹ Parliamentary Papers, 1904 (Cd.2175), xxxii, *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration*, vol. 1: *Report and Appendix*; Parliamentary Papers, 1906 (143), ii, 199, *A Bill to Provide Secular Education and Periodical Medical Examination and Food for Children Attending State-Supported Schools*.

allowance for recovering the costs from parents as well as from those who paid local property rates (both anathema to advocates of free universal provision) made the act more likely to attract significant cross-party support, its driving force was less its little-known Labour sponsor, W. T. Wilson, than Sir John Gorst (the Conservative MP partly responsible for the abolition of school boards) and Thomas Macnamara (a Liberal MP and ex-president of the National Union of Teachers).³⁰ It is unwise, then, to reduce the introduction of school meals to a matter of party politics; it owed more to a broader ethical shift in which people across the political spectrum recognized that hunger now had to be governed socially, especially that of schoolchildren in the wake of compulsory education. Yet if this recognition provided the ethical conditions for the emergence of the school meal, it was made practically possible by a new set of nutritional and social-scientific technologies that promised universal standards for identifying hungry bodies and the quantities of food required to relieve them. Bluntly put, it is hard to imagine school meals' being legislatively provided without a mechanism for identifying who required them, let alone how much these children needed to be fed and at what cost. To be relieved by the state, hunger had to be more than just a vague category of sympathy; it had to be made amenable to precise measurement.

AT THE HANDS OF CHEMISTS AND MEDICS, the science of nutrition, or dietetics as it was more often called, had gained greater attention and credibility as it investigated the nexus between health, economy, and productivity.³¹ In 1834, the Poor Law Commissioners were dependent on past practice for establishing diets that conformed to the principle of less eligibility, but from the 1850s and 1860s, their calculations increasingly appealed to the authority of science.³² Similarly, from the 1850s, the issue of food adulteration energized investigations into the properties of food and the biochemical processes of the human body while simultaneously cementing the connection of these forms of expertise to agencies of the state.³³ Despite the persistence of a promiscuous range of other forms of dietetic expertise, what emerged from the laboratories of chemical analysts and physiologists, as well as from the dietary investigations of medics, became known as the science of nutrition during the 1890s. Social scientists immediately recognized its potential for their work. In 1901, the social theorist J. A. Hobson predicted that it would become a "tributary science" informing sociology that would enable social investigators to calculate principles of social efficiency and define standards of dietary health

³⁰ John Stewart, "Ramsay MacDonald, the Labour Party and Child Welfare, 1900–1914," *Twentieth Century British History* 4, no. 2 (1993): 105–25; Stewart, "'This Injurious Measure.'"

³¹ The now-classic account is Rabinbach's *The Human Motor*; also H. Kamminga and A. Cunningham, eds., *The Science and Culture of Nutrition, 1840–1940* (Amsterdam, 1985).

³² Lyon Playfair, the distinguished chemist and student of Justus Liebig, advised the Poor Law Board in 1850, while Dr. Edward Smith, a medic with a keen interest in diet, was appointed its medical inspector in 1865. Johnston, *Diets in Workhouses and Prisons*, chap. 1.

³³ The Society of Public Analysts was founded in 1874 largely to develop standards and laboratory procedures to test the purity of foods. Chris Otter, "The Government of the Eye: Light Technology, Liberalism and the Victorian City, 1840–1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester, 2002), 112–14; M. French and J. Phillips, *Cheated Not Poisoned? Food Regulation in the United Kingdom, 1875–1938* (Manchester, 2000).

capable of maximizing physical and mental production. In return, they would provide nutritionists with empirical knowledge of the dietary regimes and physical demands of different sections of the population, lending their abstract principles a specific social basis and utility.³⁴ That same year, Seebohm Rowntree used what he called the “new knowledge of nutrition” to measure poverty in York, calculating how much food (and at what cost) the human motor needed in order for people to remain healthy and productive members of society, and then compared the results to actual dietary practices. At last, it seemed, hunger could be scientifically defined as the failure to reach a minimum nutritional standard, and its social costs could be precisely measured in terms of health, productivity, racial efficiency, and social stability.³⁵

The Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration of 1904 made much use of the social and nutritional sciences in its examination of the redeemable environmental conditions, rather than irredeemable hereditary factors, responsible for the decaying physique of the social body.³⁶ Chief among these, most expert witnesses concurred, was the issue of food and nutrition.³⁷ And nowhere was “the extreme importance of nutrition” more evident than among impoverished school-children, whose hunger impeded their education and damaged their physical development. Accordingly, the committee proposed “social education” in the nutritional and domestic sciences to working-class mothers so that they could more efficiently marshal their meager resources, as well as school meals for those children whose mothers were incapable of learning these lessons. This prioritizing of nutritional questions meant that alongside the familiar expert witnesses of social life (factory and school inspectors, health visitors, and charity workers) came the new figures of the social and nutritional scientist. Both Rowntree and Charles Booth testified to the scale and deleterious social effects of poverty, as well as the horrible inadequacy of the poor’s diet. Their authority emanated not from their proximity to, or familiarity with, the poor, but from the scientific techniques that enabled them to investigate the problems of poverty from a comfortably objective distance. These techniques—the local case study, the statistical sample, the trained interviewer who tabulated the classification of social types and practices on inquiry cards to await their aggregation into charts of statistical tables, graphs, and maps—promised standardized, and thus comparable, systems of measurement across time and space.³⁸ Similarly, the work of nutritionists was repeatedly invoked

³⁴ J. A. Hobson, *The Social Problem: Life and Work* (London, 1901), 265, 267, 266.

³⁵ An ill-fed and enervated population threatened social stability and the future of the race: “no civilisation,” he warned, “can be sound or stable which has at its base this mass of stunted human life.” No wonder, having concluded that a fourth of the population was living in poverty, Rowntree believed that he had identified “a social question of profound importance await[ing] solution.” B. S. Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* (London, 1901), 304. These sentiments are echoed, less carefully and scientifically, in Arnold White, *Efficiency and Empire* (Brighton, 1973 [1901]), 105, and Richard Higgs, *The Heart of the Social Problem: Twelve Millions Starving—How Can They Be Fed?* (London, 1913).

³⁶ These conditions were famously exposed during the Boer War, when “40 to 60 per cent of the men who present[ed] themselves for enlistment [were] found to be physically unfit for military service.” *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration*, 1: v.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 39.

³⁸ The history of social investigation is often conceived in terms of the development and perfection of these techniques to make society legible and amenable to government. For recent examples, see David Englander and Rosemary O’Day, eds., *Retrieved Riches: Social Investigation in Britain, 1840–1914*

as a way of scientifically tackling the question of diet and minimum needs. Several witnesses referred to the work of D. N. Paton and J. C. Dunlop at Glasgow, as well as W. O. Atwater in the United States, while Robert Hutchison, author of *Food and the Principles of Dietetics* and physician at Great Ormond Street, was called as “a well-known authority on nutrition.”³⁹ Not all accepted these new forms of expertise. C. S. Loch’s criticism of Rowntree’s use of “dietetics” as too abstract and “unreal, in spite of its being set down in seemingly precise statistics,” resonated with several on the committee, as did his argument that since the infant science of nutrition had not yet “finally settled” how to calculate food values, its authority “cannot be accepted without demur as here applied.”⁴⁰ It was not just that there were competing assessments of the values of different foodstuffs, but there appeared to be little agreement as to the qualities or function of food or the quantities required to reach a minimum standard.

The uncertainty surrounding the authority of nutritional science, and thus its practical utility for the school meals service, did not recede in the following decades. The thermodynamic model that had informed Edwardian discussions of minimum dietaries, with its focus on the characteristics of food (carbohydrates, fats, proteins) as fuel and the energy requirements of the human motor, was increasingly challenged by a new biochemical emphasis on the quality (not quantity) of diet.⁴¹ By 1918, the identification of diseases caused by specific dietary deficiencies, such as beriberi and rickets, led to the discovery of vitamins and heralded the arrival of a “newer [biochemical] knowledge of nutrition” that shifted attention from the quantities of food required for health and the efficiency of its use, to isolating the qualities of particular foodstuffs and tracking their specific physiological effects.⁴² This was to have very dramatic consequences for the way we think about hunger and

(Aldershot, 1995), and Martin Bulmer, Kevin Bales, and Kathryn Kish Sklar, eds., *The Social Survey in Historical Perspective, 1880–1940* (Cambridge, 1995).

³⁹ For references to nutritional research, see the evidence of Drs. Archibald K. Chalmers, W. L. Mackenzie, James Niven, and Alfred Eicholtz, as well as Rowntree and Loch, in *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration*, vol. 2: *Minutes of Evidence Taken before the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration*. Hutchison’s *Food and the Principles of Dietetics* was the standard work on nutrition in Britain. First published in 1900, it was reprinted three times in 1901, and again in 1902 and 1904. The second edition of 1905 was reprinted in 1906, 1909, and 1910; the third edition of 1911 was reprinted in 1913 and 1914; the fourth edition of 1916 was reprinted in 1918 and 1919; the fifth edition of 1922 was reprinted in 1923; the sixth edition of 1926 was reprinted in 1928 and 1931; and V. H. Mottram rewrote the first three chapters for the seventh edition of 1933. Robert Hutchison and V. H. Mottram, *Food and the Principles of Dietetics* (London, 1933).

⁴⁰ Questioning Rowntree on these issues, the chair of the committee complained that they had heard so many “very different opinions expressed” that he was left “plunged into a morass of doubt.” *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration*, 2: 111, 202.

⁴¹ David Smith, “Nutrition in Britain in the Twentieth Century” (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1986). On the “Glasgow School,” see D. Smith and M. Nicholson, “The ‘Glasgow School’ of Paton, Findlay and Cathcart: Conservative Thought in Chemical Physiology, Nutrition and Public Health,” *Social Studies of Science* 19 (1989): 195–238.

⁴² E. V. McCollum, *The Newer Knowledge of Nutrition: The Use of Food for the Preservation of Vitality and Health* (New York, 1918). This cemented the position of the laboratory as the key site of nutritional calculation, a trend reflected in the creation of the Rowett Research Institute (1921) and the Dunn Nutritional Laboratory (1927). On the role of laboratory life in the development of nutritional science, and the ways in which its proliferating instruments, experimental procedures, and chemical formulas appeared to create a universal grid of knowledge across the world, see James Vernon, *Modernity’s Hunger: How Imperial Britain Created and Failed to Solve the Problem of Hunger in the Modern World* (Cambridge, Mass., forthcoming), chap. 5.

poverty, for both were completely redefined in terms of the quality of diet and health, what became known as *malnutrition*, rather than the quantitative lack of *undernutrition*.

Significantly, during the 1920s, much of the biochemical work that redefined hunger as malnutrition was conducted in the colonial laboratory by British nutritionists such as Robert McCarrison and John Boyd Orr.⁴³ If in Britain biochemical research relied heavily on feeding animals synthetic diets, the natural heterogeneity of colonial diets (untainted by commercially produced foodstuffs) provided ideal conditions for its translation to the human world. In 1918, McCarrison established a nutritional research unit at the Pasteur Institute in Coonor, where, instead of focusing on the recognized manifestations of deficiency diseases (such as beriberi, pellagra, scurvy, and rickets), he set out to discover less visible but more widespread forms of malnutrition that lowered vitality and resistance to disease.⁴⁴ Reproducing India's dietary diversity in his laboratory, he then compared the health and physique of its peoples with those of his rats, mapping a marked decline in strength and vitality as a diet of wheat and meat in the north gave way to one based on rice and vegetables in the south.⁴⁵ (See Figures 1 and 2.) Like Orr, who was simultaneously conducting similar comparative studies of diet and physique among the Masai and Kikuyu in Kenya, McCarrison believed that if science could be made to prevail over custom and "religious prejudice" in questions of diet, the health and productivity of Indians would increase dramatically—an optimism later dented when Audrey Richards's anthropological work in East Africa highlighted the deeply entrenched nature of dietary habits and the persistence of "primitive" food taboos in both metropolitan and colonial cultures.⁴⁶ If their work influenced the emergent discourse of colonial development, it also shaped discussions of the poor white in metropolitan Britain. In their hands, the standard-of-living question in Britain, the definition of what Rowntree called minimum human needs, had become, in part, a colonial calculation.⁴⁷

Both Orr and McCarrison played central roles in the "Hungry England" debate,

⁴³ Michael Worboys, "The Discovery of Colonial Malnutrition between the Wars," in David Arnold, ed., *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies* (Manchester, 1988), 222; David Arnold, "The 'Discovery' of Colonial Malnutrition and Diet in Colonial India," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 31, no. 1 (1994): 26.

⁴⁴ Robert McCarrison, *Studies in Deficiency Diseases* (London, 1921); H. M. Sinclair, *The Work of Sir Robert McCarrison, with Additional Introductory Essays by W. R. Aykroyd and E. V. McCullom* (London, 1953); Sir Robert McCarrison, *Nutrition and National Health: Being the Cantor Lectures Delivered before the Royal Society of Arts 1936* (London, 1944 [1936]), 17–18.

⁴⁵ Robert McCarrison, "Problems of Nutrition in India" (1932), in Sinclair, *The Work of Sir Robert McCarrison*, 267–68; McCarrison, *Nutrition and National Health*, 21; Robert McCarrison, "Memorandum on Malnutrition as a Cause of Physical Inefficiency and Ill-Health among the Masses in India" (1926), in Sinclair, *The Work of Sir Robert McCarrison*, 261.

⁴⁶ McCarrison, "Problems of Nutrition in India," 262; Audrey I. Richards, *Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe: A Functional Study of Nutrition among the Southern Bantu* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1964 [1932]).

⁴⁷ On colonial development, see Fred Cooper, "Modernizing Bureaucrats, Backward Africans, and the Development Concept," in F. Cooper and R. Packard, eds., *International Development and the Social Sciences: Essays on the History and Politics of Knowledge* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997). McCarrison noted that mice fed on the "poor Britisher" diet were subject to a litany of woes: "stunted . . . badly proportioned . . . nervous and apt to bite the attendants . . . lived unhappily together and . . . began to kill and eat the weaker ones amongst them . . . prone to pulmonary and gastro-intestinal disease." The prognosis for Britain's racial health and social stability was gloomy. McCarrison, *Nutrition and National Health*, 24–25.

which began in 1933 when the *Week-End Review* sought a nutritional expert to scientifically settle its highly charged controversy about the scale of hunger in Britain.⁴⁸ Ironically, the resulting report exposed the still-fractional nature of nutritional knowledge and the less than disinterested spirit of its experts, provoking contention between two recently convened committees of nutritional experts at the Ministry of Health and the British Medical Association about what constituted a minimum nutritional requirement and how it should be calculated.⁴⁹ Their carefully crafted consensus was quickly shattered the following year by the formation of the Committee against Malnutrition and the Children's Minimum Council, two leftist groups eager to draw attention to the scale of the newly expanded condition of malnutrition and its disproportionately corrosive effect on children.⁵⁰ They were to receive the substantial, and well-publicized, support of Orr and McCarrison, both of whom estimated that more than 20 million people in Britain, effectively half the population, were malnourished.⁵¹

At the heart of this debate was the question of how hunger as malnutrition should be defined and measured. Even those who championed the expanded biochemical definition of malnutrition recognized that the term had been used in a "loose and confused manner" to describe a host of conditions: those who did not eat enough food, those whose physiques were below "normal" or the locally "average" standards, those who suffered from a specific deficiency disease, and those whose nutritional health failed to meet the best attainable or "optimum" standards.⁵² The problem of definition resolved itself into one of measurement—of how to translate knowledge of an adequate diet into a practical assessment of the malnourished. By 1935, the League of Nations had catalogued three basic systems of measurement—the anthropometric, the clinical, and the physiological—each with its own competing standards, techniques, and problems.⁵³ There were, for example, no fewer than five named anthropometric "indices of nutrition," the "fallacies" of which "had been repeatedly described" even though they allowed for margins of error that ranged from 7 to 20 percent.⁵⁴ Clinical methods were no less problematic. The "Dunfermline scale," used by

⁴⁸ "Hungry England: An Inquiry," *Week-End Review* 7, no. 157 (March 1, 1933): 264.

⁴⁹ Ministry of Health, *Nutrition: Report of Conference between Representatives of the Advisory Committee on Nutrition and Representatives of a Committee Appointed by the British Medical Association* (London, 1934), 4, 7.

⁵⁰ "Statement of Aims," *Bulletin of the Committee against Malnutrition* 1 (March 1934): 1–2. F. Le Gros Clark and Marjorie Green were the respective secretaries of these organizations. On the formation of the Children's Minimum Council, see Susan Pedersen, *Eleanor Rathbone and the Politics of Conscience* (New Haven, Conn., 2004), 234–35.

⁵¹ McCarrison, *Nutrition and National Health*; John Boyd Orr, *Food, Health and Income: Report on Adequacy of Diet in Relation to Income* (London, 1936). Orr's position had been earlier rehearsed in his *The National Food Supply and Its Influence on Public Health: The Chadwick Lecture* (London, 1934). See also G. C. M. McGonigle and J. Kirby, *Poverty and Public Health* (London, 1936).

⁵² McGonigle and Kirby, *Poverty and Public Health*, 142; Political and Economic Planning (PEP), "The Malnutrition Controversy," *Planning* 88 (December 15, 1936): 8.

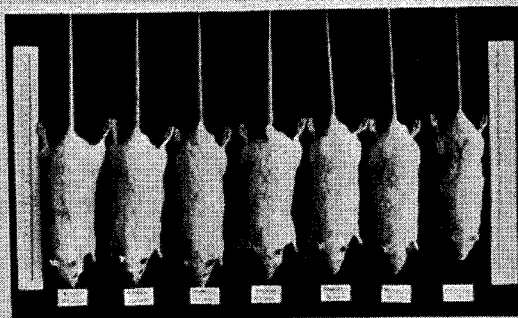
⁵³ E. Burnett and W. R. Aykroyd, "Nutrition and Public Health," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Health Organisation of the League of Nations* 4, no. 2 (1935): 323–474. Aykroyd succeeded McCarrison as director at Coonor in 1935. Vitamin deficiency tests were being developed by the late 1930s, but they were limited in their application to large-scale investigations. E. J. Bigwood, *Guiding Principles for Studies on the Nutrition of Populations* (Geneva, 1939), 147.

⁵⁴ Burnett and Aykroyd, "Nutrition and Public Health," 360–62. On margins of error, see Bigwood, *Guiding Principles*, 155.

DIET AND PHYSIQUE OF INDIAN RACES.



Hunza Hillman: Diet: whole cereal grains (mainly wheat), milk, vegetables and abundant fruits—apricots, etc.; meat occasionally.



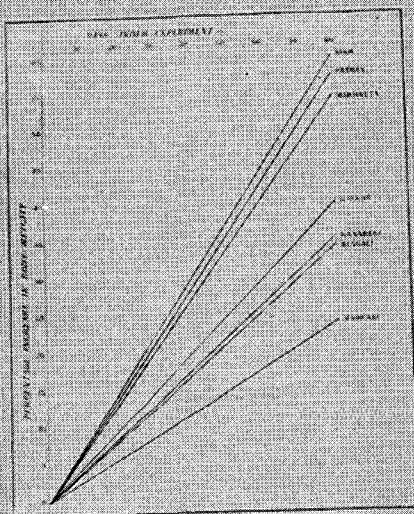
Average representatives showing weight in grams of 7 groups of rats fed from the same early age on certain national diets of India. The best of these diets (Sikh) was composed of whole wheat, butter, milk, legumes, vegetables with meat occasionally. The worst (Bengalis and Madrassais) is one composed mainly of rice.



Tibetan Hillman: representative of dandy carriers, rickshaw-men, etc. Very hard worked. Average protein intake 175 grams daily, of which over 60% is derived from animal sources. The heat value of their diet may be as much as 6,000 calories daily (M^cGay).



East coast cultivator: Diet: rice with dhal and vegetables and a small amount of fish, milk, and butter. Protein from 50 to 70 grams daily; calories 2,400 to 2750 (M^cGay).



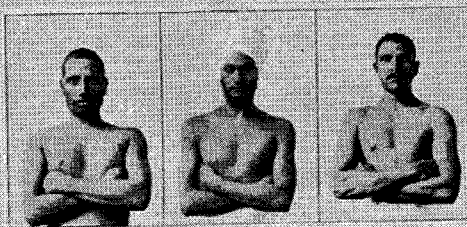
Percentage increase in body-weight of 7 groups of young rats, of the same initial aggregate weight fed on certain national diets of India (vide photograph above).



Nepalese Hillman (Goorkha): Protein 120 to 150 grams, of which less than one third is derived from animal sources. Calories 3,000 to 3,200. Such people eat largely of the better class cereals—wheat, maize and good millets (M^cGay).



Bengali: Diet: rice, dhal, vegetables, oil with a little fish and perhaps a little milk. Protein, 50 grams daily; Calories 2,300 to 2,500 (M^cGay).



Mahratta

Sikh
(M^cGay)

Pathan



Typical of rice-eating Madras: Diet contains little or no animal protein. Calories low (M^cGay).

FIGURES 1 and 2: McCarrison's malnourished rats. From Sir Robert McCarrison, *Nutrition and National Health* (London, 1936), 18 and 24. Reproduced by permission of Wellcome Library, London.

SIKH DIET VERSUS DIET OF POORER CLASS EUROPEAN.

The former diet consisted of whole wheat flour chapatties, butter, whole milk, dhal (legume), fresh raw vegetables ad libitum and fresh meat with bone once a week.

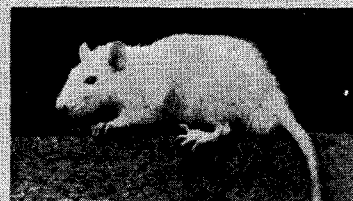
The latter diet consisted of white bread and margarine, tinned meat, boiled vegetables, tinned jam, tea and sugar with a little milk.



Two rats of the same age and initial body-weight: the one (left) fed on the Sikh and the other (right) on the poor European diet.



Two rats of the same age and initial body-weight: the one (left) fed on the Sikh and the other (right) on the poor European diet.



Two rats of the same age and initial body-weight: the one (left) fed on the Sikh and the other (right) on the poor European diet.

The rats shown above are representative of 20 in each group. Duration of experiment 187 days. Average initial body-weight both groups 125 grams: average final body-weight: Sikh, 188 gms; poor European, 118 gms. Common diseases in the latter group were pneumonia and gastro-intestinal ailments.

FIGURE 2

Britain's school medical officers before 1934, had several rivals—the Chittenden index, Pirquet's index, and Raymond Franzen's ACH index—each with its own competing techniques of measurement and systems of classification. No wonder the angry young man of letters Malcolm Muggeridge pithily observed of the "Hungry England" debate that the "under-nourished soon got forgotten in the excitement of deciding what was the measure of their under-nourishment."⁵⁵

What, you may reasonably be asking, did all these technical debates about nutritional standards and systems of measurement mean for the provision of school meals? The 1906 Education (Provision of Meals) Act enabled local authorities to provide school meals for children who were "unable by reason of lack of food to take advantage of the education provided them" by defraying their costs through a half-penny increase in the property rates, charitable donations, and the contributions of parents. In order to identify those children who needed free meals, as opposed to those who had to pay some of the cost—a distinction that helped mollify those critics who argued that the act abrogated parental responsibility in favor of the state maintenance of children⁵⁶—the medical inspection was introduced with the creation of the School Medical Service in 1907. However, given the infant nature of this service before the Great War, most localities continued the old philanthropic practice of means testing, although procedures varied enormously between localities.⁵⁷ Even disregarding the inequities inherent in such local variations, the limits of means-tested provision were apparent when, with the outbreak of war in August 1914, the half-penny rate limit was rescinded, encouraging further expansion of the scheme to prevent the unrest anticipated to accompany the inevitable food shortages. This policy was later reaffirmed by the Education Act of 1921, despite the fact that the numbers of those being fed at school, which had risen during the first year of the war, quickly fell to below prewar levels by the armistice.⁵⁸ By the 1920s, the Board of Education was actively promoting medical inspections over the means test, with George Newman, then its chief officer of health, echoing Margaret McMillan's argument that inspections were fairer, less humiliating, and more inclusive.⁵⁹ It soon became apparent that this was not necessarily the case. Newman frankly acknowledged that because there was "no absolute standard" by which to identify hungry children, much was left to

⁵⁵ Malcolm Muggeridge, *The Thirties: 1930–1940 in Great Britain* (London, 1967 [1940]), 281.

⁵⁶ On the delicacy of the issue of parental responsibility, and MacDonald's attempt to distance the Labour Party from the idea of state maintenance, see Stewart, "Ramsay MacDonald."

⁵⁷ Needy children were identified by teachers, attendance officers, and philanthropists, or by requests from parents. Inquiries into the family's means were then conducted by care committees (or their paid investigators) or attendance officers, with varying degrees of thoroughness—from simply accepting parental statements to checking them with employers and Poor Law guardians. While some localities used differing scales of income per head after rent, others left the final decision on need to care, canteen, or education committees (or their chairs), as well as to headmasters or individual teachers. Mildred Emily Bulkley, *The Feeding of School Children* (London, 1914), 64–69. See also Parliamentary Papers, 1905 (Cd.2779), xlvii, *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Medical Inspection and Feeding of Children Attending Public Elementary Schools*, vol. 1: *Report and Appendices*.

⁵⁸ Harris, *The Health of the Schoolchild*, 78.

⁵⁹ By 1909 there were only 284 full-time and 32 part-time school medical officers, and only 44 of them had been appointed solely in that capacity (with 22 of those working on a part-time basis). In 1920 there were a total of 2,003 doctors working as school medical officers or their assistants and 2,650 school nurses; those numbers had risen to 3,592 and 6,149 respectively by 1938. Harris, *The Health of the Schoolchild*, 56, 123–24.

the discretion of school medical officers, who were left to translate their broad clinical assessment of a child's nutritional health on a classificatory scale that ranged from "good," "normal," "below normal," to "bad."⁶⁰ Critics were quick to point out that Newman's criteria for nutritional health were so broad that many other environmental factors or diseases could be seen to adversely reflect it. This confusion was evident among local medical officers, who emphasized different indicators, had widely divergent ways of translating their clinical assessments on the scale, deployed their own idiosyncratic definitions of the standards, and invariably equated the "normal" with the local average. Given these problems, it appeared difficult to make comparisons between localities or to generate reliable national figures.⁶¹ By 1933, as these problems were again publicized by the "Hungry England" debate, the Ministry of Health directed its Advisory Committee on Nutrition to devise standard tests for malnutrition that would help eradicate the vagaries of the system of classification. In the absence of a more "reliable yardstick," it continued to favor broad clinical assessments and made only minor changes to the system of classification, which were subsequently adopted by the Board of Education.⁶² It was not enough to silence the critics.⁶³ By 1940, even the Board of Education's own senior medical inspector gloomily concluded that the returns were "so unreliable as to be valueless for any purpose . . . Clinical assessment . . . has so many intrinsic flaws that with the friction of common use it flies to pieces."⁶⁴ The larger case pushed forward by the likes of the Committee against Malnutrition, McCarrison, Orr, and the League of Nations was that the broader biochemical definition of malnutrition meant that the category of the

⁶⁰ Drawing upon Hutchison's characterization of the diverse clinical indicators of poor nutrition, Newman instructed school medical officers to attend to the functional efficiency and well-being of the schoolchild's whole body. It was "reasonable to suppose," he suggested, that they were "as capable of assessing the nutrition of his patients, as the teacher is of judging the intelligence of members of his class." *Health of the School Child: Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education for 1908* (1909), Cd. 5426, xxiii. Hutchison, *Food and the Principles of Dietetics*, chap. 3.

⁶¹ Bulkley, *The Feeding of School Children*, 170–71; Barbara Drake, *Starvation in the Midst of Plenty: A New Plan for the State Feeding of School Children* (London, 1933), 9–10; Save the Children Fund, *Unemployment and the Child* (London, 1933), 76–77; Wal Hannington, *The Problem of the Distressed Areas* (London, 1937), 82. Alarmed at the criticism being directed at Newman and his medical officers, the BMA defended them on the grounds that there was neither a "satisfactory and accepted routine method" to assess an individual's nutritional condition nor "a satisfactory standard of 'normal nutrition.'" Cited in Hurt, "Feeding the Hungry Schoolchild," 195. Even the *Medical Officer* despairingly noted: "We must find out the clinical signs of malnutrition, for these we do not know." Cited in Harris, *The Health of the Schoolchild*, 130–31.

⁶² The "more precise, uniform, and comparable classification[s]" approved were "excellent," "normal," "slightly subnormal," and "bad"; the older supplementary categories of malnutrition "requiring observation" and "requiring treatment" were scrapped. Board of Education, "Minutes of Meeting of Medical Staff Committee, 28 Sept 1934," PRO ED 50/78 (M456/171). A memo to Newman acknowledged that the report confirmed what "we have recognised for some time that the summary of these returns published annually will not bear detailed examination." Board of Education, "Memo to Sir G. Newman from Cecil Maudsley 10.4.34 on Dr Simpson's Report on Standards of Nutrition," PRO ED 50/51 (M456/150).

⁶³ For just two examples: "The Official Meaning of Malnutrition," *Bulletin of the Committee against Malnutrition* 9 (July 1935): 28–31; R. H. Jones, "Physical Indices and Clinical Assessments of the Nutrition of Schoolchildren," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 101, no. 1 (1938): 1–52.

⁶⁴ J. A. Glover, "A Critical Examination of the Nutrition Returns over a Period of Five Years," 23, PRO ED 50/204. For an earlier indication of doubt, in response to the criticisms of the CAM, see Maudsley's memo "Deputation of Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations, 22 Oct 36," PRO ED 50/216 (167A).

"normal" should no longer be equated to "average" conditions or "minimum requirements"; it should now denote an "optimum" level of nutrition.⁶⁵

It is worth reemphasizing how quickly the debate about the ethics of feeding hungry children became technologized around the discussion of its nutritional mechanisms. Yet the technologizing of hunger did not *necessarily* defuse its ethico-political charge. Indeed, by the 1930s, it was nutritional experts advocating the broader biochemical definition of malnutrition who had rendered redundant the original premise that school meals were intended only for "those unable by reason of lack of food to take advantage of the education provided them." In their hands, the school meal was rather a way of addressing the much larger question of poverty and malnutrition. And yet, many on the left who had once championed medical inspection had come to believe that without clearer standards and more consistent techniques for identifying malnutrition, it now served as a ruse to limit the provision of meals to a measly 2 to 3 percent of schoolchildren in haphazard and unjust ways. Only a simple means test—or universal provision to all children—could ensure equity of treatment across localities, as well as the active prevention of malnutrition (rather than the remedial feeding of those identified *post facto* as malnourished at a medical inspection).⁶⁶ The exigencies of war and the need to supplement the rations of vulnerable groups by way of school and factory canteens helped these arguments to gain ground.⁶⁷ In a quest to expand the school meals service to an optimistic 75 percent of schoolchildren, the minister of food, Lord Woolton, abandoned medical inspection in 1941, confidently declaring, "I want to see elementary school children as well fed as children going to Eton and Harrow."⁶⁸ By 1944, the Education Act obliged all local authorities to provide a school meals service, although it retained the means test to distinguish between those who were to have a free lunch and the rest who would have to pay half of its cost. It was not until 1968, when the means test was removed for children with three or more siblings under the age of nineteen, that Woolton's target came close to being achieved, with 70.1 percent of schoolchildren being fed at school and 12 percent having their meals for free.⁶⁹

THERE WAS, HOWEVER, NO SUCH THING AS A FREE LUNCH. The school meal had always been conceived as a form of what the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration called "social education" as much as a form of welfare. If society was now to provide hungry children with school meals, those meals had to teach them about the nature of that society and the appropriate socially responsible forms of

⁶⁵ F. Le Gros Clark, ed., *National Fitness: A Brief Essay on Contemporary Britain* (London, 1938).

⁶⁶ Charles Segal, *Penn'orth of Chips: Backward Children in the Making, with an Introductory Note by Dr Cyril Burt* (London, 1939), 122–23; Drake, *Starvation in the Midst of Plenty*, 15–16.

⁶⁷ We know even less about factory canteens and community restaurants than we do about school meals, but for a preliminary charting of their connections, see Vernon, *Modernity's Hunger*, chap. 7.

⁶⁸ Although the number of school meals served daily had risen slightly between 1935 and 1939, from 143,000 to 160,000, it had fallen back to 130,000 by July 1940 before rising to a wartime peak of 1,650,000 by February 1945. Richard Titmuss neatly summarizes that whereas one child in thirty was fed at school at the beginning of the war, by its end one in three were receiving meals, even if only 14 percent of those were free. Richard Morris Titmuss, *Problems of Social Policy* (London, 1950), 510.

⁶⁹ Burnett, "Rise and Decline," 66; Harris, *The Health of the Schoolchild*, 196–97.

behavior it now demanded. Even F. Le Gros Clark, writing in 1948, having helped secure a central place for the school meal in both the British welfare state and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Association, insisted that it should “initiate children into a social life that will . . . be far more rich and complex than any we knew in the past.” By making them “tolerant, self-reliant and easy mannered,” it had “become in every sense part of the educational system of the country.”⁷⁰ Whatever the politics of its advocates, from its Edwardian inception through to its commanding height within the postwar welfare state, there was a remarkably similar vision of the role of the school meal in assembling society. Broadly speaking, it was hoped that by enshrining a new model of society based on the principles of community, solidarity, civility, and efficiency, school meals would help produce healthy, productive, and socially well-adapted citizens. If there was a difference in the way the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration and Le Gros Clark viewed the school meal as a project of social education, it was one of degree, not kind. By 1944, the school meal’s lessons in the civility and solidarities of society were no longer seen as the preserve of the undernourished few, as they had been before the Great War, or even of the malnourished many, as between the wars, but ideally of all children.

These lessons were all the more powerful because they were engineered into the very fabric of school life: into the design of kitchens, canteens, and dining halls, the arrangement of tables, chairs, and utensils, and the order and discipline of the meal—not to mention the food itself. Assembling an appropriate material infrastructure for the performance of an efficient and civil community demanded the technical expertise of not just nutritionists and domestic scientists, but also architects, engineers, and industrial designers. The techno-politics of the school meal rapidly escalated as different forms of expertise were needed to materially improve its delivery and universal reach. I will have much to say about the patchiness and diversity of provision that continued to plague the school meal up to the 1950s, for this seriously compromised the new vision of society and forms of governmentality it sought to instantiate. The details are important here, for it was literally at this microscopic level that society was assembled and its designs for life were complicated and refused.

Let me first dwell on this question of the production of civility. It was repeatedly suggested that the school meal should have “a civilising effect upon the children.”⁷¹ Enshrining “moral and spiritual as well as mental and physical values,” it would train “children in habits of self-control and thoughtfulness for one another.”⁷² As civility was a habit that required daily liturgical practice, school meals were to provide “practical lessons in unselfishness, cleanliness and self-help,” encouraging the acquisition of “gentle manners, courtesy, and respect” in ways that fostered social “harmony and happiness.” If schoolchildren rarely sat down to meals at home—much less meals with tablecloths, cutlery, and the art of polite conversation—they would learn the intimate arts of civility through the school meal, “by

⁷⁰ Le Gros Clark, *Social History of the School Meals Service*, 2.

⁷¹ Drake, *Starvation in the Midst of Plenty*, 16.

⁷² Eddie Williams, *School Milk and Meals* (Rogerstone, 1944), 3; Bulkley, *The Feeding of School Children*, 199.

washing hands and faces, singing or saying grace together, sitting at table with others and talking to them quietly, learning to handle knife and fork or spoon, and to eat in seemly fashion." These arts would then spread from the feeding center to "the school, the home, even to the street" and pass "from generation to generation."⁷³ Put another way: "Education as social beings requires cleanly and neat service of the meal and its consumption in an atmosphere of leisure and friendly care for the needs and interests of others."⁷⁴

Teaching these arts of civility was often seen to depend on a suitable regime of supervision and emulation. The initial model of a single supervisor imposing discipline by way of bells, rules of silence, or shouted commands was soon criticized as leaving "no scope for humanizing and educational influences."⁷⁵ Although in 1914 more than half of the 137 local authorities providing school meals had drafted regulations to secure "habits of orderliness and decorous behaviour," they were given further guidance by a Board of Education worried that the intended wartime expansion of the service would bring chaos.⁷⁶ While a certain amount of discipline was necessary (and it was hoped that teachers would volunteer to provide it, given that the 1906 Act did not contractually oblige them to do so), less disciplinary and more productive forms of regulation were generally favored. Although adults—if not teachers, then members of the care or canteen committee—were to supervise proceedings, few were needed (one per fifty children), because responsibility was to be ceded to elder children who could act as "monitors" to between twelve and twenty of their peers. Monitors would lay and clear tables, serve food, and act as exemplary students whose manners could be emulated while they monitored the behavior of their charges.⁷⁷ They would serve as good examples of the way in which manners and civility were less to be imposed upon children than presented as a set of social conventions that should be internalized as a mentality of self-government.⁷⁸ Despite the enormous quantities of working-class memoirs and testimonies published and recorded since the 1960s, we have little evidence of how children

⁷³ Quoted in Bryant, *School Feeding*, 74; Austin Priestman, *The Work of the School Medical Officer* (London, 1914), 4; Williams, *School Milk and Meals*, 3. The initial 1906 Report on the Education (Provision of Meals) Act noted: "To many of the poorest children a well ordered meal, with its accompaniments of clean table-cloths, clean crockery, and seemliness of behaviour, is almost unknown; and it is hoped, with some confidence, that the object lessons supplied by the meals provided . . . will have more than a transitory effect upon the behaviour of the children who have received them." Quoted in Charles E. Hecht, *Rearing an Imperial Race: Containing a Full Report of the Second Guildhall Conference on Diet, Cookery and Hygiene, with Dietaries* (London, 1913), 17.

⁷⁴ National Union of Teachers and the Gloucestershire Training College of Domestic Science, *School Canteen Handbook* (Toddington, 1940), 8. This was a consistent theme among educationalists: see Millicent MacKenzie, "The School Meal," in Hecht, *Rearing an Imperial Race*, 18, and Cyril Norwood, Headmaster of Harrow School, in National Union of Teachers, *The Schools at Work: Being a Pictorial Survey of National Education in England and Wales* (London, 1935), 9.

⁷⁵ Bulkley, *The Feeding of School Children*, 169.

⁷⁶ Hecht, *Rearing an Imperial Race*, 398; Board of Education, "Memorandum on Methods of Providing Meals for Children in Connection with Public Elementary Schools and on Dietaries Suitable for the Present Circumstances," Circular 856, 15 August 1914, 6, Labour History Museum, WNC.26/1/1/1.

⁷⁷ Board of Education, "Memorandum on Methods"; see also Nancy Sharman, *Nothing to Steal: The Story of a Southampton Childhood* (London, 1977), 39.

⁷⁸ As Millicent MacKenzie put it: "It is, of course, necessary to instruct the pupils, but once they understand their work, it is educationally better to make them as responsible as possible for the organization and carrying out of arrangements." Hecht, *Rearing an Imperial Race*, 20.

responded to these new disciplines and responsibilities, although some of us may remember how quickly the fragile balance of restraint and misrule could disintegrate into a food fight.⁷⁹ It is, however, clear that not all took the “wholesome” civilizing influence of the school meal to heart. The London County Council’s regulations show that those who refused to learn the arts of civility were referred to a variety of higher authorities, such as the head teacher or, worse still, the care or canteen committee, who could punish the children by not allowing them to eat from society’s high table.⁸⁰ Between the wars, the Board of Education increasingly sought to enlist the help of teachers, for they were considered more capable of acting in exemplary ways and maintaining order through the calculated administration of shame than student monitors or the poorly paid women who invariably made up the canteen staff.⁸¹ The ideal was for teachers to sit at the heads of small tables with a dozen students, where they could demonstrate how to behave and could discipline those who failed to learn. (See Figure 3.) If this model was enforced when the 1944 Education Act compelled teachers to supervise meals that were now seen as integral to the corporate life of schools,⁸² its achievement was often hampered by the lack of requisite materials (such as dining halls and suitable chairs and tables), as well as by shortages of teachers.⁸³

The material environment in which meals were served was also thought critical to the production of civil and sociable subjects. This was partly about creating a sanitary and congenial space for school meals, but it was also about providing the physical tools of civility—tables, chairs, plates, cups, knives, forks, and spoons, even tablecloths and flowers—which were often absent from the poorest homes, where food went from hand to mouth. Materials mattered. It was a source of great consternation that, as provision initially relied on existing local philanthropic services, children invariably ate in a number of inappropriate and degrading settings, including church vestries, public restaurants, school playgrounds, classrooms, cloakrooms, and cellars, or, worse still, on street corners or at home.⁸⁴ (See Figure 4.) Even the purpose-built feeding center, once heralded as a model of

⁷⁹ On the proliferation of working-class memoirs and testimonies, see Chris Waters, “Autobiography, Nostalgia, and the Changing Practices of Working Class Selfhood,” in G. K. Behlmer and F. M. Levanthall, eds., *Singular Continuities* (Stanford, Calif., 2000), 178–95; and James Vernon, “Telling the Subaltern to Speak: Mass Observation and the Formation of Social History in Post-war Britain,” in *Actas del II Congreso Internacional: Historia a Debate* (Coruña, Spain, 2000), 139–50.

⁸⁰ “London County Council Education (Provision of Meals) Act 1906: Rules to Be Observed in Connection with the Management of Dining Centres,” reproduced in Hecht, *Rearing an Imperial Race*, 267.

⁸¹ See the detailed correspondence in “Provision in Rural Areas: Supervision, 1936–1943,” PRO ED 11/300. Many teachers appear to have already been freely offering their voluntary services; they were rewarded with the dubious pleasure of a free meal. “Particulars Regarding the Provision of School Canteens,” 6, PRO ED 50/219.

⁸² The National Union of Teachers, which had wanted teachers to receive extra payment for “dinner duty,” lost this battle, if not the war. In 1968, supervising meals was finally classed as voluntary duty. Nan Berger, *The School Meals Service: From Its Beginnings to the Present Day* (Plymouth, 1990), 24. During the 1950s, the Ministry of Education was fond of blaming the lack of support by teachers for the poor uptake of school meals. See “Special Services General Files: Inquiry into the Take Up of School Meals, 1954–1955,” PRO ED 50/431.

⁸³ This was especially the case in rural areas; see “School Dinners from Central Kitchens or Depots,” Herefordshire County Council, Education Committee, March 1947, in Herefordshire Record Office, Llanwarne Parish Records, G52/83.

⁸⁴ Bulkley, *The Feeding of School Children*, 76–106.



FIGURE 3: Engineering a civil environment I: Greenwich primary school canteen, 1953. From Nan Berger, *The School Meals Service* (Plymouth, 1990), 99.

efficiency and civility, was quickly denigrated and associated with the workhouse.⁸⁵ (See Figure 5.) Increasingly, it was hoped that all schools would boast their own dinner halls or canteens, which would be “bright, warm and cheerful; tables decorated with vases of flowers, should seat no more than twelve, and be covered with lino or cloth. There should be chairs instead of forms . . . Tables can be laid every day with knives, forks, and spoons and tumblers of water.”⁸⁶ Yet making this environment materialize was a difficult, slow, and expensive process. By 1936, only 73 out of 311 local education authorities (LEAs) in England and Wales had schools with a canteen, and they served fewer than 30,000 children in a meager 479 schools.⁸⁷ The Board of Education was suitably alarmed to appoint the domestic scientist Edna Langley as inspector of provision of meals arrangements in 1938. Her first report dismally concluded that a lack of materials and of sound organization meant that only “in a few areas can the dining service be regarded as having definite educational value.”⁸⁸ Even in Willesden, which boasted “one of the best school-feeding schemes in the country,” long trestle tables and benches were still used, with knives and forks used only once a week, when a joint of meat was served.⁸⁹ The brave new world of engineered civility within the school dining hall was being only falteringly delivered.

The expansion of the school meals service during World War II proved a catalyst in the development of appropriate infrastructures, as the costs were picked up by the Board of Education, not, as before 1939, by local authorities. By 1943, the Ministry of Works and the Board of Education had collaborated to design and produce a complete new range of canteen equipment as well as freestanding prefabricated designs for both central kitchens and school canteens.⁹⁰ These enshrined the long-cherished goals of the canteen movement: the scientific management of the kitchen area on view to the students, who sat behind a cafeteria service counter, around tables of eight or ten in the well-equipped dining hall. (See Figure 6.) Within six months of their launch, two to three thousand of these buildings were being produced every month, forcing harassed officials at the Board of Education to find ways to expedite the planning permission process.⁹¹ On the

⁸⁵ At one such center in London in 1913, children were forced to “scramble for a dozen mugs, in complete contradiction to any lessons in manners of hygiene they may have been taught,” while at another they were “packed like sardines without elbow room to feed themselves properly.” George Rainey, “Paris and London,” in Hecht, *Rearing an Imperial Race*, 421. On their association with the workhouse, see Williams, *School Milk and Meals*, 5.

⁸⁶ Segal, *Penn’orth of Chips*, 92.

⁸⁷ The majority of these (at 347 schools) were in county boroughs where children lived at a greater distance from school, and thus returning home for a midday meal was difficult. “Particulars Regarding the Provision of School Canteens (as Distinct from Feeding Centres), 1936,” ED 50/219.

⁸⁸ Of fifty-four areas inspected, only 5 percent were found to be “really good” and 20 percent were “entirely unsatisfactory,” with the remainder having so “many serious defects” that they could “not be looked upon as up to any reasonable standard.” “Provision of Meals,” Report of Edna Langley to Dr Glover, 4 April 1939, M 501/262.

⁸⁹ “On other days, a spoon only is given the children.” Segal, *Penn’orth of Chips*, 92.

⁹⁰ These designs probably originated from the Ministry of Works Experimental Building Research Station in Watford. One of these model canteen kitchens, complete with all the latest equipment from the newly produced *Catalogue of School Canteen Equipment* and sample wall finishes, was exhibited behind the Tate Gallery, where district school inspectors and LEA officials were invited to inspect it. See September 1943 memos from Agnes Miller and Miss Langley, as well as circular letter to LEAs, 13 October 1943, ED 50/219.

⁹¹ See C. Cameron, “School Canteens and Kitchens,” 20 September 1943, and “Comments on the



FIGURE 4: Waiting to be fed on a street corner, ca. 1900. Reproduced by permission of the Salvation Army International Heritage Centre.

heels of this success, the Education Act of 1944 promised that every school would have its own dining hall, a commitment reiterated in the revised School Building Regulations the following year, as the new Ministry of Education began to plan a hugely ambitious building program, the cost of which rose from £24 million in 1947 to £55 million in 1949 to a projected £94 million in 1952.⁹² While the Ministry of Works Building Research Station had initially supervised the design and construction of these new schools and their canteens, the pace of work and the need for “closer integration of administration and [architectural] technique” was so great that the Ministry of Education formed its own Architects and Building Branch to oversee the construction program and establish detailed regulations for the levels of light, heat, and air flow in canteens.⁹³ By the early 1950s, when many of the new model canteens were found to be operating inefficiently below their capacity, the

Draft Explanatory Memorandum to the proposed Town and Country Planning Order,” 8 January 1944, HLG 71/899.

⁹² For a general consideration of the new conception of the social at the center of this program, see Andrew Saint, *Towards a Social Architecture: The Role of School-Building in Post-war England* (New Haven, Conn., 1987).

⁹³ “Particulars of Proposals Noted in Buildings Section for Building Schools by Experimental and Demonstration Methods,” ED 150/23; “Ministry of Works Organisation: The Present Position,” 1, ED 150/156; “The Standards for School Premises Regulations, 1951,” Statutory Instruments, no. 1753;

long-cherished dream of a single-purpose dining room in each school was abandoned, and LEAs were encouraged to reduce the unit costs of the building program by adopting “dual-use” dining rooms that doubled as corridors, entrance halls, or classrooms.⁹⁴ A survey in 1956 showed that only 48 percent of schoolchildren ate school meals, a low rate that was partially explained by the less than ideal conditions in which many were served.⁹⁵

The design and construction of school canteens was only one part of the project to engineer a civil social environment for the school meal. Kitchens and dining rooms also had to be equipped with appropriate hardware. Tables and chairs had to be varied and of appropriate sizes for children of different ages to be able to maintain the right posture and have enough elbowroom to make appropriate use of their cutlery. And everything had to be made from hygienic and durable materials—enamel plates, mugs, and cutlery (later earthenware and stainless steel), solid wood floors, chairs, and tables (later with linoleum covers).⁹⁶ Similarly, kitchens were tiled, plumbed for plentiful running water and suitable drainage, equipped with modern gas cookers, and organized in accordance with the principles of scientific management, with time-saving appliances such as steam cookers, mechanical peelers, and even dishwashers.⁹⁷ Again, in 1939, alarmed at the variety of local practice, the Ministry of Works assumed responsibility for the supply of all equipment and furniture to local authorities, producing elaborate catalogs of materials (listing their functions, diameters, and prices) that were incorporated into the prefabricated designs of kitchens and canteens.⁹⁸ Yet it was soon apparent that, just like children and teachers, materials and equipment resisted orchestration into a model social environment. The much-vaunted insulated containers within which food was to be transported and served, which had been proudly displayed at the exhibition and launch of the new kitchens in 1943, proved particularly troublesome. When full, they were prone to spills and leaks, not only wasting hot food but potentially injuring kitchen staff; and when empty, they suffered from condensation

Medical Research Council and Building Research Group, “Joint Committee on Lighting and Vision: Proposed New Regulations for the Lighting of Schools,” ED 150/25.

⁹⁴ By 1956, every scheme of permanent construction was calculated in terms of costs per square foot. Nine square feet were allowed for each primary dining space, ten square feet at secondary school. “Planning Requirements (General): Canteen Provision,” 1951–56, ED 150/104, G. L. Thornton to Sir Arthur Binns, 4 September 1956, “School Meals Service: Building Programme,” ED 50/760; “Tables to Show Approximate Costs of Ks, K.D.Rs and D.Rs of Various Sizes in Permanent Construction,” ED 50/760.

⁹⁵ Only 25.5 percent of schools boasted their own purpose-built dining rooms, with a further 48.6 percent using assembly halls or other dual-function rooms and 12.1 percent still serving dinner in classrooms (a figure that rose to 30.4 percent in rural schools)—a factor acknowledged to deter some “from staying to dinner at school.” Some 13.8 percent of children dined away from their own schools, the vast majority (10 percent) in hired premises such as village or church halls. Ministry of Education, *Report of an Inquiry into the Working of the School Meals Service (1955–56)* (London, 1956).

⁹⁶ On the competing merits of different materials and arrangements, see Willard Stanley Ford, *Some Administrative Problems of the High School Cafeteria* (New York, 1926). Laminated and stackable tables and chairs became the focus from the 1950s; see London County Council, *School Furniture* (London, 1958).

⁹⁷ Bryant, *School Feeding*, 56; Priestman, *The Work of the School Medical Officer*, 3; Hecht, *Rearing an Imperial Race*, 400.

⁹⁸ The work was overseen by its senior engineer in conjunction with its senior catering adviser. “Ministry of Works Organisation: The Present Position,” 1, ED 150/156. See, for example, Ministry of Education, *School Meals Service: Equipment Catalogue, 1947* (London, 1947).



FIGURE 5: Engineering a civil environment II: full trestles and forms, Bristol, ca. 1910. From L. S. Bryant, *School Feeding* (London, 1913), 46.

and rust.⁹⁹ Buildings also creaked and groaned. Poorly insulated kitchen and canteen buildings were cold and suffered from appalling condensation. Norwich's city architect repeatedly tried to solve this problem. First he tried to insulate the building's ceiling, but the plaster became so wet it fell off, and cement proved only marginally more effective. He then sought to stem the flow of steam by placing separating doors between the kitchen and the canteen, but this only transferred the problem (and the cold) to the kitchen, where he then installed extractor fans. Eventually, with the addition of metal covers to the sinks, conditions became "satisfactory."¹⁰⁰ It was hoped that such problems would become a thing of the past when, in 1953, the Ministry of Education established an "Advisory Sub-committee for Furniture and Equipment for School Meals" to work in conjunction with the British Standards Institution technical committees on school furniture and canteen equipment.¹⁰¹ Newly designed equipment that made the most of modern materials

⁹⁹ See the entire file of correspondence in "Wartime Meals: School Canteen Equipment, West Bromwich," 1943, MAF 900/103. See also "Care and Maintenance of Insulated Containers," *School Meals Service: Canteen Leaflet*, no. 4 (1951).

¹⁰⁰ J. W. Beeson (Director of Education, Norwich) to W. D. Pile, 19 June 1952; also Norwich City Architect, "Memorandum, School Meals Service—Kitchen and Dining Rooms. Insulation and Prevention of Condensation," 23 May 1952, ED 150/104. By the mid-1950s, the kitchens' wooden working surfaces had also run afoul of the Ministry of Health's new food hygiene regulations, which recommended the use of Formica or stainless steel tops. W. B. Ashplant to A & B General, "Food Hygiene Regulations, 1955," 12 October 1956, ED 150/156.

¹⁰¹ For instance, anthropometric studies informed the new British standards for tables and chairs

was now to be purchased directly by LEAs (not the Ministry of Works) in the hope of reducing distance between users, manufacturers, designers, and scientific experts. This renewed effort at the engineering of civility reminds us how many agents and forms of expertise had been enlisted to make good the always compromised endeavor to create an appropriate environment for the school meal.

Next to civility came health for the new socially adapted citizen; appetites, as well as minds and manners, had to be trained. The aim of the school meal was not simply to improve children's nutritional health, but to teach them what "a dinner ought to be" so that they would become "better fathers and mothers in consequence."¹⁰² "It is to be hoped," wrote the head of London's meals service in 1947, "that the provision of well-cooked and well-served meals, properly balanced, will lead to the formation of wise feeding habits in the children as they grow up."¹⁰³ As social and nutritional investigators constantly bemoaned the dietary conservatism and ignorance of the poor, here was an opportunity to introduce children to new foods and good dietary habits. In Bradford they quickly learned that "children were quite unused to normal food, having subsisted largely on canned and fried food, coffee and baker's bread," but that with a "little encouragement, by starting with small helpings, by not at first unduly pressing what is distasteful and in other ways, children whom at first it is difficult to get to eat can soon be made to do so."¹⁰⁴ Commissioned to investigate how to get schoolchildren to eat their vegetables, Le Gros Clark argued that the school canteen offered an ideal forum for "training in food values" that should "go far in eradicating the settled food dislikes of most children." For instance, children could even be taught to like the dreaded swede, a root vegetable rich in ascorbic acid, if it was introduced slowly, mashed with potatoes.¹⁰⁵ It was hoped that these new tastes and appetites would eventually transform domestic dietaries as well. In Bradford it was considered "a waste of time and money" if those well fed at school returned home "to irregular, hastily prepared, unsuitable meals," so every mother received a free book of recipes designed by the school medical officer and the superintendent of domestic subjects.¹⁰⁶

Despite some promising early signs, there is little evidence that children learned

drawn up in 1955. With a sloping design to "fit the children" and prevent "bad posture," they were produced in five sizes to accommodate the stages of child development and ensured a minimum table area allowance for each child. Strength and durability were stressed (wood or aluminum frames were subjected to performance tests), but so too was convenience (stackable for easy storage), hygiene (materials were "durable, non-absorbent, hygienic, and easily cleaned"), and silence (cushioned legs reduced noise and floor scratches). A. F. B. Nail (Assistant Technical Director, BSI) to Johnston Marshall (Chief Architect, Ministry of Education), 5 November 1953, ED 150/80; G. Weston (Technical Director, BSI) to W. D. Pile, "School Furniture Press Conference," 7 October 1955, ED 150/80; BSI, "Sub-Committee—Dining Tables and Chairs of Technical Committee—School Furniture, Revised Draft Standard for School Dining Tables and Chairs," April 1955, ED 150/80.

¹⁰² Drake, *Starvation in the Midst of Plenty*, 16.

¹⁰³ London County Council, *Meals for School Children* (London, 1947), 5. See also London County Council, *Education in London, 1945–1954: A Report by the Education Officer* (London, 1954), 87.

¹⁰⁴ Bryant, *School Feeding*, 50–51.

¹⁰⁵ F. Le Gros Clark, *The School Child's Taste in Vegetables: An Inquiry Undertaken by F. Le Gros Clark, BA, and Presented to the Education Committee, Foreword by J. C. Drummond* (Hertford, 1943), 13, 14.

¹⁰⁶ Priestman, *The Work of the School Medical Officer*, 13, 4.

to enjoy or even tolerate nutritional foods.¹⁰⁷ More often, like Ernie Benson, who was put off brown bread for life at his free breakfasts before the Great War, children struggled to adapt to new tastes and foods.¹⁰⁸ Even Le Gros Clark found that the hatred of green leafy vegetables was stronger among older children who had been exposed to them longer!¹⁰⁹ It was not just the improving nutritional foods that were unpopular; school meals in general appear to have acquired their dreadful reputation early on. Working-class memoirs and testimonies are replete with stories of stale or soggy bread, gruel-like stews “in which floated bits of fat or grisly meat,” “little bags of mystery” masquerading as sausages, lots of mashed potato, and, of course, steamed puddings and watery custard.¹¹⁰ Bradford’s pioneers were merely the first in what became a long line of those involved in the campaign for or provision of school meals to be perplexed that hungry children would often turn down the chance to eat at school: “it being no unusual thing to see a child refusing some dish with a most appetising smell to an ordinary person . . . at the same time showing it was really hungry by eating several pieces of dry bread.”¹¹¹ One key, perhaps, is that telling phrase “an ordinary person.” Clearly, especially before the expansion of the service in the 1940s, those in charge of school meals lived at a considerable social distance from those who ate them. The meals they provided—a relentless cycle of soups, stews, or meat scraps and two overcooked vegetables, followed by a generally stodgy pudding—bore a stronger resemblance to the typical diet of the lower middle class than to that of the laboring poor, for whom bread remained the staple of every meal, and meat appeared only on weekends. The head of one of Bradford’s elementary schools recalled how in 1921 a parent had told her, “Kathleen does not have dinners ‘like these.’ She has bread and jam and treacle. She says she will not eat any dinner today.”¹¹²

Quite apart from the alien tastes and textures of unfamiliar foods, it is clear that for many, a shameful stigma of charitable soup kitchens, or worse still the institutional reek of the workhouse, lingered around school meals much like the distinctive smell of disinfectant and boiled cabbage they made so memorable.¹¹³ Although those in receipt of school meals were not disqualified from voting (as they had been with the receipt of poor relief before 1918) or penalized by a reduction in poor relief or unemployment benefits, the medical inspection and the means test (which remained in place until 1968) continued to be a hateful marker of social

¹⁰⁷ On the growing popularity of porridge at home given its use at school breakfasts, see Bulkley, *The Feeding of School Children*, 200.

¹⁰⁸ Ernie Benson, *To Struggle Is to Live: A Working Class Autobiography in Two Volumes* (Newcastle, 1979), 1: 39.

¹⁰⁹ Le Gros Clark, *The School Child’s Taste in Vegetables*, 11.

¹¹⁰ Kathleen Dayus, *Her People* (London, 1982), 15; Sharman, *Nothing to Steal*, 39; Benson, *To Struggle Is to Live*, 1: 44–45; J. G. Atherton, *Home to Stay: Stretford in the Second World War* (Manchester, 1991), 6, 15.

¹¹¹ E. R. Hartley, *How to Feed the Children: Bradford’s Example* (Bradford, 1908), quoted in Laura Mason, “Learning How to Eat in Public: School Dinners,” in *Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery: Public Eating* (London, 1991), 208.

¹¹² Quoted in Mason, “Learning How to Eat in Public,” 208.

¹¹³ For characteristic examples from the testimonies of the poor, see Grace Foakes, *Between High Walls: A London Childhood* (London, 1972), 39; Benson, *To Struggle Is to Live*, 1: 39; and Fenner Brockway, *Hungry England* (London, 1932), 32.

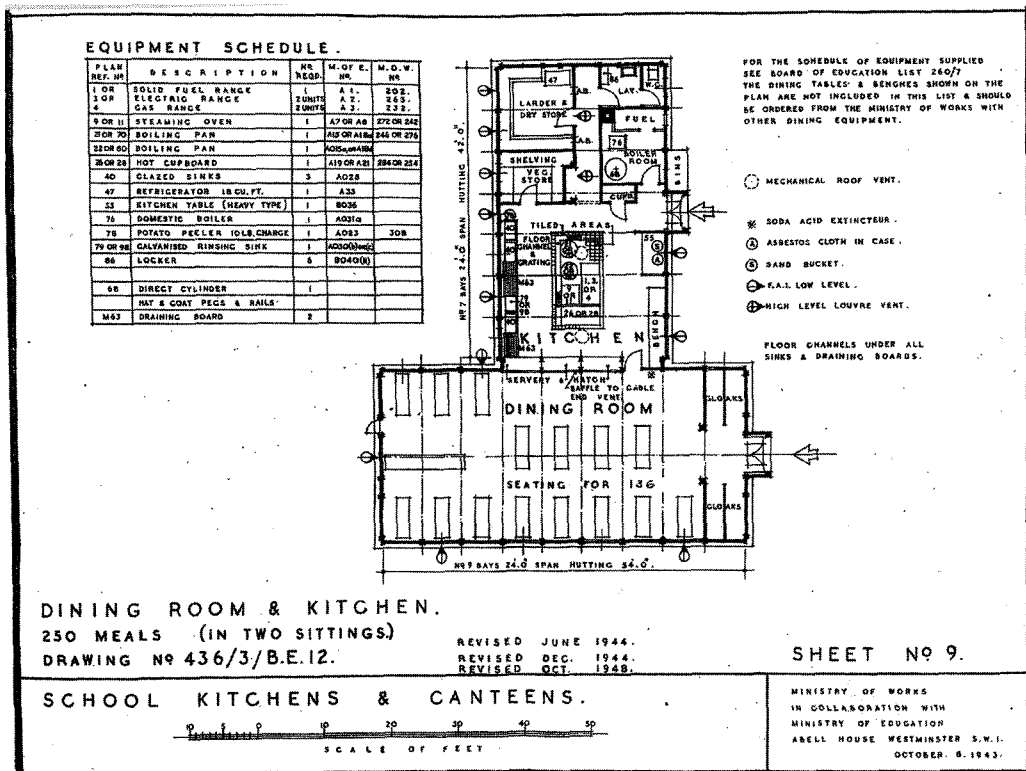


FIGURE 6: A model kitchen and canteen, 1943. Reproduced by permission of the British Library, B.S.10/156.

difference.¹¹⁴ Despite the introduction of universal provision in 1944, school food continued to be experienced more as a form of social punishment than as an entitlement. This was, of course, to confirm what Audrey Richards's pioneering social anthropology of food had demonstrated in East Africa during the 1920s: the social meanings and cultural practices surrounding food were just as significant as their biochemical function.¹¹⁵ Indeed, from the 1930s, social nutritionists such as Le Gros Clark came to recognize that they could no longer dismiss the social meanings of food as irrational superstitions awaiting disenchantment by nutritional science; they had to work with, not against, the grain of customary dietary practices.¹¹⁶

Regardless of the complex associations evoked by school meals, many were simply dreadful, as well as devoid of much nutritional value. Even Arthur McNalty, George Newman's successor as chief medical officer at the Board of Education, bemoaned the "monotony of hash, stew and soup, which in addition to being

¹¹⁴ On the hated visit of the school doctor or nurse, see Barbara Vaughan, *Growing Up in Salford, 1919–1928* (Manchester, 1983), 9, and Mary H. Dagnah, *Castle Hall Revisited: Stalybridge in the Nineteen-thirties* (Manchester, 1995), 5.

¹¹⁵ See Richards, *Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe*, 8, and Audrey I. Richards, *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia: An Economic Study of the Bemba Tribe* (London, 1939), 6.

¹¹⁶ This was an understanding that became central to the policies of the Ministry of Food, especially its Food Advice Division, during World War II. Its chief scientific adviser, Jack Drummond, insisted from the outset that the ministry acknowledge "the psychological importance of traditional foods." Ministry of Food, *How Britain Was Fed in War Time* (London, 1946), 46.

monotonous are often deficient even in calorie value, and deficient in just those elements of a well-balanced diet which a necessitous child does not get at home, such as milk, cheese, eggs, green vegetables, fruit and meat.”¹¹⁷ Although the Board of Education had handed out advice on nutrition and sample menus for some time,¹¹⁸ it had never done so with reference to the Advisory Committee on Nutrition; nor had there been any systematic practice of school medical officers’ approving or inspecting dietaries used in schools.¹¹⁹ It was not until 1941 that standards for the nutritional content of school meals were finally established, although it is unlikely that much notice was taken of them until the 1944 Education Act created the new post of school meals organizer for the new cadre of properly trained domestic scientists with a knowledge of nutrition and the scientific management of kitchens.¹²⁰ Long schedules and staffing scales were drawn up for the veritable army of workers and helpers they were now to organize and train in the skills of scientific catering.¹²¹ These new experts of the school canteen were soon bombarded with publications offering guides to best practice in nutritional planning, sample menus, canteen management, and kitchen organization and design, as well as advice on hygiene, presentation, and service.¹²² If nutritional expertise was finally brought to bear on the preparation of school meals, it did not, of course, make them any more edible or attractive. A recent survey, tellingly titled “Why Did They Make Me Eat That?,” found that 53 percent of respondents had been forced to eat school dinners they detested, and 51 percent believed that their dislike of particular school foods—tapioca and cabbage were especially reviled—continued to shape their eating habits. Unpleasant “memories of fatty roasts, spam fritters, over boiled peas and tapioca puddings (otherwise known as ‘frogspawn’)” abound, offset only by the cherished moments when “dinner ladies” were outwitted

¹¹⁷ Quoted in Segal, *Penn’orth of Chips*, 93.

¹¹⁸ See, for example, Board of Education, “Memorandum on Methods,” 7–10.

¹¹⁹ Brinson to Maudsley, 23 March 1937, in Board of Education, “Dietaries; the Oslo Breakfast; the London Health Dinner,” 1937–1943, ED 50/219.

¹²⁰ A rare success for Edna Langley, the inspector of provision of meals arrangements, who had previously failed to ensure the general adoption of the “Health Dinner” developed by the London County Council as a modified version of the Oslo Breakfast. Board of Education, “Dietaries; the Oslo Breakfast; the London Health Dinner.” On the Oslo Breakfast, developed by Oslo’s professor of hygiene Carl Schiøtz, see Inger Johanne Lyngo, “The Oslo Breakfast: An Optimal Diet in One Meal—On the Scientification of Everyday Life as Exemplified by Food,” *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 28 (1998): 62–76.

¹²¹ For example, supervisors, cook-supervisors, cook caterers, cooks-in-charge, cooks, assistant cooks, kitchen assistants, and storekeepers. Board of Education, “Staff for the School Meals Service,” Circular 1631 (24 June 1943); “Special Services General Files: Staffing of School Canteens and Kitchens, 1947–52,” ED 50/502.

¹²² Note that both the already cited *School Canteen Handbook* (1940) and *Balanced Menus for School Canteen Dinners* (London, 1947; 2nd ed., 1958) were written in collaboration with domestic science experts (in addition to being the Surrey County Council’s school meals officer, Morkam was the former head of the Domestic Science Department at Wimbledon Technical College). The London County Council’s *Meals for School Children* was written by W. J. O. Newton, the council’s chief officer of meals services. For other canteen manuals, see M. B. Neary, *Canteen Management and Cookery* (London, 1940); Catherine H. MacGibbon, *Canteen Management* (Christchurch, 1941); F. Le Gros Clark, *The School Child and the School Canteen* (Hertford, 1942); John Douglas Mitchell, *Successful Canteen Management* (London, 1946); Empire Tea Bureau, *The Small Canteen: How to Plan and Operate a Modern Meal Service* (London, 1947); Dick T. Kennedy, *Industrial Catering and Canteen Management* (London, 1949); and Jack Hampton, *Canteen Cookery* (London, 1953). See also the journal *Nutrition and Canteen Catering*, published in London from 1946.

by the well-practiced strategies of hiding and disposing of unwanted foods between plates, in pockets, on floors, or by trading with others.¹²³

ROUTINE MEDICAL INSPECTIONS OF SCHOOLCHILDREN in the decades following World War II highlighted “a substantial improvement in the average standard of child health.”¹²⁴ The Ministry of Education abandoned its attempts to measure the nutritional health of schoolchildren in 1947, so we have no way of telling the extent to which school meals were responsible for this improvement as opposed to other welfare programs or the general rise in wages and living standards in the postwar period. In any case, perhaps this is not the only question we should be asking, or indeed the best way to assess the success or failure of the school meal. Instead of measuring the efficacy of the British welfare state through a social-historical calculus of the success or failure of school meals in improving nutritional health, I have tried to use the history of the school meal to track the changing ethics of hunger and the history of the social it illuminates.

I am not suggesting that the history of the social I have offered through the particular case of the school meal is generalizable, for we are beginning to recognize that the formation of the social as a domain of government took a variety of forms as it addressed problems as diverse as public health, town planning, leisure, and morale.¹²⁵ The history of the social that I have traced comes into focus when, after Malthus, hunger became widely, if not universally, understood as a natural tool of liberal political economy that compelled individuals to labor and dramatized the moral failure of those who had failed to learn the disciplines of the market. Increasingly, from the early nineteenth century, the hungry, characterized as lacking the appropriate moral qualities of liberal selfhood, were objectified as a social problem that required disciplinary attention. The social here was a field of targeted intervention directed toward specific groups who had failed to become self-governing liberal subjects. However, from the 1840s, this view of hunger and the social was gradually called into question by the recognition that, far from having failed to learn the moral discipline of the market, the hungry were victims of a liberal political economy that was either failing or yet to be fully realized. From this perspective, hunger no longer threatened just the hungry; it was also a threat to the health, wealth, and stability of all of society in ways that demanded a new ethic of collective social responsibility and action. Although the consequences of hunger were considered to have a universal social reach by the late nineteenth century, the attempts to redress it, as with other pressing social questions, were still targeted at specific groups. Unsurprisingly, given that nowhere was the moral innocence of the

¹²³ Mason, “Learning How to Eat in Public,” 209. The survey was conducted by www.friendsreunited.com and *BBC Good Food* magazine, which published the results in September 2003, 105.

¹²⁴ Harris, *The Health of the Schoolchild*, 200, 201.

¹²⁵ These are areas where recent work has begun to trace different histories of the social in Britain: Christopher Hamlin, *Public Health and Social Justice in the Age of Chadwick: Britain, 1800–1854* (Cambridge, 1998); Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom*; Philippa Grand, “‘Between Work and Sleep’: The Problem of Leisure and Civil Society in Interwar Britain” (Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester, 2002); and Daniel Ussishkin, “Morale: A Concept for Democracy” (Ph.D. diss., forthcoming, Berkeley, 2006).

hungry, or the dangerous social costs of hunger, more evident than among children, one of the first manifestations of this new social ethic was the school meal.

Although the school meal was a product of this broader ethical shift, it also crucially assembled a model of the good society that it claimed to govern hunger on behalf of, even though it long remained associated with a less benign view of the hungry as a social problem. If the school meal acknowledged children's new social right not to be hungry, it did so in return for educating them in a new set of social responsibilities and obligations: of eating the correct foods in the right way and becoming healthy and civil citizens. However, as the school meals service was extended, the principles of social responsibility it sought to instantiate—most notably the solidarities of community, the importance of sociability and civility, and the necessity of dietary health and efficiency—were no longer seen as the preserve of the hungry, but were deemed necessary for all children and were universally applied in the terms of the 1944 Act. School meals were now to encourage particular mentalities of self-government, the internalization of the lessons of a healthy diet, and the civility of society. Carolyn Steedman has written eloquently of how the “calculated, dictated fairness” of universal provision helped heal some of the hidden injuries and social exclusions of class, teaching her “in a covert way, that I had a right to exist, was worth something.”¹²⁶ The social problem of hunger had been transformed into the nutritional problem of society: the social was no longer a field of targeted intervention directed toward specific groups; it was now a domain that embraced everyone.

It will not have gone unnoticed that in tracing the assembly of society through the school meal, I have laid more emphasis on the agency of what I have termed “techno-politics” than on the formal politics of the labor movement normally associated with the development of the welfare state. In doing so, I do not want to deny the role of political movements that spoke in the name of the social or agitated for the provision of school meals at the local or national level (although, as we have seen, that was the case across the political spectrum). Instead, I want to emphasize that the practical possibility of implementing a school meals program owed much to a seemingly apolitical set of technical knowledges and forms of expertise. Just as the work of social and nutritional scientists first allowed the social costs of hunger to be calculated in terms of its detrimental effects on racial health and productivity, so the delivery of school meals came to depend on their techniques for identifying hungry children by way of the means test or medical inspection. Yet in redefining hunger as malnutrition between the wars, nutritional scientists transformed the conditions of possibility for the school meal. It was no longer limited to those whose education was impeded by hunger, but could be extended, either to the many more who suffered from malnutrition or to all, so as to achieve optimum levels of nutritional health in the interests of social efficiency. The development and extension of the school meals service in turn depended on different sets of technical expertise—those of educationalists, architects, domestic scientists, and industrial designers—that promised to be able to deliver an appropriate moral and material environment in which the new principles of the good society could be instantiated.

¹²⁶ Carolyn Steedman, *Landscape for a Good Woman: A Story of Two Lives* (London, 1986), 122.

In the pursuit of these objectives, the resolution of one problem always gave way to another—whether of identifying hungry children, or knowing what to feed them where and how—demanding fresh perspectives and forms of expertise. These new technicians of social life played ever more significant roles in the construction of the welfare state; indeed, in many ways, they made possible both new forms of statecraft and new conceptions of the social. In the seemingly mundane details of the school meal's techno-politics, we might then see a different view of welfare states. It is not one that begins with the rise of the labor movement and ends with the ideological principles and centralized structures that ultimately came to characterize it; it attends, rather, to the varied ways in which it was instantiated through the diverse networks of power and expertise that addressed different social problems. It is for this reason that I have suggested that the school meal could be seen less as an effect of social democracy and its welfare state than as partly constitutive of them. It was not that there was, as ever in Britain, any grand plan for assembling society and its associated forms of statecraft in this way through the school meal; there was no great theory or program. Instead, it developed slowly, by trial and a good deal of error, always heavily compromised by shortages of investment and recalcitrant children and materials. I hope that by recovering the messy historical formation of social forms of governing such as the school meal, we might better understand their current malaise and possible futures. Given the history of the social I have sketched here, it may be necessary to complicate the now fashionable view that the postwar consolidation of the welfare state in Britain was “the last and most glorious flowering of late Victorian philanthropy.”¹²⁷ Such a view certainly does not do justice to the new universal embrace of the social that is evident in the expansion of school meals from the 1940s, or the range of actors involved in its techno-political instantiation. Yet, as we have seen, for many, the social work of the school meal did not lose its pejorative connotations. The sense of entitlement that the school meal was supposed to reflect was often offset by its prescription of new social responsibilities, a difficult balance that highlighted the continuing dialectic between liberal and social forms of governmentality. Acknowledging the partial and deeply compromised nature of the society assembled by school meals—the stigma of poverty that many associated with its bad food, inadequate infrastructure, and ways of qualifying for a free lunch—may help to explain its vulnerability to the neoliberal critiques of Thatcherism.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Gareth Stedman Jones, “Why Is the Labour Party in a Mess?” in Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History, 1832–1982* (Cambridge, 1983), 246.

¹²⁸ On the persistence of the stigma of free school meals, see Frank Field, *The Stigma of Free School Meals: A Child Poverty Action Group Report* (London, 1974).

James Vernon is Associate Professor at the University of California, Berkeley, and Director of its Center for British Studies. He is the author of *Politics and the People* (1993) and editor of *Re-reading the Constitution* (1996). This piece is part of a larger book project that will shortly be published by Harvard University Press as *Modernity's Hunger: How Imperial Britain Created and Failed to Solve the Problem of Hunger in the Modern World*.

How history is taught in the public schools is a recurrent issue. It is also a persistently divisive issue. Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro argue that for decades historians have failed to provide needed intellectual and institutional leadership in this struggle. However, Orrill and Shapiro contend that this current failure of leadership repudiates a past of school policy activism by historians. By resurrecting an activist past of policy engagement, Orrill and Shapiro want to compel historians to enter the fray again by renewing that earlier commitment. They insist that historians have an ethical as well as a professional obligation to participate in the development of policies for teaching history in the schools. Historians in the past accepted those responsibilities, they maintain, and so must those in the present. Orrill and Shapiro challenge historians to debate the question.

And so do we. This Forum is the eighth installment of a format in which we solicit comments from readers rather than commission responses to be published along with the essay. We will host a moderated electronic discussion between Orrill and Shapiro and those who wish to comment on their essay. The discussion will take place September 1–15, 2005, on the AHR web site at <http://www.historycooperative.org>. Participants can send questions or comments of up to 700 words. Guidelines will be posted on the discussion sign-in page. Our primary goals for the discussion are to make the exchanges as open and useful as possible and to ensure that they comply with the established standards of the AHR. After the discussion has concluded, the exchanges will become a permanent part of the electronic version of this Forum Essay. Questions about the process can be sent to American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401, or to our e-mail address: ahr@indiana.edu.

Forum Essay

From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education

ROBERT ORRILL AND LINN SHAPIRO

WHAT IMPORTANCE SHOULD HISTORIANS ASSIGN to school history? Should attention to K–12 history education be among the concerns at the forefront of the discipline's professional commitments? This has been a recurring question ever since school reform gained prominence in the nation's public policy agenda some two decades ago. As a call to action, it first emerged explicitly when Arthur Link made educational activism central to his 1984 presidential address to the American Historical Association (AHA). On this centenary occasion, Link admonished the AHA for having "unthinkingly abandoned" the "determinative role" it had once played in history education and called for new initiatives designed to bring the association "back into the mainstream of the teaching of history in our secondary schools." No task, he said, was of "greater moment and urgency" for the historical profession than "the recovery of a crucial role for the AHA in the determination of the curricula of our secondary schools."¹

Many historians have joined Link in urging a revival of educational activism. Nonetheless, twenty years later, the discipline has neither decisively rejected nor energetically taken up this call. Prolonged indecision, of course, will settle the issue. While the profession has been irresolute, other, more determined claimants to influence over school history have come forward. Both government and the business community now take an interventionist stance toward policies that affect many aspects of history education. Once largely unassertive, they increasingly point to the need for reform as warrant for across-the-board involvement in framing policies that bear directly on curriculum and resource allocation, textbooks and tests, teacher certification and classroom methods. In these conditions, the profession's hesitance can amount to a concession that its own voice counts for little in shaping the future course of history education.

How much, though, is actually at stake if the profession fails to act on Link's

The authors gratefully acknowledge research support provided by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Special thanks are due to Thomas Bender, Richard Bennett, Jerry Bentley, Richard Brown, Leon Fink, James Grossman, David Gutierrez, Nadine Hata, Stanley Katz, David Kyvig, Suzanne Lebsock, Lawrence McBride, Carla Pestana, Clement Price, Daniel Rodgers, Emily Rosenberg, Peter Rutkoff, David Trask, William Weber, and the editors and anonymous readers of the *AHR*. We are especially indebted to Dorothy Downie for her editorial assistance and thoughtful advice.

¹ Arthur Link, "The American Historical Association, 1884–1984: Retrospect and Prospect," *AHR* 90, no. 1 (February 1985): 1–17; Link's appeal for renewed educational activism appears on pp. 12–16.

challenge? What difference does it make if, in the end, the AHA takes little or no part in addressing issues of history education? Is the discipline itself diminished in some important sense if it has nothing to contribute to pressing matters of public policy that fall within its own domain of professional expertise? These are the questions that we hope will be engaged in this forum. To help give them full weight, our aim is to provide an account of the early AHA's involvement in the making of school history. Sustained for almost half a century, associational activism began in the last decade of the nineteenth century and ended just prior to World War II. During this time, the AHA deemed a unified K–university approach to history education essential to the future of the discipline; and it is no exaggeration to say that its efforts led to the invention of modern school history in the United States. It was also a time, however, when the profession first equivocated and then walked away from problems inherent in the actions that it had initiated. The story we tell, then, is one both of significant achievement and of tensions never resolved. In this light, educational activism in the profession today points as much to a return to a task left unfinished as it does to the making of a new beginning.

From a historiographical perspective, our account differs from others in placing emphasis on the AHA's decisive role in the making of school history. Historians sometimes have taken note of the early AHA's educational activism, but most such accounts treat it as marginal to the organization's primary interest in scholarship.² Our approach locates school history at the very center of the association's professional concerns. The few works that address school history more directly view its development anachronistically, as if, from the very beginning, it evolved as part of the "social studies movement."³ This gives the impression that history has always been joined with social studies in curricular considerations when, importantly, the relationship between the two was problematic from the start and later was held together more by an unstable truce than by a union of common interests. Even more to the point, social studies did not yet exist as an idea, let alone a "movement," when the AHA first acted to establish history in the school curriculum. Social studies first appeared almost two decades later, in the form of a concerted effort to reconfigure and diminish the role of history in the American educational enterprise. The AHA stepped forward much earlier, and it is there that our narrative begins.

HISTORIANS FIRST ACTED TO ESTABLISH the academic legitimacy of their subject during a period of extreme instability in American education. This occurred during the last decade of the nineteenth century, when the long-standing dominance of the uniform classical curriculum had begun to give way decisively in both schools and colleges. The classical dispensation had lost its hold, however, without being

² See, for example, John Higham with Leonard Krieger and Felix Gilbert, *History* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1965); Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (New York, 1988); and Ernest A. Breisach, *American Progressive History: An Experiment in Modernization* (Chicago, 1993).

³ The two most comprehensive studies of the place of history in secondary education are Hazel Hertzberg, *Social Studies Reform, 1880–1980* (Boulder, Colo., 1981), and David Jenness, *Making Sense of Social Studies* (New York, 1990). Useful as they are, both books take it for granted that educational activism among historians must be conjoined with advocacy for social studies reform.

replaced by any new educational order. In a scan of the entire K–university environment, John Dewey described this situation as one in which the “old education” everywhere was quite dead, but nowhere was “a new education in definite and supreme existence.” All that could be seen, Dewey said, was “a portentous multiplication of subjects” that was turning American education into “an experiment in natural selection,” a case of the “survival of the fit” in its most Hobbesian sense.⁴

How could the discipline effectively demonstrate the educational importance of history in this contentious and unsettled environment? If the curriculum was now open to new subjects, how could it be argued that history should be counted among those that would make up a new educational core? How, in short, could its educational value relative to other subjects be established?⁵ In an increasingly competitive educational enterprise, these were questions that historians knew they could not expect others to answer for them. Their most effective response came in 1896, when the AHA appointed what would long be remembered in the profession as the Committee of Seven. Although the Seven are treated here as a group, each member came to be counted among the most respected scholars of the early twentieth century.⁶ Indeed, as a committee, they set out to demonstrate that diligence in scholarship went hand in hand with a concern for educational policy.

Formally, the AHA constituted the committee in December 1896 in response to a request from the National Education Association (NEA) for a report on college entrance requirements in history. From the start, however, the AHA was determined to expand this mandate, mindful that in the long run the NEA-sponsored recommendations were intended “not for the schools of one section or of one kind, but for the schools of the nation.” Given the competition among subjects, this was an opportunity for influence not to be missed. The Seven accordingly set about over the next two years to transform the NEA request into a comprehensive and systematic “investigation of the subject of history, as it is studied and taught in the schools.” When their report was issued in 1898, the Seven were quite straightforward about their aims, stating that, up to this time, there had not been “any prolonged effort to present the claims of history, or to set before the schoolmen a statement of what might be considered the value of historical study and the place which it should occupy in the school programme.”⁷

⁴ John Dewey, “The Educational Situation,” in Jo Ann Boydston, ed., *John Dewey: The Middle Works*, vol. 1: 1899–1901 (Carbondale, Ill., 1976), 265–66, 281.

⁵ Among educators, no issue was debated more extensively in the late nineteenth century than the comparative “educational value” of different subjects vying for a place in the curriculum. Seeking to disestablish the dominant classical curriculum, Herbert Spencer launched this debate in 1859 with a demand that educators recognize “the enormous importance of determining in some rational way what things are really most worth learning.” In one form or another, Spencer’s question has continued to be the one that is asked most often about curriculum. Herbert Spencer, *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical* (London, 1949), 6.

⁶ The Committee of Seven included Andrew C. McLaughlin (chair), Herbert Baxter Adams, George L. Fox, Albert Bushnell Hart, Charles Homer Haskins, Lucy M. Salmon, and H. Morse Stephens. Four would later become president of the association: Hart (1909), McLaughlin (1914), Stephens (1915), and Haskins (1922). Two had served as public school superintendents, four had been high school teachers, and one had taught at a normal school. As Hertzberg points out, the AHA pioneered with the appointment of Salmon, “the first woman to be named to a national curricular committee in the social sciences.” Hertzberg, *Social Studies Reform*, 13.

⁷ Committee of Seven, *The Study of History in Schools* (Washington, D.C., 1899), 429, 430.

This assertiveness was new for historians. Previously, advocates for the sciences and modern languages had been at the forefront of the attack on the classical curriculum, while history and historians remained largely uninvolved in the debate. In consequence, history was at best in an insecure position among the new subjects then competing for attention. Indeed, Harvard president and leading reformer Charles Eliot found history in a "humiliated condition" with "no proper place in American education" when he first launched his campaign in the 1870s to open the curriculum to all subjects.⁸ In 1880, only four years before the founding of the AHA, there still were only eleven professors of history in the United States; and most college history courses were taught in the third or fourth year as supplements to the classical program.⁹ Courses in the history of the United States had become increasingly common in high schools, but the textbooks used were designed more to comport with the values of evangelical Protestantism than to further historical understanding.¹⁰ In 1893, the outlook for history improved somewhat when the Eliot-led Committee of Ten recommended that the subject be included among the "studies" appropriate for student admission to college.¹¹ However, the Ten advised that while "it is now-a-days admitted that language, natural science, and mathematics should each make a substantial part of education, . . . the function of history in education is still very imperfectly apprehended."¹²

It was the AHA's intent, then, to move history from its marginal status to a more prominent and secure position in the changing educational enterprise. With this aim in mind, it was evident that the potential for the growth of the discipline would be limited if it remained entirely dependent on the small number of students entering the then-emerging research universities to pursue graduate work and a career in research. These few could not support and justify significant increases in the size and scope of history departments and programs at any college or university. Only large numbers of students enrolled in undergraduate history courses could generate such growth; and these enrollments, in turn, were dependent upon the preparation in history that students received in secondary schools. Moreover, if historians hoped that the results of their scholarship would reach a large public—and they most certainly did—the locus of this public was first and foremost to be

⁸ Charles Eliot, "What Is a Liberal Education?" in *Educational Reform* (New York, 1960), 106.

⁹ Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study since 1863* (San Francisco, 1977), 177.

¹⁰ William J. Reese, *The Origins of the American High School* (New Haven, Conn., 1995). For a discussion of history courses in nineteenth-century high schools, see 117–18, 137–38, 150–51.

¹¹ Publication of the report of the Committee of Ten, known officially as the NEA's Committee on Secondary School Studies, launched a debate about the purpose and makeup of the high school curriculum that continues to this day. The broad issues at the forefront of this debate are discussed in Herbert Kleibard's aptly titled *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893–1958* (New York, 1995). Other useful studies with a bearing on curricular issues include Jurgen Herbst, *The Once and Future School: Three Hundred and Fifty Years of American Secondary Education* (New York, 1996); Edward A. Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School* (New York, 1964); David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974); and Daniel Tanner and Laurel Tanner, *History of the School Curriculum* (New York, 1990). The work of the Committee of Ten is addressed in detail by Theodore R.Sizer, *Secondary Schools at the Turn of the Century* (New Haven, Conn., 1964). Diane Ravitch writes as an engaged participant in this more than century-long curriculum debate in *Left Back: A Century of Failed School Reforms* (New York, 2000).

¹² Committee on Secondary School Studies, *Report of the Committee on Secondary School Studies* (Washington, D.C., 1893), 28.

found in the ever-growing numbers of students entering the nation's high schools. Thus, the Seven and most of their colleagues were well aware that the foundation of their discipline had to be established and maintained in the schools—that is, in their service to a general student population—no matter how much the profession prized specialized research and the production of advanced scholarship.

Working from this K–university perspective, the AHA and the Seven effectively gave birth to modern history education in the United States. Before they acted, standards for school history were nonexistent, and no curriculum framework had gained wide acceptance. Nor was there any reliable information about practice in school history or any means of sharing data from one locale to another. History, in short, was not yet a self-conscious educational undertaking. The Seven took as their starting point this absence of an established template for history education. Their point of departure, they said, was the full awareness that there “was no recognized consensus of opinion in the country at large, not one generally accepted judgment, not even one well-known point of agreement, which would serve as a beginning for a consideration of the place of history in the high-school curriculum.”¹³

Filling the void meant more than making pronouncements. With religious considerations fading and a scientific ethos taking hold in schools and colleges, educational policy was becoming increasingly fact-based and data-driven. Therefore, the committee's approach was empirical and based on extensive study of existing conditions in both the United States and Europe. Moreover, the Seven urged that their report should serve as a starting point for AHA attention to issues of history education at all levels of the K–university continuum. This, in fact, is exactly what happened. Although we discuss only high school education, the AHA followed the Seven's efforts with a report on history in elementary schools (1908), another on secondary education (1911), and a sequence of committees and conferences on everything from preparation of history teachers to the organization of the college-level introductory course. In addition, the AHA launched *The History Teacher's Magazine* (1909) to provide a forum for discussion of educational issues of concern to school and college teachers. Taken together, these acts confirmed the AHA's leadership in promoting evidence-based reflection about the condition and future course of history education in the United States.¹⁴

FROM A POLICY PERSPECTIVE, the Seven scored a remarkable success. Within a very short time, their proposals gained acceptance in many schools; and this, along with the swift adoption of their curricular recommendations by influential policymakers, effectively established history as a core subject in K–12 education. Less than a decade after the report's appearance, an AHA committee asserted that the Seven's work had brought about “the establishment of substantially similar curricula in a large portion of the schools the country over.” Although backed by no data, this

¹³ Committee of Seven, *Study of History*, 431.

¹⁴ The report on elementary schooling mentioned above is Committee of Eight, *The Study of History in the Elementary Schools: Report to the American Historical Association* (New York, 1909). Useful information about history education in elementary schools can be found in two publications by Diane Ravitch: *The Troubled Crusade: American Education, 1945–1980* (New York, 1983) and “Tot Sociology,” *American Scholar* 56 (Summer 1987): 343–54.

claim reflected a belief widely shared among educators. So rapidly, in fact, did the Seven's report acquire normative status that its critics—and there were many—soon complained that it had become the bulwark of a stubbornly entrenched orthodoxy.

In undertaking their work, the Seven's chief task had been to demonstrate that history had an "educational value" comparable to or greater than that of other subjects. The outcome hung on the committee's success in answering two interrelated questions. One concerned how the study of history led to mental development or "intellectual power" in student learning, and the other asked whether the subject was based on an organized body of knowledge substantial enough to produce the desired habits of mind. For much of the nineteenth century, defenders of the classical curriculum had asserted that the new subjects lacked answers to both of these questions, in that, from an educational standpoint, they were formless, without curricular order and sequence, and devoid of the rigor needed for sustained mental development. Advocates of the newer disciplines, for their part, often relegated history to the inferior status of an "information" subject—casting it as a study emphasizing rote memorization of facts rather than work of an intellectually demanding nature.

Addressing the question about intellectual power, the Seven answered that the study of history engendered a distinctive competence that they called "historical-mindedness." As the committee was careful to explain, historical-mindedness did not mean technical skill in using the research methods of professional historians. In calling for only limited use of the so-called "source method" in classroom settings, the report argued that it was entirely inappropriate to model education for the many on the specialized investigative practices of a few. Citizenship, not scholarship, was the main concern of history education in both school and college. What the Seven meant by historical-mindedness, then, was more in the nature of a sensibility than a method of inquiry. It was an attentiveness to the evolutionary workings of cause and effect in human affairs, an understanding that "nothing is, but everything is becoming." This historicist frame of mind was presented in the report as both humanizing in its outlook and essential to the intelligent exercise of civic responsibility. Only through the possession of a historical sense could a student comprehend "the political and social problems that will confront him in everyday life."¹⁵

When the Seven addressed the issue of how to constitute an organized body of knowledge, they boldly argued for a school curriculum consisting of four years of continuous study—soon known as the "four-block program"—starting from ancient history and ascending in subsequent years through medieval/modern European, English, and United States history. Not intended to be four separate or loosely related courses, the sequence was designed to lead students to an understanding of how the idea of liberty had progressively unfolded—specifically how the "seeds" of free institutions and practices first appeared in Western Europe, then reached a new stage of growth in early modern England, from where they were later transplanted into the United States and other parts of the world.

¹⁵ Committee of Seven, *Study of History*, 438–39, 453.

The Seven had no trouble combining the evolutionary idealism implicit in this story with their view of themselves as empirical historicists. What is difficult to judge, though, is the extent to which their presuppositions (obviously Eurocentric and Anglophile) contributed to the widespread acceptance of the committee's curricular recommendations. It may be that the narrative coherence of this story—with its reassuring message of progressive evolution toward an ever-better political condition—served to fill the vacancy left by a retreating religious world view. For school leaders wanting to maintain a positive outlook on social development, emphasis on the “unity” of Western historical experience almost certainly enhanced the educational rationale for moving history into the center of a curriculum in which religion no longer functioned as the presiding presence.

How else might we account for the acceptance and influence of the Seven's report? After all, the AHA had no direct authority over school matters. If the report was to have an effect, the AHA had to consider how its recommendations fit with the educational facts on the ground. And so it did. Consider the Seven's four-block curricular sequence. The committee emphasized that it had no interest in presenting a program that was “merely the expression of the theoretical aspirations of college professors.”¹⁶ With this in mind, the Seven brought forward a history curriculum that could be adapted to the emerging organizational infrastructure of secondary education: the graded 9–12 public high school. Now taken for granted, this organizational framework was new and just becoming typical in the late nineteenth century. The Seven, then, were making a bid to conjoin their still-untested program with the structure of an institution that was itself in a formative stage of development.

Nothing approaching a full account of the functional significance of the graded school can be given here. Suffice it to say that, based on an industrial model, the graded school provided an efficient means through which school leaders could sort the mounting numbers of high school students into large classes and move them year by year toward a summative degree.¹⁷ To be accepted as educationally sound, however, this program of study had to be more than an accumulation of course credits. On the contrary, it had to be sequential as well as reflect increasing academic difficulty and overall unity of purpose. Accordingly, the Seven's curricular recommendations filled out four years of graded content and provided a rationale for how each year of study advanced beyond the previous one. Had the high school not been taking on this graded design, it is unlikely that the Seven would have organized secondary history education into a four-block program of study; in turn, the graded design could have remained purposeless if the four-block program had not come forth to provide content and educational meaning. Each, then, reciprocally helped to secure the place of the other in an educational enterprise still uncertain of its direction.

¹⁶ Ibid., 432.

¹⁷ The numbers of high schools and high school students grew astonishingly beginning in the nineteenth century. In 1870, 72,156 students were enrolled in 1,026 high schools; in 1900, 516,251 students were enrolled in 6,005 high schools. In the twentieth century, high school enrollments doubled decade by decade. Rudolph, *Curriculum*, 212.

OTHER DEVELOPMENTS, NOT ALL OF WHICH were entirely welcome to the AHA, also gave impetus to the Seven's recommendations. As noted, the Seven's work was set in motion by a request from an NEA-appointed Committee on College Entrance Requirements. This committee was part of a top-down effort led in the main by university presidents seeking to exert control over what they viewed as the largely ungoverned and sprawling growth of K-12 education. If college entrance requirements could be standardized, they thought, high schools everywhere would find it necessary to organize their curricular programs in conformity with a framework established by higher education. In this way, secondary education would be brought into line with reforms desired by the universities, and order would be established in the educational environment. Although not in full agreement with this course of action, the AHA forwarded the Seven's recommendations to the NEA committee, which then made them part of its 1899 report. This might have ended the matter had the university presidents not created the College Board (CB) in 1900. Functionally, the CB was designed to standardize college entrance requirements through high-stakes examinations that tested the learning expected of students graduating from high school. In one of its first acts, the CB adopted the 1899 NEA report as its ground plan for constructing examinations; through this chain of events, the Seven's four-block program was incorporated into the normative infrastructure supported (and largely invented) by the university leadership. These actions unquestionably extended the reach of the Seven's report, and the CB's sustained adherence to the four-block program doubtless also helped to keep this framework effectively in place well into the twentieth century.

Over time, however, this turn of events proved a problem for AHA policymaking. In fact, there is no more equivocal part of the Seven's report than those sections that address college entrance requirements. Here the committee found itself in a dilemma. Because the great majority of students enrolled in high schools had no intention of seeking admission to college, it was "certainly wrong to shape secondary courses primarily with a view to college needs." But the committee also knew that the university leadership of the NEA wanted to employ entrance requirements for exactly this purpose of aligning school studies with the college curriculum. The Seven did not want to lend their support to any such controlling policy, but neither could they ignore the NEA request. Obviously, history would suffer greatly in the competition among subjects if it was not included as part of the NEA-sponsored scheme of college entrance requirements. In the end, the members of the Seven professed muted support for the NEA's efforts but concluded, "we do not feel that we should seek to lay down hard-and-fast entrance requirements in history."¹⁸

The Seven were even more doubtful about examinations as a means for implementing college entrance requirements. In part, this skepticism was due to worry about the persistence of the manner in which history had been tested under the old classical regime—wherein students had been required to do no more than recall a handful of names, dates, and events drawn from ancient history. In the Seven's view, none of the known methods of examination assessed the learning

¹⁸ Committee of Seven, *Study of History*, 490, 491.

outcomes most valued by historians. History, they said, was as sequentially developmental as any of the more established subjects, but “growth in power of historical thinking is much harder to measure than progress in mathematical knowledge or in linguistic facility.” Given the absence of any “just and adequate system of examinations in history,” the committee urged that the NEA and colleges adopt the most flexible policies possible with regard to evidence of student preparation in history. This included acceptance of portfolios (as we now call them) through which students could supplement examination results with examples of “written work done in connection with the study of history in the schools.”¹⁹

Hesitance about college entrance issues provides a starting point for understanding what turned out to be the often difficult relationship between the AHA and the College Board. The elite university presidents who joined in creating the CB anticipated a much closer working connection between the two organizations than ever came to pass. In the design that Harvard’s Eliot had in mind, the disciplinary associations would set educational standards, and the CB would both administer examinations that reflected these standards and secure the agreement of schools and colleges to accept the test results.²⁰ The outcome of this cooperative effort would be much more than a means of determining student readiness for college. Strategically, it meant that the universities and disciplines would act together to set achievement levels for the upper threshold of secondary education and thus, in effect, control the still-contested boundary between school and college.²¹

Pursuant to this design, the College Board early on asked the AHA to provide more “definiteness” regarding the content to be emphasized within each of the four blocks. In what became a pattern, the AHA allowed this request to languish from inattention. For almost two decades, the CB would press for a more detailed specification of standards, and the AHA would reply with a long silence. Typical of this evasiveness is a message that Charles H. Haskins sent in 1910 to co-member of the Seven Andrew McLaughlin, regarding a CB request for AHA direction that had been sent three years earlier. Haskins pointed out that, after this long lapse of time, the AHA “in common decency” should finally reply. “I do not see how we can avoid making some answer,” he said, “as we have put them off every year.” Nonetheless, Haskins added, the substance of the response need be only “very brief.”²²

Even though a usable response was never forthcoming, the CB continued to appeal to the AHA for help with test specifications until 1916, when it finally gave up and formed its own commission on history standards. Why had the relationship failed? To understand, it is important to bear in mind that all through this period the student failure rate was significantly higher on CB examinations in history than for any other subject. This not only raised questions about the validity of the examinations but also was a drawback in gaining institutional acceptance for the CB

¹⁹ Ibid., 495–96, 496, 497.

²⁰ Wilson Farrand, “A Brief History of the College Entrance Examination Board,” in *The Work of the College Entrance Examination Board, 1901–1925* (New York, 1926), 21–30.

²¹ A recent publication that includes useful essays on the early College Board is Michael Johanek, ed., *A Faithful Mirror: Reflections on the College Board and Education in America* (New York, 2001).

²² Charles H. Haskins to Andrew McLaughlin, November 3, 1910, Box A-243, Records of American Historical Association, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

system as a whole.²³ By and large, colleges wanted reasons to accept students rather than turn them away. Therefore, it was of crucial importance to the CB that the success rate on examinations be sufficient to support the wishes of the colleges. Success, the CB believed, depended on teachers' and students' being able to prepare for examinations by knowing in advance what content was likely to appear on them. What the CB wanted, then, was for the AHA to impose limits on content within each of the four blocks by specifying exactly what material students should regard as important and, by inference, what could be safely ignored. For the AHA historians, however, this imposition of inflexible test specifications was tantamount to imposing a curriculum every bit as prescriptive and fixed as that enforced by the old classical regime. Indeed, the Seven had said at the outset of their report that schools should disregard "any rigid list of requirements or any body of peremptory demands" coming from external agencies.²⁴ The AHA's indifference to requests for more definite examination specifications for history is perhaps the best evidence that the report meant exactly what it said.

From the beginning, then, the CB and the AHA had different educational ends in view. Contrary to a long-surviving myth, the AHA historians did not join with the CB in any university-led effort to "dominate" the schools.²⁵ To be sure, individual historians participated in CB-sponsored committees, and many took an active part in preparing history examinations. Indeed, a member of the Seven, Lucy M. Salmon, served as the chief examiner for the first CB history examinations, which were administered in 1901. Later, however, Salmon became one of the sharpest critics of CB examination methods, and she assailed the board from a policy standpoint for "standing on the necks of the secondary schools."²⁶ Fundamentally, the difference was that the CB acted on behalf of the strategic interests of the university administrative leadership, and the historians sought what they thought was the best educational environment for student learning and the development of their subject. This led to divergent educational policies. One emphasized the need for order and control in secondary education, and the other insisted that teachers needed independence if, as the Seven advocated, they were to make the experience of studying history "a continually developing and enlarging one" for students.²⁷

For historians, CB policies reflected a regulatory intent that inevitably would undermine the AHA's aim of forming an inclusive professional community of K–university history educators. In effect, these policies left college historians free to shape classroom instruction as they thought best while making high school teachers subject to the prescriptive actions of an external agency. Over time, this inevitably would lead to two very different and divided cultural environments—one

²³ See Frederick B. Davis, "A Brief History of the College Board Entrance Examination in History," *The Social Studies*, March 1934, 127–33.

²⁴ Committee of Seven, *Study of History*, 431.

²⁵ This myth was propagated by leaders of the social studies movement in the second and third decades of the twentieth century. For a concise account of how university "domination" of the schools became an ideologically charged issue, see Herbert M. Kliebard, *Changing Course: American Curriculum Reform in the 20th Century* (New York, 2002), 50–54.

²⁶ "Proceedings of the Conference on History in Secondary Schools, with Especial Reference to the Report of the Committee of Seven," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (Washington, D.C., 1908), 80.

²⁷ Committee of Seven, *Study of History*, 444.

relatively autonomous and the other highly controlled. To their credit, the early professional historians worked hard to prevent any such outcome in ways that went well beyond criticism of the CB examination system. This was perhaps most evident in the leading role they played in forming a cluster of regional history teachers' associations. A direct outgrowth of the work of the Seven, whose members helped to launch and sustain them, these associations provided a forum in which school and college history educators joined as professional colleagues in discussing a full spectrum of educational issues, ranging from teaching methods to college entrance examinations. By the early twentieth century, three major regional associations had been founded: the New England History Teachers Association (1897), the North Central History Teachers Association (1899), and the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland (1904).

Linking school and college history educators, these associations were meant to provide high school teachers with a full opportunity to participate in debate about educational policy and practice. Discussion within them led the AHA in 1907 to appoint a new committee to review and adjust the recommendations of the Seven. This attentive response demonstrated how the AHA sought to function in the policy environment of the day. Understanding the highly decentralized conditions of American education, AHA members had no illusions about top-down rule. Instead, they worked through appointed committees charged with seeking data, taking advice, assessing the situation—grappling with “the whole question,” as the Seven called it—and then issuing reports that gave voice to the educational convictions and concerns of the full community of history educators. In short, the AHA sought to conduct itself so that it could legitimately say it expressed the aspirations and values not of an organization but of history educators collectively. Moreover, while seeking to reflect and shape the views of a broad spectrum of history educators, associational policies also underscored the AHA's efforts to promote the autonomy of the profession and to help practitioners withstand often unwelcome pressure from external sources such as the College Board, local school boards, and state regulatory agencies.

The Seven, then, delivered more than a report; they also gave the AHA a model for undertaking future policy initiatives. This model supported professional self-governance, encouraged educational activism, and positioned the association at the center of an effort to unite history educators wherever they might be located. Open about many matters, it held as a given that the practice of history teachers should be shaped by attention to the subject, not determined by obedience to externally imposed roles. As the Seven had said, every educational issue—in school and college alike—should be framed by “the subject as a growing, developing, enlarging field of human knowledge.”

ALTHOUGH THE REPORT OF THE SEVEN had primarily an educational rationale, it also presented a fully developed conception of the discipline of history. This did not reflect a strong scientific bias, contrary to what Peter Novick writes about the epistemological views of the early professional historians.²⁸ Not the scientific

²⁸ Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 37.

method under another name, historical-mindedness was itself “one of the marked characteristics of modern learning”—distinctive in its outlook on human affairs and yet integral to the practice of all other disciplines. In a time of divisive specialization, history held together much that otherwise threatened to come apart:

Like literature, it deals with man, and appeals to the sympathy, the imagination, and the emotional nature of the pupils. Like natural science, it employs methods of careful and unprejudiced investigation. It belongs to the humanities, for its essential purpose is to disclose human life; but it also searches for data, groups them, and builds generalizations from them. Though it may not be a science itself, its methods are similar to scientific methods, and are valuable in inculcating in the pupil a regard for accuracy and a reverence for truth. It corrects the formalistic bias of language by bringing the pupil into sympathetic contact with actualities and with the mind of man as it has reacted on his environment. It gives breadth, outlook, and human interest, which are not easily developed by the study of natural phenomena.²⁹

In this conception, history not only shares in the best qualities of other disciplines but also corrects defects in their outlooks. By balancing the literary and scientific points of view, history provides a unifying center in an intellectual world at risk of being pulled apart by divergent tendencies.

The Seven argued that this unifying function clinched the case for the centrality of history in the school curriculum. Others, however, viewed the claim as imperialistic, and challenges soon came from many directions—notably from advocates of an ill-defined approach to curriculum-making given the name “social studies.” Opposition came first, though, from the emerging social sciences, especially sociology, economics, and political science. Before World War I, these late-arriving disciplines had little presence and even less definition within the high school curriculum, where they existed almost entirely as subjects “allied” to history in courses focusing on civil government or political economy. These were studies that—if offered at all—were historically oriented and typically were linked to, or accommodated within, the course on United States history. In educational planning, the Seven asserted that these allied subjects should be thought of “as part of history,” thus helping to integrate rather than further fragment the curriculum.³⁰

As the social sciences organized, however, they increasingly rejected this view of a close kinship with history. By the 1920s, as Dorothy Ross points out, a disengagement from historicism was fully under way across all of the social science disciplines.³¹ In fact, social scientists now often defined themselves by drawing attention to what they argued were the shortcomings of historical thinking. Historians, they said, were given to literary narrative and romance, while social scientists were devoted to factual analysis and reality. The latter was empirical science, the former a kind of sentimental humanism. No longer justified after the horrific experience of World War I, this indulgent historicism—as the social scientists saw it—reflected a flawed evolutionary faith that counted on social ills’ giving way to the slow drift of historical progress. Thus, the study of history, if

²⁹ Committee of Seven, *Study of History*, 446, 445–46.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 489.

³¹ Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge, 1991), 386–89.

overdone, tended to cover over social problems rather than work toward their solution.

Ever more a social science dogma, this critique amounted to a direct denial of the Seven's claim that history was the subject best suited to provide the student with "practical preparation . . . for forceful participation in civic activities." It also was the point of departure from which the social science organizations began to demand that the "monopoly" of history in the school curriculum be broken and that their own subjects be given either equal or a significant share of time.³² This campaign culminated in reports criticizing the dominant place given history in high school education that were issued almost in concert during 1922–1923 by the American Political Science Association, the American Economic Association, and the American Sociological Society. This insistence of the social sciences that they deserved their own place in the school program contributed to what a 1924 AHA report referred to as "a rising tide of discontent" with the Seven's framework for history education. In addition, the entry of the social sciences into debate about the school curriculum helped to destabilize the ecology of policymaking in history education. In contrast to their stance in 1898, the AHA now understood that the social sciences would speak for themselves, and that their views—whether hostile to history or not—must necessarily be taken into account in the design of any school curriculum intended as preparation for citizenship.

IN CLAIMING A PLACE IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM, the social scientists pointed out that support for their position was not lacking among historians. Indeed, they said that those they considered "the most progressive historians" were solidly in the social science camp. According to the social scientists, these historians favored loosening "the grip of history" on the school curriculum so that much more student work could focus on social science approaches to contemporary issues. Furthermore, any history retained in the curriculum should itself be oriented toward attention to present social problems. As a matter of policy, the American Economics Association report said, "these historians believe that the monopoly of history is to be broken and that the history which remains in the curriculum is to be more definitely pointed toward understanding the society of today."³³

WHO EXACTLY WERE THE "PROGRESSIVE" HISTORIANS that the social scientists had in mind, and how sizable a constituency within the AHA did they represent? It is impossible to answer these questions with complete certainty, but without doubt the group included Charles Beard, James Harvey Robinson, and Carl Becker. These are the names that figure most prominently when the claim is made that historians helped form what came to be known as "the social studies movement." Of the three, Beard unquestionably was an early critic of the Seven, and he eventually became a leading spokesperson for organizing history education within a social studies

³² As reported in Edgar Dawson, "The History Inquiry," *The Historical Outlook* 15 (June 1924): 250.

³³ *Ibid.*

framework. Robinson was a member of a 1916 NEA committee that gave national currency to the name “social studies,” and Becker—though the least active of the three—questioned the Seven’s presuppositions whenever he spoke about history education. Given such prominent critics, there can be no doubt that an influential movement had emerged within the AHA aimed at rethinking and revising the policies established by the Seven.

How had the Seven gone wrong, and what should be the new direction for history education? Significantly, the progressive historians had more to say about the first of these questions than the second. At least as early as 1908, Beard was arguing before an audience of teachers that the Seven’s “partition of all history into four rectangular domains” was alien and deadening to historical work. Historical thinking, he said, does not move from early to more recent times along the lines of this slow chronological crawl. Instead, it originates in problems that emerge from “the living present” and then draws upon history as an instrumental means to address them. This meant that school history should be organized topically rather than chronologically, and that there should be “a readjustment of our program in such a way as to place more emphasis on the recent period.” But he could go no further. He himself had no “practical program” to offer through which teachers might implement these changes; nor, at this point, did he believe that the historical community at large was “ready . . . for this radical readjustment of our historical perspective so far as actual instruction is concerned.” In the spirit of the pragmatic evangelicalism, all Beard hoped to do was “awaken the spirit” to the need for change.³⁴

In a more plainspoken way, Becker arrived at almost the same end point. Speaking to Kansas teachers in 1916, he questioned whether it was advisable to continue the ambitious program for history education that the Seven had set forth. He referred to AHA data suggesting that history was losing favor with school administrators, adding, “I have no doubt that . . . one of many reasons for the fact is that the actual educational value of history in high schools is far less than it was supposed, twenty years ago, would prove to be the case.” The problem, he suggested, was that historians had not been able in practice to distinguish between elementary and more advanced courses; therefore, the Seven’s four-block framework led to the piling on of more and more (quickly forgotten) information rather than the fostering of intellectual growth. Given these circumstances, Becker concluded that “some radical reorganization of the curriculum is necessary,” and, moreover, that it would serve the interests of education best if the outcome were “a carefully coordinated course in which history, economics, civics, and sociology . . . all find their properly related place.” But Becker acknowledged forthrightly that he had no idea how this could be done, and he ended more or less where Beard had, saying, “I am perfectly willing that someone else would attempt to organize the ideal course.”³⁵

³⁴ Charles A. Beard, “A Plea for Greater Stress upon the Modern Period,” *Report of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland*, March 1908, 12, 13, 15.

³⁵ Carl Becker, “History in the High School Curriculum,” *Educational Administration and Supervision*, June 1916, 377–78. From an educational perspective, this was an especially provocative criticism in that it questioned both how much the study of history contributed to a student’s cognitive

Although the progressive historians wanted change in the Seven's program, it does not seem that they sought anything like root-and-branch reform. After all, Becker was the admiring student of Haskins, and he, more than any other historian, continued the effort to elucidate the meaning and value of "historical-mindedness" in both academic and everyday life. Also, without expressing any serious reservations, Robinson had served as a member of both the Committee of Ten and the Committee of Five, which reappraised the work of the Seven, and only gradually, never stridently, pressed for modification in the work of these bodies. Beard was more outspoken, but even though he protested the exclusion of the social sciences, he always insisted that history should be the centerpiece of the school curriculum. Like the Seven, the progressive historians wanted—as do many historians today—disciplinary leadership in the design of a curriculum that was at once intellectually rigorous and ethically responsive to societal conditions. They differed with the Seven primarily in how they regarded the pace and volatility of social change. Both believed that progress was inherent in change, but for the Seven this was a slow, almost inevitable drift upward. In contrast, the progressives felt an intense urgency about the seriousness of social problems and thought that historical study should contribute directly to purposeful efforts to achieve a better future. As Henry May said, they "agreed with their opponents that progress was natural—even inevitable—but they wanted to speed it up."³⁶ Applied to curriculum, however, this meant that history started later—taking off from the political and technological revolutions of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—with all that implied, of course, for the staffing of history departments in schools and colleges.

OF ALL THE CRITICS, THE MOST OUTSPOKEN and determined opponents of history education emerged from a loose network of new professionals whom historians came to refer to as "educationists." Historians applied this designation very broadly, often with disapproval, to education officials and faculty in schools of education who, to varying degrees, believed that the disciplinary framework governing the school curriculum should be jettisoned and replaced by one organized around pressing (or mundane) problems in the immediate social environment. In the words of one influential educationist, David Snedden, the purpose of schooling was not primarily to stimulate the intellectual development of individual minds—as history and the other disciplines advocated—but instead should be to make students "fit to carry on the group life." Schools, that is, were agencies that existed to serve the social order; and this meant that both the goals and the substance of education should be specified through an analysis of immediate "social necessities," and not by reference to the structure and substantive concerns of disciplinary learning. In practice, Snedden argued, the goal should be to replace courses in disciplines such as mathematics and history with studies

development and whether there was any reason why one course necessarily should follow another in the curriculum. Becker's view was that historians should be puzzled by these questions rather than address them through doctrinal statements.

³⁶ Henry May, *The End of American Innocence* (New York, 1959), 21.

focusing on aspects of daily life such as vocational skills and hygienic habits.³⁷ Looking back, the historian Richard Hofstadter described the efforts of the educationists as an attempt to produce a “de-intellectualized” school curriculum; and given the views of Snedden and his allies, this seems a fair appraisal of their intent.³⁸

Although Snedden and like-minded educationists sought to disestablish disciplines altogether, their top priority was to eliminate history from the curriculum.³⁹ If that could not be fully accomplished, they hoped at least to transform school history into something close to what Snedden called “contemporary social science.” Listening to Snedden speak about history education, the Cornell historian George Burr observed that “this seems much like history with the history left out.” And so it was. Increasingly, educationists such as Snedden—most of whom identified themselves as progressive pragmatists—interpreted John Dewey’s call to “live forward” to mean that the past should be rejected and shed rather than rediscovered and assimilated. From this perspective, as Dorothy Ross has pointed out, historical consciousness in the progressive camp came to be directed more toward “discarding the past” than toward exploring its bearing on the present.⁴⁰

In 1918, the cause of the educationists was given powerful impetus by the report of the NEA’s Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (CRSE). The leading question before this commission was what should be the mission of the high school, given that at least some secondary education was fast becoming universal and that educational planners increasingly had to take account of “large numbers of pupils of varying capacities, aptitudes, and social heredity, and destinies in life.” In short, what conception should rule the school curriculum under conditions of mass education? Answering this question in a report that came to be known as the *Cardinal Principles*, the CRSE pronounced that, henceforth, the governing mission of the high school no longer was to engender “intellectual power” but instead should be to fit the student for democratic life “through activities designed for the well-being of his fellow members and society as a whole.” To this end, disciplinary frameworks should be subordinated to and reoriented toward supporting seven objectives said to be essential to the good order of social life: “health,” “command of fundamental processes,” “worthy home-membership,”

³⁷ Snedden wrote often and extensively about a wide range of curricular issues. His arguments against the educational value of history can be found in “Teaching of History in Secondary Schools,” *The History Teacher’s Magazine* 9 (November 1914): 277–82, quote 280, and “History and Other Social Sciences in the Education of Youths Twelve to Eighteen Years of Age,” *School and Society* 115 (March 10, 1917): 271–313.

³⁸ See Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York, 1962), 299–300, for analysis of anti-intellectualist tendencies within progressivism.

³⁹ Importantly, Snedden and other educationists also pressed for an approach to teacher education that stressed pedagogy over command of the content of a disciplinary domain. By aggressively promoting their cause with legislatures, they increasingly influenced the laws and regulations governing teacher certification, so that from the 1920s onward, required courses in education dominated teacher preparation in most states, with only minimal attention given to disciplinary knowledge and expertise. A summation of the misgivings of college faculty about this development can be found in “Report of the Committee on College and University Teaching,” *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors* 19 (May 1933): 61–70.

⁴⁰ George L. Burr, “What History Shall We Teach,” *The History Teacher’s Magazine* 9 (November 1914): 286; Ross, *Origins of American Social Science*, 316.

“vocation,” “citizenship,” “worthy use of leisure,” and “ethical character.”⁴¹ Obviously, these aims reflected a very different and rival educational vision from the disciplined-based one advanced earlier by Eliot’s Committee of Ten and the AHA’s Committee of Seven. To the present day, these two contending points of view—one focusing on intellectual development and the other emphasizing social behavior—continue to oppose one another in a long-unresolved debate about the central purpose of schooling in the United States.⁴²

The favorable reception accorded the CRSE model by many school administrators would prove a turning point in AHA policy toward the schools. By implication, the CRSE had differentiated between the missions of schools and colleges—making the socialization of all students the primary work of the former and leaving the latter to support the intellectual development of a much smaller minority. This functional separation tended to call into question the stance taken by the Seven that all high school students—not just those preparing for college—deserve an academically serious and demanding education. Furthermore, this differentiation of schools from colleges—which in effect turned them into two different cultures—threatened to undermine the AHA conception that all K–university history educators should belong to one unified professional community. The most direct challenge to the discipline, however, came from the CRSE’s endorsement of a subcommittee recommendation that history in the high school curriculum be subsumed within a social studies framework and allocated at most two years of study rather than the four still recommended by the AHA.

By endorsing the idea of a curricular domain called social studies, the CRSE gave educational standing to a concept that existed concretely as little more than a phantom presence. Much later, in 1938, John Dewey was still trying to answer the question “What Is Social Study?” while warning against attempts to give it too definite a meaning.⁴³ Indeed, its appeal to school administrators may have been the operational latitude that the social studies rubric permitted in labeling courses for academic credit. In the social studies dispensation, they did not have to be governed by standard usage, as was necessary when designating a course as, say, “algebra” or “ancient history.” To label it social studies was sufficient even though this disclosed very little, if anything, about the content of the course or its place in an ordered curriculum. In 1924, this loose practice led an AHA committee to employ twenty-two general course categories when it attempted to survey what was then being taught in the schools under the heading of social studies. Not surprisingly, the

⁴¹ Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* (Washington, D.C., 1918), 8, 9, 10–11.

⁴² In recent scholarship, this debate has been revived by the publication of William G. Wraga’s *Democracy’s High School: The Comprehensive High School Educational Reform in the United States* (Lanham, Md., 1994). Wraga argues that the *Cardinal Principles* report reflects a Deweyan humanism and does not advocate Snedden’s socially behaviorist point of view. See also his “A Progressive Legacy Squandered: The Cardinal Principles Report Reconsidered,” *History of Education Quarterly*, Winter 2001, 494–519. A reply directly critical of Wraga can be found in Herbert Kliebard’s *Schooled to Work: Vocationalism and the American Curriculum, 1876–1946* (New York, 1999). Other relevant discussions of this report and its influence on education policy appear in Herbst, *The Once and Future School*, and David L. Angus and Jeffrey E. Mirel, *The Failed Promise of the American High School* (New York, 1999). The starting point for this scholarly debate is Edward A. Krug’s commentary on the *Cardinal Principles* in *The Shaping of the American High School, 1880–1920* (New York, 1964).

⁴³ John Dewey, “What Is Social Study?” *Progressive Education* 15 (May 1938): 367–69.

committee described the data as reflecting a “confusion of tongues” and as useless for setting AHA policy directions. Nonetheless, this AHA committee included history as a “social study,” pointing to some measure of acquiescence to the CRSE point of view.⁴⁴ Even if never confirmed in policy, this shift placed the AHA in the dubious and ultimately futile position of joining in a search for the educational meaning of an idea—if social studies can be called an idea—that defied substantive definition or coherent expression through a sequenced curriculum. In the end, this placed school history in an educational and curricular limbo from which—up to now—it still has not been able to extricate itself.

THE SOCIAL STUDIES MOVEMENT MIGHT HAVE FALTERED, however, if it were not for the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS). The council was formed in 1921 when a small group gathered by faculty from Teachers College announced that the CRSE recommendations required an organizational locus for uniting the efforts “of all the persons interested in training for citizenship.”⁴⁵ At the outset, those most responsible for launching NCSS were unsure about how it should carry out its mission, and different organizational models were considered and floated during the early years of the council’s existence. In part, inspiration was derived from the earlier establishment of K–12 subject matter associations during the second decade of the twentieth century. Among the most important of these were the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) and the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM). Like the start given to NCSS, the impetus to form these organizations came largely from faculty in schools of education, who feared that they would have little influence in the overall educational enterprise if K–12 teachers joined and became part of the culture of the existing disciplinary associations. Although these organizations claimed to represent the interests of teachers, they were, in fact, largely led and sustained by educationists throughout the formative years of their existence. Indeed, the early governance structure first established for NCSS effectively disallowed teachers from holding leadership positions in the organization.⁴⁶

The formation of NCSS had enormous consequences for history education. In contrast to NCSS, associations such as NCTE and NCTM were organized along subject-matter lines, and this made it possible in theory for teacher members to think of their work as following broad disciplinary contours.⁴⁷ Such, however, was not the case within a nondisciplinary social studies framework, where history was absorbed into an amorphous meld of many subjects. In consequence, history

⁴⁴ Dawson, “History Inquiry,” 254.

⁴⁵ Earl U. Rugg, “A National Council for the Social Studies,” *The Historical Outlook*, June 1921, 190.

⁴⁶ Louis M. Vanaria, “The National Council for the Social Studies” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1958), 100.

⁴⁷ This does not suggest an absence of conflict in these subject areas. In the so-called “math wars,” university mathematicians often are adamant in their opposition to the views of NCTM on school mathematics. Nonetheless, this essentially is a debate about the nature of mathematics itself, in which neither wants to diminish the importance of mathematics in the school curriculum. In contrast, social studies first represented itself as inherently different from history—or any discipline—and as its rival in the educational enterprise.

teachers eventually would find themselves without any organizational voice to represent their interests either in school settings or as a professional community. The arrival of NCSS, then, helped to create a new, ill-defined professional identity—that of the social studies teacher—which in itself indicated no particular substantive expertise or definite educational responsibilities. In turn, this meant that teacher certification requirements under a social studies dispensation would begin to be cast so broadly that a social studies teacher who had never taken a college history course could be assigned to teach history.⁴⁸ It is not the case, of course, that the early leaders of NCSS—and their supporters within the AHA membership—intended anything like these outcomes. Looking back, however, what must be said is that the organizers of NCSS were fully ready to dissolve the existing history curriculum—and thereby weaken the professional identity of history teachers—on not much more than a bet that something definite would eventually arrive to take the place of history.

IN ITS OWN RESPONSE TO CRITICS, the AHA at first seemed determined to resist attempts to subsume history within social studies. In 1923, the association formally resolved to undertake “the development of a strong constructive policy in the matter of history education in the schools.” There were considerations within this resolution, however, that made it less than straightforwardly actionable. On the one hand, the resolution called for a “new statement of the value and contribution of history to education, independent of, and apart from the other social studies.” This appeared to reflect a resolve to continue the tradition of the Seven in advocating for the integrity of history as a disciplinary study. On the other hand, the resolution also proposed the development of a “new statement or brief for the social studies as a whole with a view to obtaining for these subjects consideration commensurate with their importance.”⁴⁹ Here the AHA seemed to hope that advocacy for history and support of social studies were not incompatible. The authors of this resolution perhaps thought of the inclusion of these two alternative paths as a necessary evenhandedness, given differences of opinion among the AHA membership, but in retrospect it appears more to reflect a mood of uncertainty that increasingly undermined the association’s direct support for history education in the schools.

With this resolution, the AHA’s approach to school policy began to drift in two divergent directions. One was a retreat into the realm of expressive politics—that is, occasional pronouncements about the importance of history education, with no serious attempt to provide substantive backing for the claim. The other was to participate as one constituency among many in coalitions aimed at developing a

⁴⁸ The recent AHA study of graduate programs reports that “currently only about one-third of high school students are studying history with teachers with a college major in the discipline, and half of the students in grades 7–12 are in classrooms with teachers lacking even a college minor in history.” Thomas Bender, Philip M. Katz, Colin Palmer, and the Committee on Graduate Education of the American Historical Association, *The Education of Historians for the Twenty-first Century* (Urbana, Ill., 2004), 3.

⁴⁹ Quoted in Howard Boozer, “The American Historical Association and the Schools, 1884–1956” (Ph.D. diss., Washington University, 1960), 188.

"brief for the social studies as a whole." During the years 1928–1934, the AHA was drawn much more along the latter course when the Carnegie Corporation provided a large grant to support the work of a Commission on the Social Studies. This has often been referred to as an AHA commission, but the AHA actually served only as a facilitating agent for the grant. In fact, the commission was set up at Carnegie's insistence as an independent attempt to reach consensus about the future direction of social studies education, and therefore its membership intentionally included representation from historians, educationists, and social scientists in more or less equal parts. How committed each of these camps was to the task at hand was open to question from the very beginning, but on the surface, at least, all parties were pledged to cooperation.

Although ambiguous at best, the results of this commission proved to be a turning point in the AHA's stance toward history education. It is clear from the record that some influential historians wanted to use the commission as a means to carry the AHA fully into the social studies camp, or at minimum to revise the policies of the Seven. This reform impetus increased when the prolonged shock to society brought on by the Depression called into question all preexisting social and educational policy. Among reformers, there was no one more convinced of the need for change than Charles Beard, who almost immediately became the spokesperson for the commission and the foremost public advocate for the social studies point of view. It is not easy, however, to say exactly where Beard stood among the contending parties. Historians now claim Beard as one of their own, but he was equally active professionally as a political scientist and from the 1920s on was a close associate of educationists at Teachers College. Very probably, he saw himself—and was so viewed by the Carnegie Corporation—as being above the fray and performing the role of educational statesman. Still, Beard was quite forthright from the outset that, as he understood it, one important objective of the commission was to make a break with past positions of the AHA and bring an end to what he called the "reign of the historian" over the school curriculum.⁵⁰

Unquestionably, many historians other than Beard believed that the school history curriculum needed serious revision. Although modified somewhat by subsequent committees, the Seven's curriculum scarcely touched on the most pressing issues confronting the nation following World War I; immigration, industrialization, urbanization, and international relations all were largely beyond its ken. It was difficult, therefore, to make the case that the Seven's curriculum was still an adequate preparation for civic involvement or the stimulus to an effortful social life. This called for a rethinking of AHA policy, but it did not answer the question of why history should be reconfigured within social studies. This was an especially pertinent issue given that no educationally viable definition of social studies had as yet been formulated. So why replace history with social studies? In

⁵⁰ Charles A. Beard, "The Social Studies Curriculum," *The Social Frontier*, December 1935, 78. Unlike Snedden, Beard was neither antidisciplinary nor antihistory. He insisted that social studies must respect "the spirit and letter of scholarship" and take account of "the stubborn and irreducible elements of the special disciplines." Little different from the Seven, he argued that "history can furnish cement to bind all other social disciplines into a workable unity, giving to them a patterned background and, by virtue of its basic time element, a dynamic which pertains to the future." See Charles A. Beard, *A Charter for the Social Studies in the Schools* (New York, 1934), 20.

reply, Beard had remarkably little to offer of a substantive nature. The term “social studies,” he acknowledged, had arisen largely as a label of “convenience” for all those studies that in common supported “the efforts of mankind to become civilized.” Moreover, he admitted that as far as he could tell, “The boundaries of the field are indefinite. The subject-matter is difficult to determine. Methods of teaching and testing are under debate. Intangibles are numerous.” Despite the many unknowns, Beard urged educators to have faith that “there is substance, there is reality, in social studies.”⁵¹ Essentially, his was an evangelical call to a belief that social studies surely must be a path to a better way even if nothing about that future condition could be known or specified in advance.

In the end, however, no better way—or clearly marked path of any kind—resulted from the work of the commission. As many critical reviewers pointed out, the definition of social studies was no more settled when the commission adjourned than it had been at the outset. When its report finally appeared in 1934, four of the sixteen members, including the influential social scientist Charles Merriam, refused to sign off on its recommendations. The commission itself neither recommended nor endorsed any substantive program of study.⁵² In the spirit of pragmatic trial and error, the work of developing a social studies curriculum was left totally up to experimentation within individual schools. But the commission had not provided anything approaching an adequate working hypothesis upon which to base this work. Thus, what had come to be regarded as the center of the school curriculum—the studies that most directly prepared students for life in a democracy—was left vacant and open to any and all claimants. Over time, this decentering of the curriculum may have been the most consequential of the many outcomes that resulted from the social studies movement.

The effect of the commission on the AHA was significant and far-reaching. That such a prestigious national body labored for five years under the auspices of the AHA—if not its direction—seemed to affirm the association’s activist role in making education policy. The result, however, was exactly the opposite. Backing off involvement, the association remained silent, neither endorsing nor rejecting any part of the work of the commission. The one formal action that the AHA did take was to hand over control of its professional journal on history education to the NCSS. This act in itself signified to many that the AHA thereafter would defer to the NCSS in all matters related to K–12 education. Whether intentional or not, the changing titles of this journal tell a story about the diminishing fortunes of history in the school curriculum: *The History Teacher’s Magazine* (1909), *The Historical Outlook* (1918), *The Social Studies* (1934), and then *Social Education* (1937).

⁵¹ Charles A. Beard, “The Trend in Social Studies,” *The Historical Outlook* 20 (December 29, 1929): 371.

⁵² Although the commission was severely criticized for its failure to provide concrete recommendations, it did sponsor a number of publications by individual authors that remained influential texts in the educational literature of the mid-twentieth century. These included Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators* (New York, 1935); George S. Counts, *The Social Foundations of Education* (New York, 1934); Henry Johnson, *An Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences in the Schools* (New York, 1932); Bessie Louise Pierce, *Citizens’ Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth* (New York, 1933); and Rolla M. Tryon, *The Social Sciences as School Subjects* (New York, 1935).

In practice, high schools now encountered two rival curriculum models for history education—one advocated by the NCSS and the other framed by the examinations of the College Board.⁵³ The AHA kept apart from both alternatives, proposed no model of its own, and thereby abandoned standards setting and curriculum development to two organizations, neither of which represented the discipline of history or any community of historians. By the onset of World War II, then, the association had gone from a major formative influence in K–12 history education to having scarcely any educational agenda at all. As a result, the organization that had provided intellectual and policy guidance in the making of school curriculum for almost half a century largely ceased to be an active presence in the further evolution of secondary education. In effect, historians had left school history to fend for itself.

AFTER WORLD WAR II, THE AHA'S ACTIVIST LEGACY mostly lay dormant for several decades and increasingly was forgotten by members of the profession. By 1980, the loss of memory was almost complete. In that year, Hazel Hertzberg observed in an AHA-sponsored retrospective that remembrance of the association's once "decisive role" in school history had become "virtually non-existent" among historians. This indifference, however, was about to be disturbed.⁵⁴ In 1979, the *New York Times* had reported a dramatic twenty-year decline in SAT scores; and from this point forward, growing alarm about the state of public education began to propel school reform to the forefront of the nation's public policy agenda. It primarily was concern about the implications of this changing policy environment that underlay Arthur Link's 1984 attempt to convince the discipline that attention to school history should be one of its prime responsibilities. If the AHA did not return to the task begun by the early historians, he warned, then "others"—most probably government agencies—would enter the policy void and take control of issues that properly should be decided within the community of history educators.⁵⁵

Historians today are not likely to agree about how effectively the profession has responded to Link's challenge. Perhaps the most that can be said is that history education is much more a live issue in the discipline than was the case twenty years ago. It is certainly true that a number of historians have joined in helping to

⁵³ This continues to be the case today. In line with policy first advocated by the CRSE, most schools include two history courses in the social studies curriculum—typically World/European history (tenth grade) and United States history (eleventh grade). Many of these schools also now offer the College Board's Advanced Placement courses to a rapidly increasing—but still select—number of students. For a description of a long-persisting "modal pattern" in the social studies curriculum, see Jenness, *Making Sense of Social Studies*, 86–88, 155–56.

⁵⁴ Hazel Hertzberg, "The Teaching of History," in Michael Kammen, ed., *The Past before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1980), 474–75. The depth of amnesia in the profession at this time is fully evident in Laurence Veysey's critical evaluation of the AHA, the OAH, and other humanities organizations during the period 1860–1920. Writing in 1979, Veysey totally ignores the energetic educational activism of the early professional historians and, contrary to all that the record shows, portrays the associational life of the discipline in these formative decades as marked by complacency and intellectually empty sociability. Laurence Veysey, "The Plural, Organized Worlds of the Humanities," in Alexandra Oleson and John Voss, eds., *The Organization of Knowledge in Modern America, 1860–1920* (Baltimore, Md., 1979), 77–79.

⁵⁵ Link, "The American Historical Association," 15.

strengthen school history.⁵⁶ In a recent policy forum, Tom Bender takes this involvement as a definite sign of revived activism in the profession, but he adds, “the task is large, and these are scattered, even marginal, efforts.” Echoing Link, he calls for a broad-based initiative in which “all academic historians” work in concert to involve the discipline “more fully in the development of curricula, the training of teachers, and the writing of tests, textbooks, and other teaching materials.”⁵⁷ For Bender, the rationale for such decisive action is self-evident. It should be apparent, he says, that a revitalization of history education cannot be legislated. Indeed, it could be thwarted by government intervention and bureaucratic regulation. Among possible contributors, only the discipline can bring substantive depth and a spirit of critical inquiry to conversations about the direction of school history. Full commitment to these conversations, in turn, can counter the ever-present danger that a disengaged pursuit of specialized research will result in an isolation of the profession from matters of public concern. In short, if the discipline acts, school history stands to gain an intellectual energy that has long been missing, and historians are saved from a depleted sense of public mission.

Even if this rationale proves persuasive, the way forward is far from certain. It is doubtful whether action will result from prolonging debate about how research has “trumped” education in determining what counts in the work of the discipline. Although relevant, this may not be the heart of the matter. In fact, the AHA backed off, then abandoned, issues of school history long before research became an overriding concern in the discipline during the 1960s and 1970s. What happened in the 1930s was arguably a failure of nerve—or a fear of division in the ranks—brought on by problems that will be encountered again in any revival of educational activism. These problems turn on questions as difficult as any that historians are likely to take up—questions specifically about the distinctive nature of historical thinking, its educational value, the progression and content of coursework, testing of student learning, and the position of history within a social studies framework. An understanding of matters of this kind should guide policymaking in history education, and this cannot be achieved through committee votes, press releases, or ad hoc measures of any sort. With this in mind, should not the AHA consider taking the lead in establishing a locus within the discipline for research and data collection bearing on all developments in the teaching and learning of history? A reliable policy arm could emerge from this source, enabling the discipline to overcome hesitance and speak with confidence about issues of school history. This venture—call it simply a Center for History Education (CHE)—might involve some organizational redesign of the AHA itself or be based on a consortial arrangement among participants that bring relevant expertise to the work. It also might be undertaken as a joint effort with the AHA-supported proposal for establishing a

⁵⁶ Largely on their own initiative, individual historians have undertaken noteworthy reform efforts. Following World War II, the most significant included Arthur Bestor’s assault on the educationists; Richard Brown’s Amherst Project on American History; Edwin Fenton’s project at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, later expanded upon by Peter Stearns; and Gary Nash’s work through the National Center for History in the Schools. Despite nominal support for the National Center’s history standards project, the discipline took up none of these initiatives as priorities. That this activism brought little involvement from the historical profession illustrates the extent to which history education had migrated from the center to the margins of the disciplinary agenda.

⁵⁷ Thomas Bender, “Reforming the Disciplines,” *Daedalus* 131 (2002): 62.

National History Center. No matter what model is adopted, this initiative need not start from scratch. Across many fields, inquiry into the nature of learning has thrown off its behaviorist bonds and begun to give us new understandings of how people acquire knowledge.⁵⁸ A recent AHA-sponsored publication points to how this research bears directly on rethinking history education,⁵⁹ and from this starting point it is not difficult to see how a forward-looking agenda of work could be organized comparable in scope and significance to that undertaken by the Committee of Seven.

Importantly, the CHE should adopt an inclusive approach and avoid treating school history in isolation from the many other aspects of history education. In particular, the center should foster the sense that all K–university history educators are members of a single unified professional community. This was among the strongest convictions of the early professional historians, and it was one they worked hard to put into practice. It also may be the point where their understanding of the profession most differs from that of the majority of historians today. An AHA-sponsored study, *The Education of Historians for the Twenty-first Century*, reports that “in most history doctoral programs neither faculty nor students tend to think of themselves as part of a K–16 community of educators, all devoted to history.”⁶⁰ This, in contrast, is exactly how both the Seven and the progressives did think of themselves. In 1891, when Frederick Jackson Turner spoke to an audience of K–12 history educators, he addressed them as “we teachers” and envisioned their work and that of university historians as part of a common educational enterprise. In that spirit, Turner and Haskins co-taught courses for elementary and secondary history teachers at the University of Wisconsin, and Vassar’s Lucy Salmon worked tirelessly on behalf of teacher professionalism and the establishment of close working ties between school and college educators.⁶¹ These were not atypical actions, but rather reflected a belief commonly held in the early profession that all history educators shared the same aims and aspirations. For nearly half a century, the expectation among historians was that this belief should receive its most complete expression through the work of the AHA; and the question here proposed for

⁵⁸ The bearing of this research on education is discussed in full in the National Research Council’s *How People Learn* (Washington, D.C., 1999). Importantly, this report emphasizes that successful learning—what it calls “learning with understanding”—is discipline-specific even at the high school level. As the researcher Sam Wineberg sums up, “There is no such thing as generic critical thinking. We think critically within the bounds of our discipline, and features of thought critical in one field often fail to appear in another.” Of course, it does not necessarily follow that disciplinary experts are good teachers, but this does suggest that the early professional historians were close to the mark when they placed “historical-mindedness” at the center of history education. For Wineberg’s statement, see “Teaching the Mind Good Habits,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 11, 2003, B20.

⁵⁹ Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineberg, *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* (New York, 2000).

⁶⁰ Bender et al., *Education of Historians*, 64.

⁶¹ Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of History,” in *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner* (New York, 1994), 28. For Salmon’s efforts, see Nicholas Adams and Bonnie G. Smith, eds., *Lucy M. Salmon, Selected Essays: History and the Texture of Modern Life* (Philadelphia, 2001).

discussion is whether the AHA can again lead the profession in a quest for a unified educational vision.

Robert Orrill is Executive Director, National Council on Education and the Disciplines, and Senior Advisor at the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation. Among other academic and teaching positions, he previously was Executive Director, Office of Academic Affairs, at the College Board. He has organized and edited numerous publications on American education, including *The Future of Education: Perspectives on National Standards in America* (1994); *The Condition of American Liberal Education: Pragmatism and a Changing Tradition* (1995); and *Education and Democracy: Re-imagining Liberal Learning in America* (1997).

Linn Shapiro is an organizer and historian who studies the politics and culture of the American Left. She learned most of what she knows about the relationship between politics and culture from Bernice Johnson Reagon. With Judy Kaplan, Shapiro edited *Red Diapers: Growing Up in the Communist Left* (1998). She is currently writing a history of the community-based Left in Washington, D.C. She works as development director at the Latin American Youth Center in Washington, D.C., and as coordinator of Proyecto VOS (Voices of Survivors), which tours international survivors of human rights violations to college and university campuses.

Reviews of Books and Films

METHODS/THEORY

DAVID CHRISTIAN. *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History*. Foreword by WILLIAM H. MCNEILL. (The California World History Library, number 2.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University Of California Press. 2004. Pp. xxii, 642. \$34.95.

There is no need to tell readers of this journal that teaching, writing, and research in “big history” is enjoying a renaissance. A growing community of “evangelical” scholars, particularly in North America (but latterly in Europe, Russia, Japan, and China) is creating “bridgeheads” into higher education for the revival of a field that can be traced back to Herodotus, persisted for centuries of Christendom, fragmented into national histories after the Reformation, revived briefly during the Enlightenment, maintained a lonely extracurricular presence for more than two centuries of Western imperialism, triumphalism, and geopolitical barbarities, but now challenges historians bunkered in the security of national and local archives (or the condescending sensitivities of postmodernism) to relocate their “provincial” research and epistemological anxieties into metanarratives of universal, global, and world history.

Although that aspiration was proclaimed even by Leopold von Ranke (“There is no history but universal history—as it really was”) and the socioeconomic, geopolitical, and cultural forces behind current demands for revival of the genre are familiar, questions of what to teach, how to construct courses and write books, and how to undertake research at graduate levels that might be recognized as “professional” by (perhaps?) the most conservative of humanities are still with us. In practice, these problems afflict every other genre of historical writing and research, and, along with other tribes, universal historians can refer to “their tradition” and call upon several deeply erudite and impressive godfathers (Fernand Braudel, Marshall Hodgson, William McNeill, and L. S. Stavrianos) for guidance. The conviction that history departments without universal historians are about as unbalanced as hospitals without cardiologists will grow as talented practitioners committed to the field demonstrate to their students and to historians at large that the subject must and can be taught at graduate levels.

Fortunately pressures from the young, from governments, the media, and multinational business for big pictures, as well as the joy and intellectual challenge of trying to communicate history that merits the accolade of “global” (and still more of “universal”) are now attracting scholars into this wide-open field. Of course, older historians will encourage the young to try their hands, but at present the model and paradigm for texts that are carrying the field forward to plateaux from which problems for research emerge and methodological issues are clarified are being written by scholars with arduously acquired credentials and established reputations as historians of regions of the world that are not Western. That education allows them to “provincialize Europe” (and the United States) and provides perspectives that encourage them to roam free from the cages and ideologies of Western social science.

His (our) preferred community of historians is singularly fortunate that David Christian (a renowned expert on Russian, Central Asian, and Mongolian history) decided to teach and write big history as long ago as 1990. His book, like all great and influential texts, is the product of extensive reading, widespread consultation, and above all the compulsion of delivering knowledge of this scope and scale to courses for students and audiences (of no doubt skeptical) academics at universities in Australia, Canada, Britain, and the United States. Christian’s book falls into what is recognized to be the most demanding of three distinct approaches to the writing of texts and construction of graduate courses in universal history. (Texts for undergraduates exemplify plural approaches to the study of world history, because at that level their authors are perforce obliged to offer more or less concise, memorable, and adequate histories of most parts of the world. With geographies, populations, and centuries to cover their task, to quote McNeill, is “to know what to leave out.”) At higher levels of university education, a majority of authors opt for themes (food, shelter, gender, class, race, ethnicity, parliaments, military organization, religion, etc.) that lend themselves to exercises in comparative history as recommended by Marc Bloch. Close behind, in volumes published, are texts organized around encounters, webs of human connections or waves of conquests and colonization

representing major forces for long-run historical change. Third comes a smaller range of studies that reflect recent and growing concerns with the environment and with aspirations to reunite geography with history. The intellectual demands on scholars who construct courses and write textbooks that seek to integrate natural with human history into universal history are truly formidable. Few historians can read and comprehend developments in natural sciences or make sense of physics, astronomy, chemistry, geology, palaeontology, botany, biology, and zoology at the levels required to communicate with audiences and readers whose acquaintance with modern knowledge in those fields, is, to say the least, rudimentary.

Christian has made the effort to come to grips with a body of universal knowledge (science) that alone supplies the credentials necessary to be taken seriously as a historian of our universe. Of course, he has also read and written at a propitious time, when more and more scientists become anxious to communicate their previously arcane and inaccessible knowledge to wider publics. Nevertheless, his achievement is outstanding. Although his book commands the heights of texts, seeking to unite human with natural history, it leaves metaquestions concerning the interconnections between peoples and their environments (i.e. the significance of nature for culture and culture for nature) open for further investigation. Christian may wish to expand part four ("The Modern Era") and to thread some kind of more integrated story through the whole narrative. Meanwhile he has written a text that should be on every bibliography in universal and global history.

PATRICK K. O'BRIEN
London School of Economics

ANDREA FRISCH. *The Invention of the Eyewitness: Witnessing and Testimony in Early Modern France*. (North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, number 279.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. 195. \$34.95.

Andrea Frisch traces the evolution of the discourse of testimony in medieval and early modern France and attempts to show "that the figure of the eyewitness is a historical construct rather than a philosophical construct" (p. 13). The first portion of the book focuses on law, and especially on "judicial witnesses," who are treated as a central feature of feudal society. Feudal-era witnessing is characterized as dialogic because "compurgators" testified as to the reputation and social standing of the parties, as opposed to early modern and modern "epistemic witnessing" of specific actions and events.

A second theme is the role of legal witnessing practices in shaping the figure of the eyewitness in travel writing. Frisch argues that the earlier "ethical" and community-based witnessing persisted in travel writing and was only slowly replaced by eyewitnesses of actual events. Marco Polo was disbelieved as an epis-

temic witness because of his lack of ethical authority, while John Mandeville was believed because he possessed it. The decline of ethical witnessing and the rise of epistemic witnessing is examined in several early sixteenth-century French accounts of the New World.

Frisch also discusses the difficulties in adapting ethical witnessing to printed texts. Travel accounts that once required a community of known individuals were modified when the literary situation became one in which an absent witness addressed an anonymous reading audience. The emergence of the first-person narrative in travel accounts is attributed to the changes in judicial procedure.

The French approach to New World testimony, it is argued, was also inextricably connected to the French Reformation. John Calvin's views of the Eucharist, Frisch argues, helped to shape the Protestant Jean de Lery's account of the New World. Although she presents an illuminating comparison of Roman Catholic and Calvinist eucharistic practices, many readers will find the connection between Calvinist eucharistic practices and Lery's account to be a tenuous one.

Frisch concludes with a discussion of witnessing in the context of the Holocaust. The conventional notion of epistemic witnessing, she argues, fails to provide an adequate knowledge or understanding of events and is therefore now eroding. The work of Jacques Derrida, Shoshana Felman, Jean-François Lyotard, Giorgio Agamben, and other Holocaust commentators is examined in order to show that ethically based premodern witnessing can provide a "powerful resource for thinking the post-modern subject" (p. 187). Historical awareness, Frisch suggests, can reduce the current attachment to epistemic witnessing and assist in a needed cultural transformation of witnessing.

Frisch's case rests on her account of changes in French law from the community-based decisions that depended on compurgators who vouched for an accused's oath to those in which witnesses testify to the truth or falsity of an alleged fact. Although legal historians will not question her general account of the change, they are likely to insist that the French adoption of "epistemic witnessing" can be better explained as following the lead of medieval canonists and Italian civilians who first elaborated the practice of "epistemic witnessing." Others will question whether eyewitness testimony has been treated as a "philosophical construct." Such testimony could always be rejected or doubted in cases involving conflicting testimony or in cases where the reputation of the witness is questionable. Community assessments of witnesses' ability, honesty, and character continued to play a role during periods in which "epistemic witnesses" dominated the legal arena. Although these topics are insufficiently treated in this volume, it is nevertheless a significant addition to our understanding of how French law developed and to the "law and literature" movement that has recently attracted lawyers and literary scholars. Frisch's study treats law as a central component of culture, and so must those who follow. The addition of

her investigation to those dealing with England and Spain now makes possible a comparative analysis of aspects of European legal and cultural development.

BARBARA SHAPIRO
University of California,
Berkeley

ANTOINETTE BURTON. *Dwelling in the Archive: Women, Writing, House, Home and History in Late Colonial India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 202. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$19.95.

At the outset of this book, Antoinette Burton asks: "What counts as an archive? Can private memories of home serve as evidence of political history? What do we make of the histories that domestic interiors, once concrete now perhaps crumbling or even disappeared, have the capacity to yield?" (p. 4). Her response challenges academic disciplinary regulations through a feminist Foucauldian critique of institutional knowledges and their mode of production as technologies of male social power. The definition of "archive" here is both expanded and contested, and the conventional deployment of the archive as an ideological endeavor is exposed. In this critique, officially designated archives turn out to be repositories of objectified knowledge characterizing mainstream/male stream history. The positivism or scientificism required by this archiving process removes all subjects, their memories, and their experiences from history. Burton attempts instead to return the subjects of history to the status of makers of history.

Through her criticism of the archive, Burton opens the door to a "different" historiography and presents a theory of representation of difference as a way of reinstating history's "others." She speaks of women as subjects of nationalism and colonialism both in terms of subjectification and agency. The archives here are of material and memorial resources—both physical and experiential spaces—as used by three Asian women authors: Janaki Majumdar, Cornelia Sorabjee, and Atia Hussein. Their lives span the late nineteenth century to the emergence of India and Pakistan through the violent partition of the British-ruled subcontinent. The reconstructions, recollections, and recommendations of these women reveal the experiential-historical dimensions of patriarchy within nationalism and colonialism in their complex sociological, psychological, and ideological fusions and formations. Burton's "other" archives encompass unpublished family history and published autobiographical tracts and fiction.

Burton's most important theoretical contribution, in my view, is her successful attempt to bridge or bypass the public-private divide for a holistic notion of the social. She challenges the Hegelian approach that sections off a portion of the social into the netherworld of civil society, thus relegating a substantial portion of daily living into the construct of the private or the domestic, the "unhistorical" women's domain. In the

process we enter a world of voices, of lives silenced, erased, occluded, or even substituted through such ruses of reason as "facts" and "evidence" that cannot accommodate the social history of actual subjects. Burton calls her historical method postmodernism, through which she displaces modernist transhistorical, even suprahistorical truth claims. Burton's counter-history echoes older etymological connections between "story" and "history." Through stored and storied memories and reconstructions of life spaces, coding of norms and meanings, reflections on political and domestic duties, and the journeys of her authors in India, Pakistan, and England, we see how subjectivity is formed experientially and how history is embodied in and through such formations. We also learn to think of "diaspora" not as a trope of loss but as a vantage point of critical subjectivity. The "West" and the "East" cease to be reified categories for producing further reifications and bifurcations.

Burton's historiography accommodates indeterminacy and inconclusiveness. Without reducing the repressive impact of colonialism, her particular kind of postcolonialism can project a feminist critique of nationalism as enscribed in the works of a Hindu, a Parsi-Christian, and a Muslim woman. We can dare to think that Majumdar, the daughter of W.C. Bonnerjea (a founder figure of the Indian National Congress), or her mother may have found the ideological and familial practices of nationalism thwarting as women, and the issue of women's belonging to the sociocultural space of the nation emerges as an open question. Hussein's novel, *Sunlight on a Broken Column*, or Sorabjee's advocacy for secluded women, or Majumdar's implied criticism of father and nationalism all help to define history as a genre of ambiguity rather than certainty. "Were they right," we might ask, "in their peculiar feminist rendition of nationalism?" But Burton's point is that, right or wrong, these views deserve a place in history.

Burton's searching historiographical questions regarding critical epistemologies, representational devices, conceptualization of difference, and the writing of "other" histories direct us to make similar queries about her book. In view of the importance that reading, interpreting, and construction and representation are accorded in her methodology, we can ask if all sources, both subjective and objective, memorial and statistical, documentary and experiential, cannot be turned into resources for writing alternative and reflexive histories through readings from nonpositivist standpoints? We could also ask whether it is necessary for us completely to eschew the possible resources of institutional archives. Is the problem that disciplinary or academic history poses that of its archival resource base or of a binary exclusion of all other resources into the either/or of memory and fact, personal voices counterposed to statistically and factually tested objective evidences? Should we not also resist a univocal interpretation of modernity and not simply pose against it the supposed counter-modernity

of subjectivism as our main option? How would this stance against modernity in toto be sustainable given that notions of the subject, of the individual's experience and memories, are integral to modernist discourse? It would perhaps be more helpful to say that expressionist methods of reading, querying, and juxtaposing help us to identify a multiplicity of resources for social history or historical sociology. Then we can bring together or complement memorial, autobiographical, and fictional sources with those found in "proper" archives in our project of capturing and representing specific, local spatio-temporalities, and divergent voices. Burton would agree with me, I think, but her book just stops short of articulating and elaborating this position.

It seems to me that Burton also has to pose more centrally the provocative questions of transparency, mediation, and direct or indirect relationship to the social that are the representational burden of all historians and sociologists. A thorough discussion of these would help us to see more clearly that her authors do not write history, she does—and to think otherwise is to misrepresent them. What Majumdar, Sorabjee, and Hussein do is to provide possible sources in their experiential, relational, and fictional constructs. It is Burton who does the reading and the framing that transform them into resources for a new history. It is with this in mind that we must approach Hussein's world and her novel. When Burton says, "I read it as a memoir of the 1930s that represents itself as the history of the period" (p. 15), we may question the intentionality, the consciousness of motivation Burton attributes to her subject-author. If Hussein and others like her rejected the grand task of nationalism, is it likely that they would think in terms of "making history" or finding their "place" in it?

Questions of rhetoric and genres also need to be discussed separately from the question of whether the authors considered their works as "history." For example, could Majumdar's "family history" shed light on her ambivalences and ambiguities regarding her father, nationalism, or even on what she coded as "family" and "history" while writing her account? Sorabjee's tract-texts could also offer more than a native informant's tourist guide through a consideration of their rhetoric, and Hussein's use of novelistic conventions can be seen in tension with her "autobiographical" fiction instead of being subsumed in the language of direct subjectivity.

These suggestions notwithstanding, Burton's book is a valuable addition to our own archives of representation of the social. It forces us to rethink settled conventions of knowledge production, and of history (or any other discipline) and confronts us with representation (political) and re-presentation (epistemological and aesthetic) as moments of struggle. To ask the right questions is far more important than providing the right answers.

HIMANI BANNERJI
York University

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

DANIEL FINAMORE, editor. *Maritime History as World History*. (New Perspectives on Maritime History and Nautical Archaeology.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2004. Pp. xii, 216. \$59.95.

This collection grew out of a conference held in 2000 at the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts. It must be viewed as a careful, if not altogether successful, attempt to bridge the traditional scholarship conducted under the heading "maritime history" with recent, and more innovative, approaches to the historical significance of oceans. As editor Daniel Finamore states in his brief introduction, the term "maritime history" veils the fact that the sea has been a "fundamental factor of world history" and thus demands attention beyond the limits of a historical subdiscipline (p. 1). Such a statement can only be applauded; it joins a number of other recent voices calling for a new appreciation of oceanic history—especially the history of the great age of sail—as an important precursor of globalization.

Unfortunately, the volume's contributions do not all bear out its promise. Many essays provide useful summaries of historical events, some are written from the limited view of maritime history criticized above, and almost all of them (as Finamore admits in the introduction) ignore the impact of non-European maritime cultures on the development of a global, ocean-based economic system. The order is largely chronological, with a few inexplicable anachronisms: thus the series starting with maritime expeditions in antiquity (Lionel Casson), the Middle Ages (William D. Phillips), and the early modern period (Carla Rahn Phillips) is interrupted by an essay on twentieth-century underwater technology (Justin Manley and Brendan Foley) that is certainly interesting in itself but disturbs the coherence of the volume. Another disturbing structural feature are the interspersed illustrations, which are thematically misplaced and hardly bear any relationship to the themes discussed in the essays. Some images call attention to fascinating chapters of maritime history that have been left out, such as the Wilkes Pacific Expedition recently given a book-length treatment by Nathaniel Philbrick (p. 53) or the oceanian stick chart from the Marshall Islands (p. 54), which gives a sense of indigenous knowledge of navigation in the Pacific region. Rather than providing supporting evidence for the essays, the illustrations gesture toward the considerable gaps and a certain lopsidedness of the volume, six out of whose twelve chapters deal with the period before 1800.

The historical panorama unfolded in the essays on seaborne exploration in antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the early modern period mostly repeats or synthesizes well-known material. Casson promises more archaeological evidence than he musters, but his account of Hanno, Egyptian explorations, and Pytheas's search for Ultima Thule is certainly worth reading. William Phillips's repeated assertion that maritime exploration

was not primarily motivated by "simple curiosity" (p. 47) but also by economic interests could not be more convincing, and he deserves appreciation for his mention of Chinese and Polynesian voyages. The main thesis of Carla Rahn Phillips's essay is that maritime voyages were motivated by a set of different political, personal, economic, spiritual, and intellectual interests but carried out by "select individuals who recognized no limits to their imagination" (p. 80). More successful at escaping the romantic paradigm of exploration lore is Olaf Janzen in his very fine assessment of oceans as an intricate system of "highways" of trade but also family connections. John Armstrong reminds us of the largely ignored coastal and riverine traffic without which transoceanic routes would not have been able to operate. John Hattendorf calls attention to the impracticability of giving equal marine sovereignty to small nations, and Richard Unger's essay suggests that the definition of "piracy" is a privilege of the global players. John Sumida traces the emergence of a transnational system of maritime alliances, and Robert Foulke gives a nice, if conventional, summary of maritime literature that falls behind the scholarship of the recent volume edited by Haskell Springer (1995).

While the majority of essays address a general educated readership, the essays by Elizabeth Mancke and Felipe Fernández-Armesto also satisfy the needs of academic experts. Mancke's very informed contribution traces the history of the legal concept of the freedom of the seas and wonderfully shows that the evocation of the freedom of navigation always depended on political and ideological constellations of Western states while in no way considering the interests of non-Western countries. Fernández-Armesto's investigation of the lack of maritime activity by such great historical powers as Japan, the Arabian states, and Greece convincingly shows the impact of meteorological forces on the development of planetary commercial routes: the adversarial "tyranny of the winds" (p. 30) could spoil the most daring desires for world rulership. It is only by mastering the winds, with the introduction of steampower, that maritime history could truly become world history.

GESA MACKENTHUN
University of Rostock

LONDA SCHIEBINGER. *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 306. \$39.95.

"We repair our Bodies with the Drugs of America," enthused Joseph Addison in his essay on "The Royal Exchange," and "repose ourselves under *Indian Canopies*" (*The Spectator*, May 19, 1711). For Addison, the advantages of commerce to a "barren uncomfortable Spot of Earth" such as Britain were obvious, and to be found in abundance in London, the "Emporium for the whole Earth." Here were all manner of luxuries, from silks and spices to exotic medicaments from the Orient and the New World. But one drug that would have

been absent from Addison's emporium was the abortifacient (*Poinciana pulcherrima*), popularly known as the "peacock flower."

Londa Schiebinger's book attempts to explain why this was the case: why knowledge of a plant whose abortifacient powers were widely known in the East and West Indies was scarcely to be found in Europe. Through this exercise in "agnotology" (the study of cultural ignorances), she illuminates the whole enterprise of "bioprospecting" in the colonial Atlantic world, together with other important aspects of medicine and natural history.

Schiebinger's account begins with a valuable introduction to natural history in the Caribbean during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. She distinguishes between *botanistes voyageurs*, creole naturalists, and the more famous "armchair botanists," like Carl Linnaeus, who sat at the center of vast networks of correspondents, assimilating and classifying botanical information from around the world. The nature of information gathering is examined further in the chapter on bioprospecting, which demonstrates the high commercial value of natural knowledge, together with the exploitative and monopolistic practices of the colonial powers.

The remainder of the book concentrates on the history of the peacock flower, which came to the attention of a number of European botanists, not least the female naturalist, Maria Sibylla Merian, who reported its use as an abortifacient among slaves in the Dutch colony of Surinam. Schiebinger places descriptions of the plant in the context of the slave economies of the region, showing that abortion was an important concern to plantation owners who sought to promote childbearing among their slaves. Abortion was one of the few ways in which female slaves could strike back against their masters, denying them labor and preventing children from being born into a life of misery. The central place of abortion in colonial struggles may account for the fact that Europeans were reluctant to promote knowledge of the peacock flower, and may be one of the reasons that its properties did not become more widely known in Europe. Here, too, children were increasingly regarded as a source of state power, mercantilist doctrine being strongly pronatalist.

Yet concerns over population were not the only reason why knowledge of exotic abortifacients did not become widely available in Europe. Schiebinger also argues that the historian must look deep into the structure of scientific and medical institutions, and at the reasons why these communities had little interest in such drugs. Although she does not claim that knowledge of the peacock flower was actively suppressed, she argues that the stigma of abortifacients meant that few physicians or naturalists would have felt comfortable in promoting their use. It is also likely that male-dominated medical and scientific societies would have had little interest in a topic associated with women; moreover, abortion was synonymous with the

largely female domain of midwifery and of unqualified medical practice.

Schiebinger rounds off her fascinating study with an examination of botanical nomenclature, which extends the insights of scholars such as Antonio Lafuente, Nuria Valverde, and Richard Drayton, who have recently examined the tension between Linnean standardization and the countervailing practice of using indigenous names. She posits some very plausible explanations of why the Latin, binomial system came to be favored over those, like Michel Adanson's, which remained open to vernacular traditions. Like the rest of the book, this chapter is brimming with insights into the politics of knowledge and the construction of scientific reputations. Schiebinger has read widely in the natural-historical and medical literature of the period, and she writes engagingly, bringing to life many of the chief protagonists. This book ought to be essential reading for anyone interested in the relationship between science and empire.

MARK HARRISON
University of Oxford

FA-TI FAN, *British Naturalists in Qing China: Science, Empire, and Cultural Encounter*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 238. \$49.95.

The normalization of the history of China's encounter with overseas power during the Qing and Republican periods is steadily developing. Scholars in a range of fields have moved on from a reliance on narratives of imperialist assault and resistance to nuanced examinations of the dense pattern of cultural interactions that took place, and explorations of the transmission and the exchange of ideas and things among Chinese, Manchus, and their (uninvited) foreign guests. The context of such discussions remains bounded by imposed treaties (such as that of Nanking, 1842, for example), which were themselves occasioned more often than not by war or displays of military might, but no serious discussion is now tenable that fails to move beyond the gross ordinary facts of imperialism.

In this book, Fa-ti Fan brings to the literature on Sino-Western interaction in the late Qing a richly textured and lively examination of the lives and works of British naturalists, both amateur and professional. These men were sent to China or worked there as consuls or customs officials, and in their spare time they engaged in research and debate on the natural history of China. The men discussed in this book range from wealthy merchants such as Thomas Beale, who before his bankruptcy and suicide in 1841 created a famous garden and aviary in Macao (pp. 44–45), to William Kerr, dispatched by the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew to collect plants in Canton, whose nine years of activity there were undermined by the practical difficulties of shipping materials back (much died in transit) and by his own social isolation and fall into drunkenness. A notable omission is the Shanghai oligarch Sir Thomas Hanbury (1832–1907), briefly

mentioned in the text, whose achievement is probably the longest lasting of all the British China-hand horticulturalists, but whose famous garden, La Mortola, was developed on the Italian Riviera. The limits to British interest in Chinese natural history—the ultimate blindness of some to its richness and potential—might also profitably be explored.

In the years between the Macartney Embassy (1792–1794) and the fall of the Qing in 1911–1912, the body of foreign knowledge about Chinese natural history vastly expanded, and a significant amount of information was collated, translated, and produced, while important collections of Chinese plants were distributed across the world. In part one of the book, an extended survey of pre-treaty-era Canton focuses on the activities of Britons there and the restricted opportunities they faced in the sole trading enclave they had access to, while chapter two looks at the specific issue of natural history illustrations. The second part examines the treaty era down to 1911, and focuses in its three chapters on what Fan identifies as three key subjects: the “formation of an empire of scientific information” (p. 6) and its institutions and personalities in China, the connections between natural history scholarship and Sinology, and fieldwork practice in China. The analysis overall is well grounded in a wide range of literatures (attested to in some sixty-one pages of notes for 160 pages of text), and there is much lively detail to support the overall thrust of the work. The chapter on Sinology includes, for example, a fine discussion of the developing body of knowledge on the Chinese alligator (pp. 115–18). If the understanding of the broader treaty port context is at times less than firm, and with it the understanding of class and status in the British world, Fan captures very well the social, personal, and informal worlds of British life in China, such as in the discussion of consular officer H. F. Hance, who corresponded with like-minded scholars all over China and published over two hundred papers on the subject (pp. 68–72).

A reader might be surprised at the lively and positive view of pre-treaty Canton as a site of opportunities for scientific inquiry and production, although this has the makings of a useful corrective to the negative assumptions that are the legacy ultimately of the proponents of extraterritoriality. However, the picture presented here of the British Consular Service as an “enormous,” rational, intelligence-gathering machine (p. 64) might have been tempered by consideration that it was only ever as good as the men who staffed it, their contacts, and their language capability. They were not the highest achieving of British civil servants, to put it mildly. China, ultimately, was really just not that important to British Empire. Fan is right to point out that, “The British Empire was not a coherent, smooth-running whole” (p. 65), but it is always easy to slip into a mode of analysis in which it is exactly that: a rational, ordered whole, systematically developing tools and resources for domination. It is also not at all clear that it is possible to isolate “British” from the other

European naturalists with whom—even on the evidence presented here—they networked extensively. The broader question of the utility of disentangling national histories in the particularly internationalized treaty port context merits further thought. Moreover, although much is made about the key role of Chinese participation in this enterprise, the detailed discussion of this issue is thin throughout.

On the presentational front, while the prose has verve, the stylistically mannered tone jars, and the number of errors in references to texts with which this reviewer is familiar suggests a greater number among those with which he is not (Ostenhammel on p. 194, n. 8 should be Osterhammel; Joshua Vogel on p. 217, n. 11 should be Fogel; and the correct title of S. F. Wright's book, cited on p. 209, n. 33 is *Hart and the Chinese Customs*). Meanwhile, William J. P. Martin (p. 158) should be William A. P. Martin, and George Orwell's "Shooting an Elephant" is not a "story" (p. 142). Textual discussion of the illustrations is not cross-referenced to the images themselves, which is an odd omission in what is otherwise a handsome and stimulating volume.

ROBERT BICKERS
University of Bristol

LYDIA H. LIU. *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 318. \$45.00.

This is a curious book. Lydia H. Liu argues for semiotics as the defining aspect of the invention of China in the modern world, and as the defining moment of modern sovereign thinking in the nineteenth-century clash of the British and Qing Empires. Yet, if these are primarily semiotic events, what historical claim is being made? As Liu notes toward the end of the book, the science of philology privileged a putative transparency between language and culture. Liu's semiotics twists the emphasis: it retains language in its privileged position, even as the focus on historically produced translingual practice disavows transparency. This focus allows for a number of fascinating insights and accounts that should alter the narratives China studies textbooks continue to hold dear. But for scholars who have given up those old modes of inquiry—the most likely readers of this challenging book—the argument does not add up.

Liu begins with the observation that semiotics can function as an aid to "thinking historically about hetero-cultural and hetero-linguistic moments of sovereign thinking" (p. 7). Tying this theory to the emergence of international law as a claimed universal regime of power in the nineteenth century, Liu's focus on "sovereign thinking" subtly is transformed into thinking on sovereignty. The conflation is unfortunate, as what relationship sovereignty has to sovereign thinking is not delineated; and what relationship each or both bears to modern subjectivity—as a national, imperial, and individual issue—is hinted at in psycho-

social terms but never specified. In chapters two and three, Liu explicitly pins this semiotic problem to the fate of the *yi/barbarian* nexus. As she demonstrates, *yi* had been absorbed in Manchu thinking and practice into a form of rulership—named "empire"—while the British, on the eve of the first Opium War, transformed the previously uninflected *yi* into the derogatorily inflected equivalent of *barbarian*. In this guise, they banished by treaty *yi/barbarian* from Chinese usage, thus establishing their right to control empire linguistically.

This is a fascinating story, and Liu tells it well. However, it cannot bear the weight of showing "that the conflict over the meaning of this particular term is a life-and-death struggle waged between the declining Manchu Empire and the rising British Empire" (p. 40). That is, the *yi/barbarian* issue cannot be said to be the definition of empire, the Qing or the British. Reducing empire to empty forms waiting to be filled with whatever semiotic content produces the very ahistorical commensurability that Liu so brilliantly argues against in other parts of the book. Indeed, she notes that *yi/barbarian* had an afterlife in the popular deployment of *guizi* (ghosts) and like terms in the latter half of the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries—unsuppressable afterlives born of the violence of British imperialist practices. *Guizi* is not commensurable to *yi/barbarian*, even if British subjects busily "civilizing" the Chinese wished to think it was. This pointedly shows that incommensurability must form the basis of comparative thinking, semiotic or otherwise.

Conflations of sovereignty/sovereign thinking and of empires as empty forms continue in chapter four, where Liu establishes an equivalence between Empress Dowager Cixi and Queen Victoria as gendered imperial sovereigns. This chapter is confusing, although it contains interesting narratives concerning the bestowing of Bibles by or upon the two women. Chapter five returns to language through philology, providing a compelling story of the invention of a modern grammar of classical Chinese by Ma Jianzhong in 1898. Ma's work attempted to "(re)establish the sovereign status of the Chinese language and put it on a par with Indo-European grammars" (p. 198). One consequence of Ma's endeavors is the confusion sewn for more than a century among linguists, a confusion transformed in the 1990s by artist Xu Bing in his *Tian Shu (Book from the Sky)*, which disarticulates Chinese *zi*/words so as to reassemble them into logical-looking nonsense.

Liu claims that she has demonstrated "the extent to which sovereign thinking depends on the movement of itinerant signs and objects across space and time" (p. 215). Yet, while the book contributes to our knowledge of the British/Qing encounter, the theoretical claims it makes are rather less conclusive. Nevertheless, the book demands attention.

REBECCA E. KARL
New York University

DALE W. TOMICH. *Through the Prism of Slavery: Labor, Capital, and World Economy*. (World Social Change.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2004. Pp. xv, 210. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$22.95.

The thoughtful essays in this volume address the large-scale relationships of slavery and early modern capitalism. Dale W. Tomich opposes the practice of examining these relationships in isolated geographical contexts and apart from the larger historical changes taking place around them. He argues that only by placing the nexus of slavery and capitalism in a comparative global context and with a clear focus on cultural and economic contexts can their correct relationship be discovered.

The book begins with some chapters setting out the larger arguments at fairly high levels of abstraction. These critical examinations of historiographical and theoretical issues are the most stimulating parts of the book. There is an all-too-brief discussion of the meaning of capital and its relationship to slavery in the works of Max Weber and Karl Marx. Tomich criticizes Immanuel Wallerstein's world systems theory as subordinating class relations to "the universal requirements of a static and unchanging market structure" (p. 43) and Robert Brenner's historical materialist approach for presuming "that social relations of production . . . are exclusively the attribute of a given national or local 'society'" (p. 45). Another chapter argues that, although Seymour Drescher effectively demolished the factual basis of Eric Williams's argument linking the decline of slavery with the rise of capitalism, Drescher failed to put a different theoretical explanation in place. As an alternative, Tomich proposes that early modern world economy needs to be understood neither as an abstraction nor as the sum of its parts but as "a structured and differentiated whole," combining "distinct relations among particular forms and material processes of production . . . definite modes of exchange and political power," and "changing over time" (p. 50).

The case studies of the sugar industry and slave labor that follow and are expected to illustrate the author's comprehensive approach are largely limited to Martinique and Cuba before 1850. In these chapters, Tomich generally sticks to a theoretical and intellectual approach, even citing Jean-Paul Sartre a couple of times (pp. 122, 134) and occasionally avoiding detailed citations of evidence. There is much to applaud in Tomich's insistence on examining large issues in appropriately large contexts and from a rigorous perspective, yet the reader cannot help being struck by the fact that his examinations are grounded in a geographically and chronologically limited range of historical examples. Built on his own research in the Spanish and French Caribbean (but not his new work in Brazil), the essays rarely bring in secondary studies of other areas that are relevant to his treatment. Moreover, Tomich's focus on Caribbean slavery seems arbitrarily narrow, ignoring both the huge slave sys-

tems of the United States and the alternate labor systems based on indentured and wage labor that paralleled the expansion of slavery in Cuba.

All of the nine chapters in this volume were previously published between 1987 and 1997. The fact that they have not been seriously revised introduces problems commonplace in such collections. The references to secondary works have not been updated and the citations of statistics on the Atlantic slave trade are out of date. More serious is the problem of repetition. Repeated encounters with the same issues, the same sources, and the same examples may remind the reader of the experiences of Bill Murray's character in the film *Groundhog Day*. A chapter may end up in a different place or take a different route, but the scenery and issues are distressingly familiar.

Many of the arguments and much of the Martinique coverage will be familiar to readers of Tomich's *Slavery in the Circuit of Sugar: Martinique and the World Economy, 1830-1848* (1990). Despite the present volume's similar strengths in its theoretical conceptualization, its opaque prose and the narrow range of its coverage may limit its appeal.

DAVID NORTHRUP
Boston College

RANDY J. SPARKS. *The Two Princes of Calabar: An Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Odyssey*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. 189. \$22.00.

In 1767, English slave traders carried out a well-planned attack on one of the leading trading wards in Old Calabar, a major trading port in the Bight of Biafra (southeastern Nigeria). Although well known to students of the Atlantic slave trade from southeastern Nigeria, hitherto no detailed narrative of this event, which involved the slaughtering of hundreds of Old Calabar's merchant princes and their servants and the export of others to the Americas, has existed in the scholarly literature. Randy J. Sparks presents an engaging narrative of that event in his book. The excellently written and captivating story centers on two members of a Calabar's ruling family, who were captured by the English traders during the attack and sold into slavery in the Americas. The narrative, constructed from the letters of the enslaved princes and other archival sources, is placed appropriately in the broader context of the transatlantic slave trade and British abolition.

The story begins with commercial rivalry among the merchant princes of three wards—Creek Town, Old Town, and New Town—in the southeastern Nigerian port of Calabar. The English traders, who found the merchant princes of Old Town difficult to deal with, exploited the rivalry to destroy them. Pretending arbitration in a long-standing quarrel between Old Town and New Town, the captains of English slave ships in Calabar in 1767 invited the king of Old Town and his people for an overnight entertainment on their ships as a prelude to a peace parley with the king of New Town

and his people, who would arrive the following morning. The king, eager to settle the quarrel, accepted the invitation and arrived with a large entourage comprising members of Old Town's ruling families and their servants. But instead of a peace parley, they were attacked and, as Sparks puts it, "massacred." In all, 400 were killed and others were shipped to the Americas and sold into slavery, including the king's brother and his nephew, the two princes. The story continues with a series of successful escapes by the princes and further experiences of treachery by other English captains, including a final one in Bristol before the princes secured the help of one of the port's leading slave traders, Thomas Jones, whose ships traded heavily in Calabar. They finally arrived back home in 1774, after about eight years.

Sparks's narrative does not directly address the various debates among specialists. That makes it easy reading for nonspecialists interested in the Atlantic slave trade, for whom this will be one of the most interesting stories on the subject. At the same time, however, the narrative touches on some of the major issues raised in the more recent literature, about which some of Sparks's general claims are misleading. One such issue is the argument by some recent writers that African traders were in control of the trade and that European traders, not having the military power to do otherwise, operated under the terms dictated by African merchant princes. Although evidence in the narrative is clearly at variance with this argument, Sparks's contradictory claims appear to lend it some credence. At first Sparks claims "the New Town traders persuaded British ship captains to join them in entrapping and murdering" the Old Town traders (pp. 6–7). But, a few pages later, he says "Whether the English captains [or the traders of Creek Town and New Town] actually devised the plot . . . is unclear" (pp. 19–20). Several other assertions imply control by the Calabar merchant princes. Yet even the one-sided evidence of the English traders concerning a series of actions by them (for example, Captain Berry, 1763, pp. 16–17; Captain Briggs, 1764, p. 18) shows that they did not believe the Calabar traders had the right or the capacity to dictate the terms of the trade. As Sparks narrates (p. 18), when rivalry between the two wards reduced the supply of slaves, the English captains tried every means to force them to trade. One tactic was called rowing guard. English captains put boats into the river to stop Efik canoes. They captured the traders, and then held them hostage until they agreed to sell slaves at a reasonable price. They could also cut the Efik off from their supply of slaves by barring their passage upriver.

Also at issue is Sparks's assertion that "Slavery was well established among the Efik before the rise of the European slave trade" (p. 37). This claim, which some scholars continue to make, has no basis in fact. Historians—Jan Vansina, Robert Harms, Anne Hilton, Ralph Austen, Walter Rodney—who conducted micro-regional archival and linguistic research on the

subject have demonstrated that there was no slavery in the kin-based coastal societies of Western Africa before the Atlantic slave trade. The conclusion of Austen, who studied the nearby coastal region of Cameroon, is particularly relevant. Sparks subsequently writes about the transformation of the "simple economy" of Calabar by the Atlantic slave trade (p. 55), without the awareness that the simple economy could not have had a well-established slavery. Recent research now even questions whether the servitude that developed in Western Africa as a result of the Atlantic slave trade can be called slavery. As Sparks writes, English sailors "reported that masters did not sell these slaves; 'they did not care to part with such for any price . . . I mean their canoe boys, or house servants,'" and that they treated them "with the greatest kindness that I ever have seen" (p. 56). In fact, the Calabar merchant princes never referred to them as slaves; they called them "my boy(s)," as the English sailor did in the quote.

Sparks makes a further misleading claim: that the Calabar traders "worked within a traditional African economic system," investing "most of their profits in dependents" and building "larger and larger houses" (p. 58). And he adds, "the princes operated within an African system of ethics that their conversion to Christianity could not entirely erase" (pp. 130–31). These claims are due to uncritical reading of some recent work attempting to reincarnate substantivist social anthropology models in African history, ignoring the devastating critique mounted by Tony Hopkins about three decades ago. What these writers have presented, and Sparks accepts, is evidence of the impact of the Atlantic slave trade on market development in Western Africa. Conceptually and empirically well-informed scholars know that Africans over the centuries have responded to market opportunities exactly the same way as other people across the globe.

I wish the weaknesses in the literature did not intrude into this well-crafted narrative. It is a pleasure to read. I just hope it will not be a vehicle for the transmission of unsubstantiated claims in African history.

JOSEPH E. INIKORI
University of Rochester

CLAUDE A. CLEGG III. *The Price of Liberty: African Americans and the Making of Liberia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 330. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

This book by Claude A. Clegg III is a welcome addition to the literature on the colonization movement, for it is the most comprehensive and scholarly study that has yet been undertaken on the subject. From the emergence of the antislavery movement among the Friends of North Carolina to the merger of Quaker goals with those of the colonizationists, the author does a superb job in explaining that the Friends were colonizationists in North Carolina because colo-

nization was the only legal means by which they could free enslaved persons in the state.

Significantly, Clegg tells the story through the eyes and mouths of the persons most affected by colonization: the black emigrants. He examines their motives and aspirations, and his study goes far beyond other works because he tracks the emigrants after they landed in the West African colony. Unfortunately, their troubles did not end with their embarkation from America's shores; in many ways, trouble was just beginning. The emigrants encountered racism and color prejudice in Africa, in addition to hunger and illness. Instead of the paradise that they sought, the colony became a graveyard for many.

Clegg's discussion of the high mortality rates among the emigrants casts American Colonization Society officials in an entirely different light. Instead of them being seen as well-intentioned humanitarians whose ineptitude led to the early death of roughly twenty percent of the emigrants within the first year of settlement, his research reveals them to have been a callous group of promoters whose seeming indifference to the welfare of the settlers bordered on criminal neglect. The mortality rate for children under ten was thirty percent (p. 230), yet colonization officials took no action to restrict their emigration or warn their parents of the danger. By 1832, it was widely known that the new arrivals had a better chance of avoiding disease if the ships transporting them bypassed Monrovia and other malaria-infested coastal settlements and sailed directly to sites on high ground. "Nevertheless, well into the second half of the century, they continued to send African-Americans to the colony during the unhealthiest months, and emigrant ships, regularly touched at Monrovia" (p. 91).

Clegg's work is also noteworthy because it provides the reader with insightful comments on the various ethnic groups whom the emigrants encountered. The Kru were the first Africans they met, for they were the athletic mariners who paddled their dugouts through the pounding surf alongside the ships and transported passengers and goods to shore (p. 77). Then, there were the Dei, who suffered grievously from their contact with the colonists. They had inhabited a fifty-mile-long strip of territory along the coast, but through bribery, coercion, and military conquest, much of their land was taken by the colonizationists (p. 104). Recaptives, or persons whom the navy rescued from illegal slave trading ships and resettled in Liberia, were another important segment of Liberian society. Clegg reminds his readers that the impetus for colonization was the law passed by Congress in 1819 calling for an agency in West Africa to settle recaptives (p. 92). Thus, this group was present in the colony almost from the very beginning, but they were not allowed to assimilate among the emigrants, and even though they were recently removed from Africa, they chose to remain separate from the indigenous people.

Liberia's first president has customarily been portrayed in this country as a heroic figure who did for his

adopted country what George Washington did for the United States. Clegg's penetrating analysis of Joseph Jenkins Roberts strips him of his heroic veneer and exposes him for what he was: a myopic chauvinist whom the colonizationists could count on to continue their policies. Clegg acknowledges that Roberts was not responsible for creating the political dilemma wherein the settlers monopolized all the privileges of power and even citizenship was denied the large indigenous population (p. 241). He does, however, blame Roberts for not questioning the wisdom of the policy once he became president. The new president, the author concluded, lacked "political imagination and moral fortitude." His "willingness to emulate the paradigm of domination that his erstwhile superiors had institutionalized was the biggest flaw of his state craft."

In his epilogue, Clegg shows that the root of the problems that have caused political instability in Liberia during the last twenty-five years can be traced to the early years of colonization. As the first book to examine the colonization movement, in all its ramifications, in a slave state, and then follow the colonists to Africa, this study is essential reading for everyone interested in the colonization movement or Liberian history.

TOMMY L. BOGGER

Norfolk State University [All reviews of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

KENNETH C. BARNES. *Journey of Hope: The Back-to-Africa Movement in Arkansas in the Late 1800s*. (The John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 268. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

Relying on numerous primary sources and scholarly publications, Kenneth C. Barnes probes why approximately 600 African Americans from Arkansas decided to settle, in the late nineteenth century, in Liberia, a country that had been established by the American Colonization Society (ACS) on the coast of West Africa in 1822. Barnes conceptually and concretely illustrates that although they were motivated by such factors as proto and even classical black nationalisms, black Arkansans were mainly forced to emigrate to Liberia by whites' oppression in the forms of lynching, Jim Crow regulations, Ku Klux Klan actions, and, above all, their worsening social, economic, and political condition in late nineteenth-century America.

The book also highlights the contradiction associated with the black colonization initiative in West Africa. The direct and indirect pressuring of black Arkansans to seek a new home in West Africa and the simultaneous encouragement of substantial numbers of whites from Europe to settle in America bear testimony to this. As Barnes implies, these contradictory manifestations cannot be explained solely in terms

of nineteenth-century American racial orders, since some ordinary and extraordinary white and black Arkansans opposed the Liberian colonization scheme, which they feared would undermine their labor needs and other material interests.

Also well taken is the author's argument that black leaders, including Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, Joseph C. Sherrill, John H. Reed, and Dr. Anthony L. Stanford, supported the settlement of Liberia not only because they believed that this would give blacks a sense of national identity and race pride, but because it would also bring Christianity and civilization to Africa. As the study highlights, although they sought to stop the oppression of blacks, other black leaders like Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, and T. Thomas Fortune opposed the colonization scheme on the ground that it was not the best solution to the problem.

As the author clearly shows, although the divisions among African Americans were obstacles to the attempts at black colonization, the U.S. government's infrequent and superficial commitments to ameliorating the treatments of blacks made some of them, including the 600 Arkansans, seek to escape to Liberia. Their flight exposed the contradiction that while the United States was increasingly becoming a paradise for a large number of European immigrants, it was at the same time a nightmare for most African Americans. What became another paradox was that Liberia, long portrayed as a "Promised Land" by African-American Liberians and their American allies, descended into a hell from 1980 through 2003. As Barnes's study illustrates, the catastrophe would lead many Liberians of American and non-American background to seek refuge in the United States.

This is a serious work of scholarship. Barnes should be commended for meticulously and analytically treating a painful but important aspect of Liberian-American relations.

AMOS J. BEYAN
Western Michigan University

JAMES FAIRHEAD *et al.*, editors. *African-American Exploration in West Africa: Four Nineteenth-Century Diaries*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 488. \$59.95.

The American Colonization Society established the country of Liberia in the 1820s as a refuge for former slaves. Over the years, scholars of Liberia have published prodigious accounts describing the role of the U.S. government in the development of Liberia. Since the early 1900s, when Marcus Garvey began his "Back to Africa Movement," questions have also been raised about the contributions of black Americans, and their attempts to identify with their African ancestry. James Fairhead and his colleagues have collected and edited the travel diaries of four major black explorers of Liberia. This landmark book, edited by distinguished contributors from a wide range of fields, should be of

immense interest to a diverse readership of scholars of African history, and especially Liberia. It breaks much new ground by providing detailed socioeconomic and political information about the state of Liberia and its hinterlands prior to the commencement of colonization. Even more important, the book is rich in details about the evolution of Liberia as a nation and places African Americans at the center of the struggle to expand its borders and achieve independence. Many in academia have believed that only Europeans were involved in the exploration of the African continent. Fairhead and his colleagues effectively put that myth to rest. The diaries of George L. Seymour, Benjamin J. K. Anderson, and James L. Sims are full of fascinating accounts of the peoples of inner West Africa, their religions, systems of government, and reactions to white explorers.

The most illuminating part of the book is chapter seven ("The Journeys and the Interior"), which describes areas that comprise today's Liberia, Guinea, and Sierra Leone. Here the authors provide a rich tapestry and comprehensive account of the people, economic, and political conditions (including slavery), and inter-ethnic relationships developed from the diaries of the black explorers. There is significant information about indigenous languages spoken by Liberians, Guineans, and Sierra Leoneans. The diaries discuss political formations, social upheavals, and the pervasiveness of warfare among Liberia's ethnic groups and neighbors. Explorers noted that some Africans used a variety of weapons including guns, swords, knives, and bows and arrows. The diaries demonstrate and underscore the integral part that women played in interethnic conflicts, and show that women in some of the areas visited by the black explorers held important political positions over men.

The diaries also commented on rituals, especially the existence of a network of secret societies for both men and women. While the information provided is not new, it further confirms the existence of these practices long before colonization. The entry of young people into adulthood was marked by an elaborate ceremony that ends with an initiation into a secret society known as "Sande" for women and "Poro" for men. These secret societies exist today and continue to provide informal schooling for both boys and girls, particularly in the rural areas. The diaries discuss the origins and influence of Islam in early West Africa and provide invaluable insights on the role of Africans in the slave trade. Other topics discussed include trade links and markets, agriculture and industry (mostly iron smelting by local blacksmiths, which Seymour covers extensively in his accounts). It would, however, have been helpful for the authors to explore the genesis of the conflicts between the black settlers (Americo-Liberians) and indigenous Liberians. The differences between the two groups played a major role in the 1980s implosion of Liberia. The above notwithstanding, this is a carefully researched book on African American explorers in West Africa, and I

recommend it to the academic community without reservations.

HASSAN BAILEY SISAY
California State University,
Chico

CAROLE FINK. *Defending the Rights of Others: The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1878–1938*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xxvii, 420. \$80.00.

From the subtitle of Carole Fink's study of minority rights, one might get the impression that this is a study in Jewish history. To a certain extent it is, because the restrictions that the Congress of Berlin imposed in 1878 on Romania and Serbia, which Fink covers in detail, concerned the treatment of Jews. Jewish organizations also were among the few who lobbied for minority protections during the post-World War I peace negotiations. But even more, Fink's book is an effort to chronicle how the international community coped with two fundamental difficulties that emerged when the nation-state became the state "of the usual type," as the Supreme Council in Paris put it in 1919 (p. 141). The first was that the only way the idea of nation is even possible is if there are those who are not part of that nation. Given the ethnic diversity of Eastern Europe, therefore, the creation of new or expanded nation-states following World War I insured that minorities would exist there. The difficulties presented by this inherent problem were exacerbated when the victory of the nation-state idea made it seem to many East European politicians that the modern state should be a "strong, unitary, western-style . . . state, one with a dominant language, law, and culture" and not what they felt they were leaving behind, namely, a "weak, 'eastern,' multinational entity" (p. 75). The other structural difficulty is that the principle of state sovereignty made it impossible for the major states to intervene directly to protect minorities without undermining their own claims to non-interference. The nature of nationalism insured there would be minorities, the victory of the nation-state idea meant there would be aggressive efforts to create unitary states, and the principle of national sovereignty convinced the powers that they could not protect minorities, even assuming they wished to, without undermining their own sovereignty.

The solution that Fink describes in detail, especially with regard to Poland, was for the victorious powers in World War I to impose treaties guaranteeing the rights of minorities but with many impediments to actually carrying out these guarantees. For example, the powers forced eight new, defeated, or weak states to sign treaties guaranteeing minority rights but resolutely refused to entertain any notion of turning minority rights into general human rights, as Japan proposed. The British and French feared for their colonial empires, and Woodrow Wilson worried about the impact of such an extension on minorities (such as the

Japanese) in the United States. When designating the League of Nations as the protector of minority rights, the powers insisted that only states should have direct access to the League. In practice, this meant that whereas individuals or groups could petition the League regarding the non-observance of minority rights, ameliorative steps could be taken only if the state in question was willing to do so, which none of them were.

Following these temporizing solutions, the politics and diplomacy of which Fink follows in great detail and with the support of an enormous range of sources, an even more difficult problem arose. During the 1920s, and especially in the 1930s, Germany became the chief supporter of minority rights. The presence of so many Germans in East Central Europe gave Germany the opportunity to throw a moral cloak around an aggressive foreign policy. Claiming, as one British diplomat put it, that "national consciousness exists as an ethical right which cannot be denied" (p. 355), the Third Reich turned the protection of German minorities into an excuse for war.

Could it have worked out differently? Fink thinks "probably not" (p. 363). As she puts it, "The protection of minority rights lay tantalizingly close to the surface of the Allies' deliberations, but it failed to take root" (p. 168). And yet, the principle had been established. After World War II, all the signatories of the United Nations Charter accepted a commitment to universal human rights, and during the 1990s, especially in Europe, some real progress was made in defining and enforcing minority rights. Fink has done a thorough scholarly job of providing a detailed exposition of how this process got under way.

GALE STOKES
Rice University

TOMMY BENGTTSSON, CAMERON CAMPBELL, JAMES Z. LEE, et al. *Life Under Pressure: Mortality and Living Standards in Europe and Asia, 1700–1900*. (The MIT Press Eurasian Population and Family History Series.) Cambridge: MIT Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 531. \$45.00.

"The Eurasia Project," whose work is contained in the book under review, has been the most active endeavor in comparative historical demography for the last ten years, with papers appearing widely in demographic and historical journals. The present volume represents the first time that members of the group have focused on a single topic—mortality—and published their results in book form.

The volume consists of studies of the relationship between short-term economic conditions and mortality in the sample of mainly rural villages in eastern Belgium, northeastern China, northern Italy, north-eastern Japan, and southern Sweden that comprises "over thirty separate populations with 2.5 million individual-level observations" (p. 14). Villages have not been selected through any sort of sampling process but rather because of the availability of "household

registers," the principal source on which the project is based, and series of grain prices that can be used to measure short-term economic fluctuations (the main independent variable that researchers seek to link to patterns of mortality). Studies focus mainly on the nineteenth century, when all of the villages had developed markets for grain, making it possible to measure macroeconomic conditions or economic "stress" through variations in prices of staple crops.

Household registers are treasured sources for the study of historical demography because they combine features of a census with those of a vital registration system. When complete, household registers contain continuously updated information on all individuals composing households as they are born, marry, migrate, and die. Registers allow the assessment of the possible impacts of household as well as macrosocial conditions on death rates. This is especially valuable for the study of those, like infants and children, whose family or household conditions have been widely shown to affect their levels of mortality.

The principal methodological interest of the studies consists in the application of "event history" analysis, a multivariate method widely used in biostatistics. Event history methods use longitudinal data on individuals that are aggregated into categories of interest (by age, occupation, relationship to household head) to compare relative risks of dying over time.

The book is organized into three parts. Chapters in part one introduce the studies and locate them within Malthusian population theory and previous approaches to the study of economic variations and mortality. The authors distinguish their approach from earlier economically oriented studies of mortality that focused on crises rather than routine fluctuations in villages' economic fortunes. Part two consists of individual case studies, while part three contains topical essays on gender, infant and child mortality, and old age mortality.

The book suggests that while the mortality levels of village populations were rather similar, different villages and the households that composed them coped with "economic stress" by privileging and discriminating against varying categories of individuals (p. 68). Some findings challenge previous interpretations of contrasts between the demography of Europe and Asia. Several analyses suggest that women, especially younger women, were more disadvantaged in relation to men in certain European settings than in Asian ones, thus challenging the notion of a "patriarchal East and a more gender egalitarian West" (p. 434). The authors dispute T. R. Malthus's idea that "positive" checks were a more important regulator of population growth in Asia than in the West. Most surprising of all is the argument that social or welfare provisions in Asia functioned quite well to reduce mortality risks while Western ones did not.

In showing correlations between the status of individuals within households and their relative mortality risks in the face of short-term economic variations, the

authors argue that households were significant actors within the villages' demographic systems, often shaping the mortality risks of individuals as much as, and sometimes more than, larger epidemiological or economic forces. Indeed, the concluding chapter claims that human "agency" and not structural conditions was key, although cultural rules to which households were subject often made only "passive" agents of them (p. 435). Yet the study is economistic in its conceptualization and devotes little attention to the cultural or social dimensions of mortality patterns. Like the results of some previous cross-national studies of demography, the vast number of findings published here will require the work of cultural and social historians to illuminate their significance beyond the localities studied.

KATHERINE A. LYNCH
Carnegie Mellon University

JOHN FARLEY. *To Cast Out Disease: A History of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation (1913–1951)*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 323. \$ 49.95.

Early in the twentieth century, the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation emerged as the leading institution dedicated to advancing health internationally. In seeking to rehabilitate the Rockefeller name—long associated with excessive wealth and unbridled power—through humanitarian intervention, the foundation unleashed the ambitions of modern American medical science. From its modest origins in the 1909 Sanitary Commission, the directors or "medical barons" of the Health Division embarked on a sustained effort to "cast out disease" in the world. Researchers based in New York and in the field conducted campaigns against hookworm in the southern United States, British Guiana, India, and Ceylon; tuberculosis in France and Baltimore; yellow fever in Argentina and Brazil; and malaria in Mississippi and Arkansas, Italy and Sardinia, Bombay and Madras.

John Farley lucidly discusses these efforts while chronicling the brief rise and fall of the Health Division. Although the medical directors and other personnel were convinced of the need to eradicate disease to improve society, the means for achieving this outcome proved to be a source of friction within and without the division. Was it best to deploy the financial and technical resources of the foundation to spur the development of local public health facilities or to focus on the eradication of disease alone? Each approach presumed different degrees of collaboration locally and reflected the perceived power of modern medical science to effect change. The increasing prominence given to disease eradication as an end referred to several factors. These included the medical scientific backgrounds of directors who succeeded the founding director Wickliffe Rose; doubts about local expertise; and impatience with the politics of public health on the

ground. The hookworm campaigns in British Guiana, India, and Ceylon, for example, failed due to the reluctance of colonial authorities and plantation owners to make and/or sustain investments in the long-term health of their workers.

Meanwhile, in confronting malaria and yellow fever, the "medical barons" emphasized their anti-mosquito strategy over the experience of local experts. This overconfidence not only reflected the institutional resources at their disposal but also was a source of embarrassment and/or resentment. The appearance of yellow fever in interior regions after a series of targeted mosquito campaigns in Latin American coastal cities discredited the seedbed or "key center" theory of epidemics. Malaria specialists in India and Italy continued to insist on the place of social and economic conditions in accounting for the persistence of disease in affected populations in spite of the publicized success of Rockefeller sponsored anti-mosquito experiments.

The myopia of the leaders of the division and field researchers extended to other areas as well. One strategy to cast out disease in the world involved the establishment of schools of hygiene—modeled after Johns Hopkins University—that would train modern researchers and public health leaders. But, apart from a foray in Brazil, the foundation only subsidized the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and the Toronto School of Hygiene. In eastern and central Europe and in India, the division decreased or withdrew support for teaching and health service centers and institutes due to programmatic conflicts and/or political volatility within the hosting country as World War II loomed.

Moreover, in pursuing a narrow biomedical approach, division field researchers, especially in the United States, relied on the system of racial apartheid to investigate the cause and control of disease. At the Malaria Laboratory in Tallahassee, blacks were subjected to *P. falciparum* based on the mistaken belief that they possessed a racial (rather than an acquired) immunity to *P. vivax*. Black prisoners in Alabama served as guinea pigs for the effects of carbon tetrachloride on the body, and others managed rabid dogs during the development of a rabies vaccine.

The very advantages that made the division such a major presence in the interwar period, such as its autonomy, preference to work with selected nations, and narrow biomedical approach to health, doomed it in the postwar period. The rise of multinational organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO) reflected the scale of public health in a global age and the need for nations to work in closer collaboration to eradicate disease either through focused campaigns or as part of a larger effort to develop indigenous health services. By 1951 the writing was on

the wall: "public health was to be left to the World Health Organization" (p. 280).

DOUGLAS HAYNES
University of California,
Irvine

DAVID PAUL NICKLES. *Under the Wire: How the Telegraph Changed Diplomacy*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 144.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. 265. \$30.95.

In this thoughtful, wide-ranging, and judicious monograph, David Paul Nickles considers the influence of the electric telegraph on the craft of diplomacy. While social historians have long pondered the consequences of new communications media, Nickles joins Paul Kennedy as one of the few diplomatic historians to ask similar questions about the telegraph.

Nickles's theme is the integration of the telegraph into diplomatic practice in the period between the laying of the first Anglo-French telegraphic cable in 1851 and the armistice that ended World War I in 1918. He does not explore the relationship between telegraphy and military strategy, or, except obliquely, and often dismissively, the implications of the telegraphic broadcast of news for the formulation of public opinion.

Nickles organizes his narrative around case studies of the Anglo-American crisis that culminated in the War of 1812; the Trent Affair that damaged Anglo-American relations during the Civil War; and the publication of the Zimmerman telegram during World War I. Although Nickles devotes much attention to the United States, he is less interested in recasting our understanding of American foreign policy than in helping future policy makers better use whatever communications media are at their disposal. "Technology," he concludes, will play a "major part in shaping the future of the human species" and, indeed, "may determine whether human beings have a future" (p. 195).

While the adoption of the telegraph by diplomatic establishments tended to make diplomatic communications more transparent, it did not invariably reduce the potential for conflict. On the contrary, a faster information flow often led to "more emotional and less creative decisions" (p. 191). To be sure, Nickles concedes, in an elaborate counterfactual, telegraphic communication might have prevented the War of 1812. Yet had the United States and Great Britain been linked by telegraph during the Trent Affair, the two countries would almost certainly have become belligerents. And while the publication of the Zimmerman telegram did not cause the United States to declare war on Germany, it largely ended public resistance to American entry into the war. In discussing this well-known episode—in many ways the centerpiece of his book—Nickles highlights the effectiveness of British military intelligence, which secretly leaked the telegram to U.S. authorities, and the incompetence of its German coun-

terpart, which continued to send messages in codes it knew to have been cracked.

In what is perhaps his most suggestive chapter, Nickles describes the influence of telegraphy on the culture of diplomacy. Diplomats, he observes, came from a social class that prided itself on not having to work. What happened, then, when diplomats—who, somewhat oddly, he repeatedly calls “consumers”—encountered the “seeming technological imperative” of having to work faster when this became an option? (p. 193). Often, he concludes, and especially during crises, the result was hasty decisions, diminished creativity, and poor judgment.

Nickles’s willingness to generalize about the social effects of a major innovation is a refreshing counterpoint to the curious reluctance of the current generation of historians of technology to say much of anything about how new technologies altered the status quo. Yet like most students who set out to trace the effects of particular innovations, Nickles occasionally isolates his subject from its broader social context. To call the electric telegraph the “first great step into the world of telecommunications” (p. 1), for example, discounts the influence of the optical telegraph on Napoleon’s diplomacy, a subject that elicited, in its day, a good deal of comment. Similarly, though we are repeatedly reminded that telegrams were, in comparison with letters, less secure, more easily garbled, and more expensive, we are never treated to a systematic exploration of the relative advantages and disadvantages of these two media as diplomatic tools.

The telegraph, Nickles concludes, echoing Lewis Mumford, was an authoritarian technology that reduced the autonomy of diplomatic envoys, hastened the bureaucratization of foreign policy establishments, and fostered the emergence of increasingly elaborate surveillance techniques. Nickles’s elegantly crafted study hints at an even more unsettling conclusion: the dream of unmediated communication that the telegraph promised was, itself, an often dangerous delusion.

RICHARD R. JOHN
University of Illinois,
Chicago

ROBERT POIS and PHILIP LANGER. *Command Failure in War: Psychology and Leadership*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 282. \$29.95.

Military historians will find this book interesting, but they may heatedly disagree with some of its conclusions. It is obvious, however, that (the late) Robert Pois, a historian, and Philip Langer, a psychologist, labored long and seriously to produce this psychohistory. Their purpose is to explain why the commanders chosen lost campaigns or battles—or won with excessive carnage. Some are perennial losers (e.g. George McClellan of the American Civil War), others famous winners (e.g. Frederick the Great, whose behavior the authors try to account for in a rare defeat).

Often, analysts and interpreters of military history begin in ignorance of the facts, but not these two authors. They know the campaigns and have a grasp of the commanders’ usual strategy and tactics, and of how they went wrong. Although they tend to be verbose, their accounts of campaigns and battles are excellent. The authors used no archival sources, and their printed ones are mostly in English. For example, they chose translations of selected writings of Frederick the Great, of the St. Helena “memoirs” of Napoleon, and of Erich von Manstein’s *Verlorene Siege* (1955). They tend to ignore more recent secondary works, such as Dennis Showalter’s *Wars of Frederick the Great* (1996) and all German works on Frederick. For a work of this sort, however, the bibliography seems adequate.

On Frederick at Kunersdorf (1767), where he attacked head-on against superior forces and used his cavalry piecemeal, Pois and Langer conclude that he was taking revenge on his brutish father by trying to crush the brutish Russians whose military abilities he scorned. On Napoleon in Russia, they conclude that he failed because he was ambivalent about fighting the Russians and settled for organizing new territories, which required him to lag behind the army. “The taking of territory in general and Moscow in particular thus became a life region charged with positive valence” (p. 48). On generals of the American Civil War, they conclude that McClellan, in the peninsula, was less interested in winning than in avoiding defeat. Having trained an army, beautiful to behold, he hesitated to bloody it. Regarding Robert E. Lee’s defeat at Gettysburg, they say that he opted for the offensive because he had consistently beaten Union commanders and believed he could not lose. But “Lincoln had failed to provide him with a [Joseph] Hooker, [Ambrose] Burnside, [John] Pope, or McClellan” (p. 98), and the Union army had improved. On John Bell Hood at Franklin, Tennessee (1864), they postulate that he was punishing his army for past defeats, believing he could thereby improve it.

Concerning the British generals on the Western Front in World War I, especially Douglas Haig, the authors judge that there was “an almost willful concern to see things as they were not” (p. 151). Warfare had changed, but commanders avoided facing reality and refused to believe the bloodshed that their decisions caused. Regarding Winston Churchill’s countenancing of the strategy of Arthur “Bomber” Harris, the authors’ deduction is that “Churchill’s dysfunctional response, a splitting of cognitive and affective elements” meant that he looked the other way and left the bombing to Harris (p. 172). Churchill disapproved of “terror” bombing of civilians but believed in all-out fighting, including the use of air power.

On Adolf Hitler and his generals at Stalingrad, the authors partly blame Field Marshal von Manstein for Paulus’s defeat and capture (with remnants of his army). However, Hitler’s refusal to withdraw from any conquered territory was at the root of it. This, say our authors, derived from Hitler’s abuse by his father and

coddling by his mother, which produced an extremely aggressive and narcissistic personality, who continually had to bolster his self-esteem, and who could never accept that he was wrong.

In their conclusion, Pois and Langer state that their basic argument has been "that the military leader is a psychological product of his life's experiences" (p. 226) and makes military decisions accordingly. They also quote the late Russell F. Weigley to the effect that people read military history in order to experience "vicariously the intense emotions of battle" (p. 228). History buffs will not get that kind of thrill from this book, but it may make them think.

OWEN CONNELLY

University of South Carolina

ROBERT B. BRUCE. *A Fraternity of Arms: America and France in the Great War*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2003. Pp. xx, 380. \$39.95.

Relations between the United States and France are currently at a low point, and not for the first time in the last eighty-five years, starting in 1919 with serious differences over how punitive toward Germany the terms of the treaty ending the Great War should be. Robert B. Bruce provides a timely reminder that relations between the two countries were not always so strained. Indeed, during World War I, not only were the two nations close allies but their soldiers developed a genuine sense of fraternity as they fought side by side in the fields of France.

By emphasizing just how closely and successfully integrated American and French military operations were, Bruce makes a valuable contribution toward understanding the nature of the fighting in France. Historians have tended to focus on the disagreements, even antagonisms, evident among the Allied leadership, notably over the "amalgamation issue," whereby French and British leaders urged America to integrate small infantry units or even individual soldiers directly into French and British divisions as the quickest way to bolster sagging Allied strength and morale. The administration of President Woodrow Wilson and the commander of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) in France, General John J. Pershing, steadfastly, some say stubbornly, rejected amalgamation, insisting instead that Americans would fight in an American army even though building up such an organization from the small prewar force would take months.

Bruce gives due attention to this issue, noting that some French leaders, such as Marshal Joseph Joffre, who headed up the French military mission to the United States shortly after America's declaration of war in April 1917, understood that amalgamation would never be politically acceptable to the United States. But Bruce goes on to explain that ties between the two countries' armies grew to the point where something akin to amalgamation, or at least closely

integrated and coordinated operations, was the result. First, France provided the AEF most of the equipment that American industry could not produce: aircraft, tanks, artillery, machine guns, and ammunition. Second, the French agreed to train the green American divisions as they arrived in France. Finally, as these American divisions were committed to battle and eventually organized into corps and field armies, the French provided much of the supporting arms, such as heavy artillery, tank, truck transport, and aviation units. Bruce thus clearly illustrates that all "American" operations, to include the culminating Meuse-Argonne offensive by the U.S. First Army, were actually combined operations that included significant French participation and support.

Bruce carries this thesis a step further by arguing convincingly that not only did French and American soldiers fight together, but also that they grew to respect and admire each others' martial spirit and devotion to duty. The French people did indeed see the American doughboys as their salvation. French morale, badly shaken by late 1917, was greatly boosted by the arrival and commitment of American soldiers, and here Bruce makes an original contribution by delving into French army records and morale assessments to validate that point. The doughboys, conversely, were genuinely touched by French gratitude and sympathized with the sacrifices and ordeals the French had obviously endured during more than three years of war.

Bruce provides a fresh look at military relations between two allies fighting for a common cause. He notes those times when relationships between General Pershing and certain French leaders were strained, and points out that American doughboys did not like everything about their French hosts, such as the propensity of French shopkeepers and tavern owners to gouge their soldier customers. But overall, it is the story of a successful, even close, alliance. Bruce makes good use of French and English primary and secondary sources. The book is clearly written, well organized, and well supported with photographs and maps. I highly recommend it to historians and general readers alike.

PETER S. KINDSVATTER

U.S. Army Ordnance Center and Schools

WILLIAM STUECK, editor. *The Korean War in World History*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2004. Pp. 203. \$35.00.

Sandwiched between the most destructive war in human history on the one side, and America's longest war and first decisive defeat on the other, the relatively brief and inconclusively ended Korean conflict has drawn considerably less attention from historians than have America's other major twentieth-century wars. Nevertheless, Korea can no longer be called the "forgotten war," as it once was. Beginning in the 1970s, in the wake of the Vietnam debacle, a few historians

chose to reexamine America's previous Cold War conflict in East Asia. The most perspicacious of these historians was Bruce Cumings, whose two-volume *The Origins of the Korean War* (1981, 1990), based on extensive and ground-breaking research in American and South Korean documents (among many other sources), painted a complex and multifaceted portrait of a war that had long been seen in the West as a straightforward act of Soviet aggression via its North Korean proxy. Cumings was also the first American historian to delve deeply into domestic conditions in Korea—especially in the South—during the years leading to the war, and to stress Korean agency rather than portray Koreans as mere pawns of the superpowers. What was still missing, however, was the evidence from the “other side” of the conflict: the communist allies whose archives, unlike those of the United States, remained utterly closed to historians. This changed with the opening of Soviet archives following the collapse of the USSR, and the publication of numerous memoirs and document collections from China in the 1990s. Although access to primary sources remains far from complete (North Korea remains essentially off limits to foreign research on this topic, Chinese archives have yet to be opened, and Russian materials are less accessible than they were a decade ago), over the past fifteen years the history of the Korean War has gradually been rewritten on the basis of new information in a post-Cold War climate.

William Stueck himself synthesized a great deal of the post-Cold War literature on the Korean War in *The Korean War: An International History* (1995), and the book currently under review brings together some of the pioneering scholars in post-Cold War Korean War studies, who offer diverse perspectives on the origins, conduct, conclusion, and effects of the war. The book's title is somewhat misleading. One might have hoped for more discussion of world history, but other than Stueck's introduction, each of the five chapters takes a single-country view of the conflict: the Korean War from the perspective of Korea, the USSR, China, the United States, or Japan. While each of these perspectives is valuable, this approach results in a kind of blind-men-and-elephant view of the war, without an overarching synthesis, and the reader is left to make connections among these diverse perspectives on his or her own.

Little of what is presented in this book will be new to regular readers of the Cold War International History Project *Bulletin*, where many of the new sources and interpretations of the Korean War first appeared. The value of the book, however, lies in bringing these studies together in the same volume for the first time. Kathryn Weathersby's chapter on the Soviet role in the war and Chen Jian's chapter on China's road to the Korean War are to a great extent revisitations of their earlier work on these respective topics. Weathersby does a very good job of laying out the state of the field, and rightly points out the gaps and insufficiencies of the Soviet archive. We have come a long way from the

heady “we now know” days of nigh-fetishistic enthusiasm for previously forbidden Soviet documents. We still know far less about Soviet motivations and conduct of the war than we do about the American side, and given the shift toward greater secrecy in Vladimir Putin's Russia, we may already have passed the peak of access to Soviet documents. In any case, as all reasonably informed undergraduates should know, documents do not write history, and historical events will always be subject to new interpretations and revisions. The Korean War is no exception.

Lloyd Gardner's rather contrarian chapter on the Korean War in the U.S. imagination demonstrates that a critical perspective on the American role in the war, what Stueck calls “revisionism,” is not as dead as some may believe. Allan R. Millett offers a Korean view of the war, but although he synthesizes most of the relevant English-language material on the subject, the author does not directly engage with the Korean material, which results in a number of minor errors. Several names are misspelled, for example, and the Sinuiju incident took place in December 1945, not November (p. 23). Perhaps the most interesting and original contribution is Michael Schaller's chapter on Japan, a country rarely discussed in connection with the Korean War, but whose economic “miracle” could not have happened without it.

As a report on the state of the field, Stueck's book is a useful guide for scholars, teachers, and students. It shows how far we have come in our knowledge of this once-forgotten war, and it opens the path for new work on the subject that goes beyond the residual scholarly divides of the Cold War.

CHARLES K. ARMSTRONG
Columbia University

CHRISTOPHER ENDY. *Cold War Holidays: American Tourism in France*. (The New Cold War History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 286. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Tourism is mostly about leisure, fun, and self-improvement. It can also have deeper motives and, more or less inadvertently, a political dimension. Following a trend in Cold War history that highlights the importance of culture and soft power, Christopher Endy's book offers a new perspective on U.S.-French relations between 1945 and 1970, persuasively arguing that leisure travel was an important foreign policy instrument for both the American and the French governments. Some readers may consider this issue peripheral, while most will likely find answers to some core questions on U.S.-European relations. Most important, in revealing the connections among travel, consumerism, and Cold War policies, Endy stresses the coexistence, interplay, and even mutual reinforcement between transnational forces and the nation-state. Tourism favored globalization and strong national identities at the same time.

This is an argument built on extensive use of archival

and media material from both countries, although regrettably there is only perfunctory reference to film directors such as Jacques Tati or Jean-Luc Godard. It is even more regrettable that Endy rarely presents comparisons with other European nations' responses to American tourism. Despite this reservation, France remains a crucial test case for the many important questions Endy addresses, and his ability to explore them with entertaining narrative is refreshing.

Other authors have analyzed the links among advertising, American media, Hollywood, and the U.S. government. The travel industry was just as reliant on government support; it helped to shape international and social choices in both France and the United States, thus confirming that culture was not only an instrument but also a fundamental dimension of power. The need for government support prompted industry leaders to present themselves as "servants of their country's national interest" (p. 4). But tourism was about evasion as much as it displayed national virtues. For middle-class Americans, Endy reminds us, these were Cold War holidays but also holidays *from* the Cold War. When the two governments tried too hard to control the romantic and consumerist impulses of the average tourist, they failed. France's "smile offensive" to address the issue of French "rudeness" toward foreign visitors backfired in the 1960s; so did President Lyndon Johnson's attempts to reduce the outflow of dollars by favoring domestic tourism.

"Consumer diplomacy" (p. 34) is an apt description of the loose connection between (politically unself-conscious) tourists and government interests. That notion was behind Marshall planners' measures to transform travel from an elitist pastime to a mass phenomenon "consistent with postwar ideals of a classless society" (p. 47), while at the same time helping to cover the dollar gap and even to rebuild postwar Europe. It was also behind French efforts to modernize and to mold a consumer-oriented tourist industry during the Gaullist era. This consumer/modernizing trend superseded the initial postwar reluctance of many French travel operators and politicians to receive American mass tourism—at times seen as "metaphorical colonization" (p. 8). Ultimately, travel confirmed both nations' grandeur: America's wealth and France's cultural radiance. In Endy's opinion, it also forged a stronger transatlantic community.

This conclusion invites further reflection on two broad questions addressed in this book. First, did tourism favor globalization and genuine exchange, or did it reinforce national identity? Endy's strongest argument is that, in an age of persistent state power, in an era where strong interdependence matched implacable pursuits of national identity, the Cold War and globalization were "forces that frequently influenced and reinforced each other" (p. 204). Even better, tourism, "quintessential feature of the . . . globalizing world" (p. 3), may have bridged cultural gaps between the two nations. But since tourism is about national identity as well, it more frequently enhanced both

peoples' awareness of their distinctiveness from each other. The very emphasis on two kinds of "grandeur" certainly made tourism a vehicle for further stereotypes and even political clashes. However, France's embrace of consumerism and its ability to modernize without losing its cherished traditions helped to overcome many Franco-American reciprocal resentments. Endy's argument regains validity when he confirms that, by the late 1960s, free-market capitalism and the carefree, spontaneous consumer power it spawned remained the strongest Cold War assets for both nations.

Which of the two nations benefited more from transatlantic tourism? This is the second, more implicit, question of the book. France was painfully reminded of the tendency of rich countries to send tourists to poorer countries. After all, Jean Monnet and other French economic planners who "equated grandeur with steel and electricity" (p. 66) argued that a focus on service industry would turn France into another Spain. Against their expectations, culture became crucial for France's economic and political empowerment. But Endy leaves the consequent issue unanswered: a nation such as France that has valued itself based on its heritage is bound to highlight the contrast between past glories and current (relative) decline. Furthermore, as Endy admits, the progress toward a "classless society" of travelers, the triumph of consumer power, also resulted in a mass tourism that was somewhat impermeable to France's cultural "radiance." Finally, there is still a profound French—and European—dilemma between pursuing modernity and maintaining genuine character: in 1972, *Le Monde* described France's Parisian hotel Le Méridien as "France without genius" (p. 176).

ALESSANDRO BROGI
University of Arkansas

ASIA

HERO. Directed by Yimou Zhang. Produced by Quentin Tarantino. Written by Yimou Zhang, Feng Li, and Bin Wang. In Chinese with English subtitles. 2004; color and black and white; 99 minutes. Distributed by Miramax.

If lush cinematography and balletic violence were sufficient substitutes for plot and characterization, Zhang Yimou's *Hero* would be a perfect movie. Instead, it is repetitious and kitschy, with Chinese artifacts from the Qin period exploded into grotesquely large proportions à la H. K. mall-moderne. The film is brashly patriotic in the "you're with-us-or-agin-us" style. The romance takes off from the stuff of history that has lent itself admirably to epic tales for millennia: the unification in 221 B.C. of the territory roughly corresponding to the present People's Republic of China (minus the so-called autonomous regions), under the direction of the First Emperor of Qin (a.k.a. Qin Shihuang), a figure well known to museum-goers

thanks to the seven thousand terracotta warriors guarding his burial grounds in present-day Xi'an. Chinese histories endlessly recount the concerted attempts by the various states contending for supremacy with Qin during the Warring States period (475–222 B.C.) to infiltrate assassin-retainers into the Qin court, whose emperor, by a combination of luck and guile, managed somehow to survive and triumph—at least for a decade or so. (The movie omits the denouement: the First Emperor dies ignominiously, his son and heir is executed by the very ministers who had been hand-picked by Qin Shihuang, and effective control by the Qin Empire collapses within the year.)

From its very first recorded telling, that found in Sima Qian's *Shiji* (*Archival Records*, compiled 100 B.C.), the story of Qin unification has been presented as a parable of unsurpassed tyranny. According to Sima Qian, the First Emperor burned books in the private possession of his subjects; he executed classical scholars, lest they use past precedents to challenge his authority; he suppressed regional interests, in order to forge a single political entity; he wasted hundreds of thousands of additional lives of men, women, and children in building the Great Wall, which provided no defense against the nomadic Xiongnu (Huns) to the north; he wasted tens of thousands of lives building extravagant palaces for his own use in this life and the next. Finally, he put extraordinarily harsh laws in place—or so the story goes. The usual justifications for all such acts: Qin's unification of the script, which may well have allowed higher levels of literacy to exist in China than elsewhere in the classical world, and the extraordinary pax sinica that facilitated the exchange of peoples, things, and ideas across Asia. Sitting through a movie whose First Emperor is an obvious stand-in for the Chinese Communist Party—a monumental presence “enduring endless criticism” by the unthinking masses, but ultimately one who is secure in the knowledge that he knows best, since the “suffering of a few” can never be compared with “the greatest good”—well, one can but murmur “*Plus ça change, plus la reste le même*.” One of my hardest tasks as a historian is to persuade students that the present is not necessarily the best of all possible worlds. This movie might just allow me to open up discussions on the perils of unthinking progressivism and unabashed nationalism.

Nonetheless, despite consistently superb acting throughout, *Hero* fails to prompt the sorts of troubling questions about personal ambition, revenge, and the presumed benefits of empire that were tackled earlier by the director of *Qiu Ju da guan si* (The story of Qiu Ju [1992]). *Hero* gets way too caught up with what it can do with digitized images, although any first-year student of classical Chinese understands enough to intone Laozi's proverb, “Know what is enough.” The movie may be eye candy, but it is woefully derivative. It borrows the multiple perspectives of Akira Kurosawa's *Rashomon* while lacking that classic's complex insights into the overlapping and undercutting truths of a

single event. It aspires to the aestheticized bloodshed and stunning close-ups of Terrence Malick's *Thin Red Line*, but its tendency to careen from microscopic levels of splashing water and dripping blood to macroscopic panoramas of “All-under-Heaven” induced little emotion in this dazed viewer beyond a certain giddiness. The scenes of destruction—in particular, the rain of arrows falling on the tragic hero flat up against the door—convey none of the awesome pathos that Kurosawa brought to his final scene in *Throne of Blood*, or, for that matter, that a number of early Republican-era silent movies lent to everyday life in Shanghai.

Who is the real hero of *Hero*? Is it the assassin-retainer from the small state of Zhao who eventually refuses to kill but is promptly executed on the advice of cowards? Is it Broken Sword or Sky, other assassins on the losing side of history? Or is it the First Emperor, the wise leader who finds that peace is ever elusive? Is the movie advocating the retaking of Taiwan or the deculturation of the Tibetans? Is one bit of hokey dialogue pronounced by Qin Shihuang from his throne intended to reveal China's latent desire for super-power status well beyond its present borders? Who can say? It is all pretty much a muddle periodically punctuated by Orwellian overtones (“War is peace”). Probably *Hero*, in the end, is more of a cinematic potboiler in the style of Oliver Stone's *Alexander*, Wolfgang Petersen's *Troy*, and—dare I say it?—*Ben Hur*, a grandiose spectacle laced with toxic pretensions to high culture. Fortunately, both Chinese and American directors have provided us with many smarter, harder-hitting slices of reality that haunt the memory long after the credits close.

MICHAEL NYLAN
University of California,
Berkeley

RICHARD VON GLAHN. *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 385. \$55.00.

This book is one of a number of recent works exploring the “sinister” side of Chinese worship, in which divinity works through raw power more than bureaucratic authority and emphasizes market greed over moral rectitude. It offers an important and welcome addition to earlier understandings of Chinese divinity, which often tended to assume a naïve Durkheimian reading of Chinese deities as a reflection of social categories. Richard von Glahn argues instead that Chinese religion fostered a long argument between an exorcistic side that focused on fearful beings of capricious power and an equilibrium-based view of the moral balance of the universe. These two views evolved through an interplay of different social groups (officials, local elites, Buddhists, Daoists, peasants, shopkeepers) who both shaped the system and were shaped by it, leading

to important reworkings in the Han and Song dynasties.

Von Glahn's argument turns on the case of the Wutong and their more and less respectable transformations (Wuxian, Wusheng, and many more). This set of five deities has ancient roots in stories of mountain goblins, but the cult came into its own especially in the Song through Ming dynasties in the Jiangnan region—a commercial and educational center throughout this period. There has been a remarkable outpouring of scholarship on this cult over the last few years, with important work by Ursula-Angelika Cedzich, Michael Szonyi, and Guo Qitao. All of these scholars have added to our understanding of the social dynamics of this complex cult, although there still remain numerous areas of conflicting interpretation.

Given the multitude of other cults across China that could be studied, it is worth asking why this particular set of deities has received so much attention. The answer lies partly in the extraordinarily twisting and fascinating history of the Wutong as they took on different guises over time, from bizarre one-legged beasts to gods of wealth. It also lies partly in the sources themselves; there is simply much more historical material available in a sophisticated area like this than in poorer and more inaccessible parts of China. The cult epitomizes the kind of rapid change and complex layering that was important in Chinese religions, but it may also attract attention because it represents the extreme end of what was possible, rather than a typical situation. Its location in one of China's cultural and economic cores should also lead us to wonder if these dynamics might play out quite differently in other kinds of areas. Von Glahn's careful history is a crucial and welcome step in understanding Chinese religious variation, but we are still in the early stages.

Von Glahn's discussion of the long-term tension between exorcism and moral equilibrium is a significant improvement on our earlier attempts to see Chinese religion as a simple and unified structure. However, the attempt to show this over three millennia of Chinese history is sometimes awkward. Much of the first part of the book deals with religious developments from the Shang through the Tang, before getting to the primary case of the Wutong. This has not been von Glahn's primary research area, and much is based on secondary sources, especially for the early dynasties.

There are aspects of von Glahn's argument that would benefit from a broader comparative context. One of his primary cases, for example, concerns the way the Wutong cult metamorphoses into a god of wealth. He argues convincingly that this stems from the rapid commercialization of that time, such that profit seemed to lose any tie to morality. Ethnographers around the world have documented similar cases, especially where capitalism rapidly enters a less commercialized economy—from eastern African ideas of "bitter money" to South American associations of market profit with devil worship. Such comparison

would deepen the understanding of just how such a cult could arise in China. At the same time, bringing the China case to the broader literature would help question the comparative claim that amoral money cults arise only with modern capitalism. Closer to home, von Glahn's case is also strongly reminiscent of Taiwan's current Eighteen Lords cult, which again associates amoral spirits with profit. That case, which is largely urban, suggests that the book's argument that this was largely a rural phenomenon may need to be clarified.

This book greatly enhances our understandings of how Chinese religions varied and how they fit in to the broader question of the cultural unity of China. It goes significantly beyond the old debate about whether China had a single shared religious structure or a fundamental diversity of religions. Instead, it shows the ways that different interest groups and different tensions within the meaning system of the religious ideas themselves played out in particular historical circumstances. The result is a widely shared religious frame, but with sufficient flexibility and dynamism to allow for a constant interplay of accommodation, conflict, and dissimulation.

ROBERT P. WELLER
Boston University

ANTONIA FINNANE. *Speaking of Yangzhou: A Chinese City, 1550–1850*. (Harvard East Asia Monographs, number 236.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2004. Pp. xix, 453. \$49.50.

In the sixteenth century, Yangzhou became a key node in salt supply and distribution across the richest parts of the Chinese Empire. In the eighteenth century, this city near the conjunction of the Yangzi River and the Grand Canal was at its height of wealth and glory, despite the devastation it had famously suffered at the hands of the conquering Manchus in 1645. In the nineteenth century, Yangzhou deteriorated along with the Qing Empire, leaving twentieth-century literati sojourners from Shanghai—the new cultural capital—to mourn and derive lessons from the sad fate of what was once a dreamland.

This story of rise and fall gives structure to Antonia Finnane's history of Yangzhou, but the book's great contribution lies in the clarity and depth of its analysis of the factors that shaped the eighteenth-century city and made it so vulnerable to dynastic decline. As Finnane points out, Yangzhou was not at all a typical Chinese imperial city. In its relations with its hinterland, she suggests, Qing Yangzhou may have been more similar to such late medieval and early modern commercial centers as Venice and Amsterdam than it was to nearby Suzhou.

Because the Qing state, like the Ming before it, based its most important salt monopoly officials in Yangzhou, merchants from across the empire settled in the city to vie for the lucrative salt distribution rights. For a number of reasons, which Finnane thor-

oughly explicates, merchants from the region of Huizhou in Anhui province came to dominate the trade and cultural life in Yangzhou. Although they retained strong ties to Huizhou, their considerable investment in Yangzhou did not extend far beyond the city walls. Water also cut Yangzhou off from its hinterland. Qing administrators managed the flood-prone region north of Yangzhou in order to stabilize the Grand Canal, often sacrificing farmland to that end. Thus, compared to the Jiangnan region around Suzhou, Yangzhou's agricultural hinterland was unproductive and unstable. In the nineteenth century, the decline of Qing administrative capacity weakened the salt monopoly and cut into merchant profits at the same time that water control problems intensified. By the time the Taiping rebellion visited disaster on Yangzhou at mid-century, many of the city's famous gardens—symbols of elite culture—had already become overgrown or been sold off.

In addition to a convincing, well-documented central argument, the book has other strengths. Finnane summarizes and contributes to one of the key debates in the field of late imperial Chinese history: the question of the extent to which the distinction between "gentry" and "merchant" was disappearing over the course of the Qing. She does not see it happening in Yangzhou in the eighteenth century. In a particularly successful example of how cultural and socioeconomic history can work together, another chapter explores the commerce in concubines and prostitutes for which Yangzhou was famous.

Finnane writes well and clearly. Nevertheless, she is not quite able to overcome one of the hardest challenges facing historians of the (fairly) *longue durée*: how to bring key historical events to life while analyzing their impact on a gradually evolving historical system. I found the chapter on the destruction of Yangzhou during the Qing conquest surprisingly dull, given the topic. It is too bad the field of Chinese history has so few great urban biographies.

Finnane takes up some of the same topics as Tobie Meyer-Fong does in *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou* (2003). Meyer-Fong focuses more narrowly on the generation of literati and artists who survived the fall of Yangzhou at the end of the Ming dynasty and helped recreate it in the early Qing. She provides a better sense of the city's physical spaces and how they were invested with meaning in the literature and art of the time. Kwan Man Bun's *The Salt Merchants of Tianjin: State-Making and Civil Society in Late Imperial China* (2001) also complements Finnane's book in important ways. The merchants whom Kwan studies were fortunate in that Tianjin, center of the north China salt administration, was able to weather the decline of the Qing better than Yangzhou. Salt merchant families maintained their influence in the city up to and even, in some cases, after the fall of the dynasty in 1911.

KRISTIN STAPLETON
University of Kentucky

TOBIE MEYER-FONG. *Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 281. \$49.50.

Tobie Meyer-Fong uses the central China city of Yangzhou as the locus for a fresh look at how Chinese elites recovered from the shock and devastation of the conquest of their county by Manchu invaders in 1644. She focuses on the sights of the city and their commemoration in writing, especially poetry; in doing so, she presents an evocative picture of how remembering turned loss into nostalgia, how peace eased pain, and how companionship reconstituted community.

Meyer-Fong organizes her book around four places that were the sites of remembrance and objects of tourism (a bridge, two halls, and a temple). It is the literary activities that took place in and about these sights that are her real interest and contribution. Building on the work of Stephen Owen among others, she emphasizes "the restorative power of poetry and friendship" (p. 69), and argues that the composition and anthologizing of poetry were central to reconstituting social life and sense of self. Moreover, she demonstrates how the activities of the men who survived the conquest, preserved in both words and sites, became the social and cultural focus for subsequent generations of Yangzhou elites. This book is a fine example of a cultural historian using literary materials to excellent effect.

The processes so well delineated here for Yangzhou were not unusual, and Meyer-Fong adds significantly to a recent literature on the elite culture of the early Qing, complementing particularly the work by the art historians Jonathan Hay (*Shitao: Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China* [2001]) and Qianshen Bai (*Fu Shan's World: The Transformation of Chinese Calligraphy in the Seventeenth Century* [2003]).

One of Meyer-Fong's goals is to expose the early Qing Yangzhou that became submerged in the richer and more famous city of the eighteenth century. Her focus is on the elite men who lived and served in this city during the second half of the seventeenth century, and she is concerned with the emotional landscape as much as the physical one, with history remembered as much as with history lived. To these ends, she zigzags across her period, following the story of her four sites and their principal patrons. She begins with the generation who lived through the events of 1644, treats extensively the 1660s and 1670s, and has much to say about Wang Shizhen, the young poet and cultured official who served in Yangzhou in 1660–1665 and played a prominent and energizing role in local society. The book also touches on the impact of the Kangxi Emperor's various visits (1684–1707), refers glancingly to the later eighteenth century, and refocuses on the commemorating actions of Ruan Yuan, a local man, in the early 1800s.

This book is thus not intended to be a systematic urban history of Yangzhou—interested readers should also consult Antonia Finnane's *Speaking of Yangzhou*:

A Chinese City, 1550–1850 (2004). Meyer-Fong does, however, have much to say about Yangzhou's physical layout, remembered past, prominent people, and changing hierarchy of tourist attractions.

From Meyer-Fong one learns about the difficult decisions and selective memories that enabled some Ming men to serve the new dynasty. She probes the painful pleasures of the stability that followed the infamous sacking of Yangzhou in 1645 and the vicious Ming politics and social disorder that had marked the preceding three decades. She also shows how this difficult transition was eased by Qing success in quickly reestablishing the familiar structures of schools, examinations, and bureaucracy so central to elite identity and status. We see how the cultural activities of natives and sojourning officials under the Qing attempted to enhance Yangzhou's reputation by repeated invocations of "transregional" connections to Suzhou and Nanjing, the more prestigious metropolises of the Lower Yangtze region.

Meyer-Fong also reveals (and may not emphasize enough) a lack of hostility between those "left-over subjects" of the Ming who chose resistance or reclusion and those who adapted to the Qing. At the same time, I wonder if she minimizes a bit too much the political sentiments that have been the concern of several generations of modern historians of the late Ming. There are certainly underdeveloped hints of anger in the writings and activities of the post-conquest generation treated here. The Tower of Literary Selection (the subject of chapter three), for example, was not the solitary building that Meyer-Fong's translation "tower" implies, but the broad two-story rear hall of a temple dedicated to Song dynasty generals who had resisted northern invaders in the twelfth century. Such an obvious and pointed parallel with the Manchu conquest may deserve more emphasis than it has been given. The sources on which Meyer-Fong relies were, after all, neutralized by both the self-censorship of the early Qing and the heavy-handed state confiscations and editing of the eighteenth century "Four Treasuries" project.

This book is about the world of literary elites. The meaning they invested in famous sites may not have been shared by the raucous crowds who also flocked to these places, people who were poetically invisible to Meyer-Fong's sources and are accordingly not part of her story. It may be less appropriate to leave out the fractures within this elite. The poetic gatherings and cultural reenactments on which Meyer-Fong concentrates divided as well as united. They were not just activities through which men of once secure position recreated inclusive networks and reaffirmed the culture on which their status depended; they were also occasions when marginal men and nouveaux riches could try to push themselves forward and claim such elite status. Such conflicts are not very visible here. I am especially uneasy about the submerged role of the salt merchants and salt monopoly officials who seem to have been central to the Yangzhou economy from

before 1644 right through their glittering glory days a century later. Meyer-Fong's worthy attempt to escape their later dominance in the sources may have led her to understate their earlier presence. Li Songyang and Min Shizhang are not the only examples of such men who were very active in the social circles that are the focus of this book, but who are mentioned only in passing or in the notes. It is thus difficult to see clearly how well they mixed with scholars and literati.

It is no small accomplishment to get behind the great impediments to our understanding of the history of China in the second half of the seventeenth century. First, the smoothing and soothing editing of the late Qianlong era whitewashed the harsh realities of the conquest. Second, the agitated and politicizing nationalist histories of the twentieth century spotlighted those harsh realities. And now pretty, cheerful tourist bureau reconstructions present eighteenth-century Yangzhou through the gardens of a prosperous, timeless China. Meyer-Fong has reconstructed for us the more complicated transition from "destruction to prosperity" of several interconnected generations in this one city, and in doing so, she has illustrated in moving and memorable detail how traumatic events could, with effort, gradually be turned into history by both remembering and forgetting.

SUSAN NAQUIN
Princeton University

IONA D. MAN-CHEONG. *The Class of 1761: Examinations, State, and Elites in Eighteenth-Century China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 298. \$55.00.

With its long history and rigorous structure, imperial China's examination system fascinates both historians and educators. While there are many books on the general coverage of this subject, specific case studies remain scarce. Iona D. Man-Cheong's very timely book helps us understand the operation of the imperial Chinese examination in a crucial year and its subsequent social impacts.

Man-Cheong has amassed an impressive collection of information regarding all the candidates of the class of 1761. She traces their personal progress as well as their social and political influences as a group. Through her research, she concludes: "The most crucial effect of this [examination] system was thus the training of loyal, obedient subjects, inculcated with the behaviors, values, and principles of government deemed appropriate for servants of the state" (p. 1). Moving up through the levels of *sheng-yuan* (junior licentiate), *juren* (provincial degree holder), and *jinshi* (metropolitan degree holder), the candidates reached a high degree of conformity in their future service of the imperial court. In return, the political leadership status of these educational elites also received its legitimization from the throne. The examination system thus helped to ensure the dynasty's continuation by coordinating the relationship between the throne

and its officials, "contributing overall to the foundation of a nation-space well before the modern idea of nationalism" (p. 24).

The book has an interesting chapter on the relationship between government appointments and the examination system. According to Man-Cheong, "the examination system did actually construct a spatial and imaginary structure" of a unified China (p. 146). Passing the examinations at all levels created a respected public status for the candidates. Establishing networks through examiner-disciple relationships and Hanlin fellowship paved ways for the candidates to receive more favorable posts. Although it might have its internal logic, the examination system could not guarantee the future success of these officials whom it helped to select. Structurally speaking, the Confucian-based examination focused more on the doctrine that "a good examination composition inherently reflected moral nature and value" (p. 92). Despite the inclusion of the discussion of administrative policy in the palace examination, the Chinese examination system did little to test the candidates' practical skills to perform administrative duties. Making the matter worse was the fact that future appointments frequently put wrong people in wrong places. It was no wonder that at the hands of Sun Shiyi, "a civil official carrying out military duties," China's military campaign in Annam became a complete blunder (p. 190).

If the body of the book is about how to succeed in imperial China's examination system, the concluding chapter addresses an important issue: how to define failure. In traditional China, the success of candidates was often defined by their ability to get an official appointment of any kind. Man-Cheong, however, finds different stories of success in people such as Zhao Yi, who became a great researcher in Chinese history and historiography after failing to secure a government position. More important, the society from time to time accepted these nonpolitical paths if the candidates had justifiable reasons like death of parents or personal problems. "Thus the Manchu state left open the possibility of a variety of interactions up to the national level, while the regularity and the sameness of examinations guaranteed continuity" (p. 205). The book helps to break the stereotype that the imperial Chinese examination system promoted a monolithic standard of achievement.

This book has both strengths and weaknesses. On the one hand, it is well researched. It contains some remarkable details on the class of 1761. It is also an interdisciplinary study that deals with education, ideology, and government in an attempt to understand the examination system from multiple perspectives including cultural, social, and political. On the other hand, because of the author's ambition to present the fullest picture, the book conveys an enormous quantity of information and lacks a clear organization in its presentation. Parts of the book read like random notes, which makes it difficult to follow. Overall, however, the book takes the first in-depth look at a particular

class. It represents a great addition to our understanding of imperial China's examination system.

LI LI

Salem State College

EMMA JINHUA TENG. *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683–1895*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 230.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2004. Pp. xvi, 370. \$49.50.

Many will remember the speech President Bill Clinton delivered on June 28, 1998, to a packed auditorium at Peking University, after which one strategically placed "student" with flawless English poured out for the former leader of the free world his great love for the province of Taiwan and his heartfelt desire to have it reunited with the motherland. I think the president can probably be forgiven for failing to mention that not one mainland Chinese regime has ever held political control over the island.

In her fine new book, Emma Jinhua Teng demonstrates that it took centuries before people on the mainland—Chinese or Manchus—even considered Taiwan's inhabitants to be human. Marshalling a prodigious number of works—travel writings, maps, drawings, even fiction—from the late seventeenth century through the late nineteenth, Teng demonstrates changing mainland perspectives on the capacity of the natives/savages to be assimilated to "civilization." Were the Taiwan natives really human beings, or were they of an altogether different species (*yilei*)? Slowly but surely, the Qing imperium moved from a position of utter disgust for the place and its people to a sense that it needed to be "transformed" and later conquered and brought within the fold.

Teng fits her readings into the growing body of English and Chinese-language scholarship on the Qing Empire and its relationship to what are now called "minority nationalities." The one missing author whose work she might have used with profit is Mark Elliott, whose ongoing debate with Pamela Crossley has produced much heat but also much light. No Japanese scholarship is consulted (which is unfortunate but, sadly, not unusual). Also, while she is clearly aware of the danger of referring to politics and government during the Qing era as "Chinese," Teng occasionally seems to fall into the trap of speaking of Qing policy toward Taiwan as intended to make it "Chinese" rather than another part of the larger empire. For example, was the effort to enforce the queue on Taiwan males a plan to Sinitize the locals, or was it an effort to make them one more subservient group within the larger Qing Empire? There are times when the former is precisely her claim, others when it becomes a bit confusing.

Teng's concluding chapter and her epilogue are especially fine. She shows how Taiwan has become a political football in entirely constructed discourses on both sides of the Taiwan Straits; even in the newly

multicultural Taiwan, as she notes, all the ethnic “nationalisms”—often represented via language (or dialect)—are represented *except* for all of the peoples native to the island. In the epilogue, Teng makes a somewhat muted plea for considering the Qing regime’s relationship to Taiwan over the centuries as one of “imperialism” and “colonialism,” not because she thinks all questions will thus suddenly be resolved but because she objects to the inherent essentialism of considering those two “isms” as distinctively Western phenomena. By regarding Qing colonialism in tandem with Western (and Japanese) colonialism, she notes, we can only advance our understanding of both. This section is a model of clarity that demonstrates a familiarity with the theoretical literature and how it applies to the case at hand without drowning in a sea of excessive verbiage.

On the whole, the book is extremely well produced, with fifteen magnificent color plates and numerous black-and-white reproductions of maps, charts, and depictions of natives taken from contemporaneous texts. It is also exceedingly well written, with one idiosyncratic exception. About one-third of the way through, I noted that the word “indigene(s)” was being used in reference to the native peoples of Taiwan, and out of idle curiosity I began counting the number of times it appeared thereafter (not in translated quotations or the footnotes). It turns up 210 times (on several pages eight or nine times); “indigenous” appears sixty-six times. But that is a small issue in an otherwise excellent first book.

JOSHUA A. FOGEL
University of California,
Santa Barbara

TANI E. BARLOW. *The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism*. (Next Wave: New Directions in Women’s Studies.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 482. \$27.95.

Woman is a “dubious and compromised subject,” whose identification is deferred across boundaries of time and place. It is nevertheless indispensable to the historian’s task of excavating the past. Recent research by feminist historians of China gives rich evidence of the social and discursive constitution of the gendered subject woman. Yet the question of how to integrate the concept of gender and social history in ways that go beyond the ideological preoccupations of the present remains.

Tani E. Barlow’s book offers an option to this impasse that breaks original and exciting ground. In her exploration of the subject woman in twentieth-century China, she confronts the theoretical conundrum of the foundational status of woman in China’s modern transformation and its inadequacy as a historiographical category. Borrowing Walter Benjamin’s notion of “blasting a specific life out of the era,” she attempts to rescue the past from the present in two major theoretical moves. The first, inspired by Gayatri

Spivak, is a reading of history through the notion of catachresis, a proper name for which there are inadequate referents, yet which operates as a powerful “conceptual metaphor” to explain and stabilize social existence. Woman in China’s history thus comes into being through different catachreses—*furen*, *nüren*, *funü*, *nüxing*—all translated as “woman.” The second is an insistence on the use of the future anterior in thinking about the women’s movement. A sensitivity to what women “will have been” in the future of the present, including the present of the past, provides an avenue for thinking about women’s potentialities as debated at specific moments of China’s women’s movement.

If these approaches initially appear somewhat elliptical, they become increasingly accessible as Barlow’s narrative moves through the theoretical texts of her inquiry. Focusing on the work of three feminist thinkers and activists, she explores the conceptual categories that Chinese intellectuals since the May Fourth movement have developed in identifying the political and social requirements of women’s emancipation. Ding Ling (1904–1986) is China’s most famous twentieth-century feminist fiction writer, whose concerns with the demands of women’s emancipation held stage—albeit intermittently—for fifty years. The second, the philosopher-politician Li Xiaojiang, widely hailed as the founder of women’s studies in post-Mao China, is presented as the exponent of a radical Marxist feminist humanism. In response to what she saw as the erasure of the feminine in Mao’s China, Li advocated an essential feminism that, in the context of China’s market transformation of the 1980s, reworked the legacy of woman as sexed subject, *nüxing*, expounded by Ding Ling. Dai Jinhua, the third feminist whose work Barlow considers, is a poststructuralist cultural studies theorist and critic of film and literature, whose work proposes an *écriture féminine chinoise* for the future of the subject woman.

Through a close reading of the texts of these three writers, Barlow foregrounds the foundational status of the sexed subject *nüxing* in the social transformation of modern China. The subject *nüxing* appeared within a continuum of ideas across the boundaries between Europe, North America, Japan, and China that defined human progress in progressive, eugenicist terms. It is this sexed subject, in Barlow’s view, that inscribes China’s modernity with the “rudiments of the feminist liberation movement,” making Chinese feminism international as well as Chinese. Historicized by “colonial modernity,” as well as by the revolutionary and market projects of the postcolonial periods, the categories used to define the subject of the women’s movement in China thus cannot be simply understood as an effect of Western ideas. Through its critical engagement with the philosophical terms of China’s enlightenment project, Chinese feminism occupies center stage in the conceptualization of modernity.

This is an important and intricately argued book that deserves close and repeated readings. Its theoretical

spread is impressive, although selective in a way that is not entirely explained. Rey Chow and Li Yinhe, for example, are prominent in their absence. Yet Barlow's dense narrative draws on psychoanalysis, film criticism, history, literature, and philosophy, making fascinating and challenging reading. A text that will provoke controversy in the academy, it is a powerful model of how to "blast away the shackles of the present" in reclaiming the past of woman in feminist scholarship.

HARRIET EVANS
University of Westminster

BRIAN PLATT. *Burning and Building: Schooling and State Formation in Japan, 1750–1890*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 237.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2004. Pp. x, 325. \$45.00.

The long shadow that modernization theory cast over historical scholarship on Japan during the Cold War still seems to linger: witness the fact that author Brian Platt represents the third generation of scholars who have felt compelled to challenge it. His book shows a keen appreciation for the theoretical, methodological, and empirical advances made by two previous generations of self-consciously "revisionist" historians who entered the profession between the 1960s and the 1980s. Cumulatively, they bequeathed to Platt and his generation a thoroughgoing critique of modernization theory and its account of "the rise of modern Japan" following the Meiji Restoration (1868) as a rational, consensual "revolution from above," carefully orchestrated by a pragmatic elite and supported by a compliant populace whose "early modern" education and transition to a capitalistic economy during the Tokugawa period (1600–1867) prepared them to forsake outmoded "feudal" traditions in favor of "modern" (read, "Western") ideas, values, and institutions. Their influence can be seen in Platt's critique of simplistic binary categories that formerly pervaded the study of Japanese history: tradition/modernity, center/periphery, state/society, elite/commoner, public/private. Their influence is also apparent in some of the theoretical assumptions that guide his approach to the study of educational reform in late Tokugawa and early Meiji Japan: that education is inextricably linked to politics; given this linkage, that educational policy and praxis are apt to be shaped as much by conflict as by consensus; that hegemony is not something imposed on a nation unilaterally by "the state" or its representatives operating at "the center," but is subject to continual negotiation among multiple, contending interest groups operating at both the state and sub-state (or non-state) levels. Finally, their influence is evident in some of the methodological choices that have guided his research: notably his extensive investigation of "local" historical resources recounting developments that occurred in the villages and towns in a region now encompassed by Nagano Prefecture, rather than focusing exclusively on policies emanating from political and bureaucratic elites ensconced in the new

capital, Tokyo; and his decision to cover a comparatively broad time period extending from the late Tokugawa to the mid-Meiji periods, rather than simply commence his narrative from the Meiji Restoration.

However, this complementarity between Platt's scholarship and that which preceded and informs it in no way detracts from the originality of his contributions to our understanding of Japan's transition from Tokugawa to Meiji, from "feudal" to "state" authority, and from "local" autonomy to "central" control, particularly when it comes to education. Platt makes impressive use of rich local collections of primary sources, largely overlooked by Western historians of Japan, in order to paint a more detailed and variegated picture of locally run schools—and the local notables who ran them—in late Tokugawa and early Meiji Japan than was previously available in English. He gives this enigmatic class of local intellectual and political leaders, and the crucial position they occupied between the national and the local, the attention they deserve. Chapters one and two highlight their role in propelling the dramatic growth and transformation of commoner education that marked the closing decades of the Tokugawa era, in response to the economic, political, and social crises that culminated in the Restoration. Chapter three focuses on the opening years of the Meiji period and captures the "post-Restoration atmosphere of fluidity and possibility [that] permitted diverse reformist visions at all levels of leadership to coexist and flourish" (p. 101), including the "local school" movement these same men spearheaded in cooperation with officials of the newly created prefectures. Chapters four through six document their vibrant legacy of grassroots educational reformism for the period after 1872, when the Meiji government enacted a series of hegemonic policies designed to "transform local knowledge pertaining to schooling and education, to create a new conception of school while displacing alternative conceptions that had been generated in the late Tokugawa and early Meiji periods" (p. 142).

We may hope that this fine monograph has placed the final nail in the coffin of modernization theory, which has haunted the field of modern Japanese history for far too long.

MARK LINCICOME
College of the Holy Cross

ABU TALIB AHMAD and TAN LIOK EE, editors. *New Terrains in Southeast Asian History*. (Ohio University Research in International Studies; Southeast Asia Series, number 107.) Athens: Ohio University Press and Singapore: Singapore University Press. 2003. Pp. xxv, 393. \$35.00.

In their very sensible introduction to this collection—drawn from the papers presented at the conference on Southeast Asian historiography held in Penang in 1999—editors Abu Talib Ahmad and Tan Liok Ee compare it with such previous collections as *Historians*

of *Southeast Asia* (1955), edited by D. G. E. Hall, and *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia* (1979), edited by Anthony Reid and David Marr. To those volumes, they remark a little too severely, "no more than a handful of Southeast Asians" contributed essays. At the Penang conference, and in the present volume, the majority of the contributions come from "Southeast Asians," the aim being "to capture the dominant currents and emerging countercurrents in Southeast Asian history writing within the region itself" (p. xi).

The editors rightly caution against the implication that "the work of Southeast Asian scholars is somehow more authoritative or authentic" (pp. xi-xii). Indeed, Thongchai Winichakul argues that "Western scholarship on Thailand has suffered from following Thai scholars, most of whom are elite intellectuals, too much and for too long" (pp. 21-22). Producing for what has in effect been a protected market has, he says, been harmful. Some Filipino scholars might have offered a different view, as they did at a conference the editors do not mention, "Constructing a National Past," held at the University of Brunei in 1994, the proceedings of which were published in 1996. No essays from Filipino scholars appear in the present volume, however, nor do any from scholars in Indonesia, Vietnam, or Cambodia. That limits any claim it makes to be a survey of the state of history writing in the region.

What is offered is, however, almost uniformly of a very high standard. The first part of the book includes essays that seek new perspectives or advocate new strategies. What Ruth McVey once called the "regnant paradigm" in contemporary Southeast Asian historiography is national history ("Change and Continuity in Southeast Asian Studies," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26: 1 [March 1995]: p. 1). Winichakul advocates breaking away from this, and also avoiding an overemphasis on "globalization," by "writing at the interstices," focusing on the sites and moments of localization. Brenda Yeoh, a historical geographer, takes a cognate line on colonial Singapore, seen as "a terrain of conflict and negotiation" where the agency of the colonized was "often effective" because it "drew on coherent ideologies, institutional structures, and schemes of legitimation that were independent of and largely impenetrable to the colonial authorities" (pp. 40-41). It is a view, as she says, that Edward Said's discourse risked cutting out as effectively as the orientalism he criticized. In other essays in this section, Yong Mun Cheong discusses the impact of literary theory on Southeast Asian historiography and, more speculatively, the possible impact of chaos theory, and M. R. Fernando suggests that social and economic historians have been too reluctant to use the quantitative data available particularly in colonial records.

In the final essay in this section, Paul Kratoska considers the advantages and drawbacks of country studies, essential to the study of Southeast Asia's past but insufficient. That provides a link to the second part of the book, which is titled "Constructing and Decon-

structing the National Past." Perhaps the most interesting of the papers in this section is by C. J. W.-L. Wee, "Our Island Story: Economic Development and the National Narrative in Singapore." By contrast to most modern nations, Singapore has no ready access to a past that can be "nationalised." Instead, Wee argues, it has adopted a narrative of development and modernity. In an essay on "scripting" Singapore's "national heroes," Hong Lysa and Huang Jianli in effect explain why. Neither essay takes up, however, the government's attempt to focus on the period of the Pacific War and the Japanese occupation as a site of memory and a source of warning.

In the third part of the book, which comprises a series of papers on diverse and specialized topics, we are in a sense back in more regular history conference mode, but it is not implausibly entitled "Shifting Boundaries, Moving Interstices." Ahmad offers another way into Malaysia's social history through ecclesiastical records. Dhiravat na Pombejra offers a masterly account of seventeenth-century Phuket, then a site of "localization" based on the trade in tin. Two other essays deal with the Chinese in Malaya, P. Lim Pui Huen's absorbing account of the Ngee Heng secret society in Johore, and Ee's careful "Locating Chinese Women in Malaysian History." The section is completed by Andrew Hardy's attempt to give voice to migrants relocating within Vietnam or leaving it. "The marginal," as he concludes, "informs us on the mainstream" (p. 350).

In their introduction, the editors remark on the "nominal participation" of Southeast Asians in *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia* (1992). As editor, the present reviewer can state that he tried to enlarge that participation, but in vain. I concluded that Southeast Asians were in fact unwilling to write regionally, as the prospectus of that work required, not only, perhaps, because of the academic difficulties involved but also because of a caution over challenging the "national" paradigm. It is interesting that none of the essays in the present volume reflect on writing a regional history or advocate doing so. Nor is much said of Southeast Asians who write about their neighbors, such as Danny Wong, who works on Vietnamese history, or his colleague, Aruna Gopinath, who has written a biography of Manuel Quezon and is an authority on the Muslims of Mindanao and Sulu. Yet how much poorer English historiography would be without Paul Vinogradoff and Lewis Namier.

The Penang discussions were, even so, "a marvelous cacophony," as the editors put it (p. xii). The book they have derived from them is stimulating and enables one to adopt an albeit qualified optimism about the future of historical scholarship in Southeast Asia.

NICHOLAS TARLING
University of Auckland

WILLIAM GOULD. *Hindu Nationalism and the Language of Politics in Late Colonial India*. (Cambridge Studies

in *Indian History and Society*, number 11.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 302. \$75.00.

In this provocative and important study, William Gould broadens and deepens our understanding of the rise of Hindu nationalism and the complexities of the nation-building effort that paralleled and intersected the nationalist struggle for independence in India. He focuses his analysis on the role of provincial and local politicians in the Uttar Pradesh (UP) Congress, their construction of a politicized Hindu framework for the campaign against colonial rule, and its impact on the national Congress's identity and its commitment to secularism.

While historians have noted the overlapping membership and links between the (UP) Congress and various Hindu nationalist organizations, major agency for the communalizing of north Indian politics has generally been assigned to forces beyond the control of the Congress. In this reading, the colonial state's emphasis on caste and religious identities, the rise of Muslim separatist politics, and the establishment of institutions of the Hindu right share responsibility for the challenge to a progressive, modernist, and inclusive Congress unity message. Gould's work deconstructs this image of the Congress by emphasizing its "heterogeneity," the role of individuals in such a strategically significant setting as Uttar Pradesh acting in its name, and the variable forms of secularism that they embraced. In this regard, he notes the porousness of ideological borders and the ways in which apparently antagonistic ideas of nationhood could and did coexist.

The emphasis on Hindu culture and civilization as a base for opposition to foreign rule was a natural choice for many who needed to be at home in an identity that was presumed to be both enlightened and rooted in their distinctive history. It provided, however, the context for the association of religious imagery with ideas of the nation. The UP Congress did not invent this discourse, but its contribution, Gould argues, dramatically enhanced the spread and influence of the Hindu nationalist message in the "political languages" of the late colonial period.

Gould notes the "qualitative difference" between the range of positions within the UP Congress and the "hard" ideology of Veer Savarkar's equation of Hindutva and the nation. But he emphasizes as well the "destructive implications" of Congress relationships with Hindu nationalism, including the location of the commitment to secularism in a reading of traditional Hindu civilizational tolerance.

Gould supports his argument with an analysis of the words and actions of these UP Congressmen. Mobilization in the localities is facilitated by connections with "holy men" and itinerant preachers, and the use of Hindu festivals and temple meetings. Political rhetoric is informed by the inclusion of references to Hindu myths, symbols, and epic heroes. Religious dogma, such as a ban on cow slaughter, is included in the

political mandate. In addition, Gould traces the connection between nationalist and Hindu imagery in newspaper reporting and journal articles, and in the speeches and writings of such UP Congress leaders as Sampurnanand and P. D. Tandon. In this regard, he notes the combination of a commitment to socialism and a Hindu view of the nation in the positions of these two men as an important challenge to the general association of Hindu nationalism with right-wing politics.

Gould analyzes as well the impact of Hindu imagery on Congress-sponsored foreign cloth boycotts, and on Mohandas Gandhi's Harijan uplift campaigns. The former were often perceived as an attack on Muslim cloth traders, especially when the effort turned militant, and the latter as an effort to consolidate a Hindu political community. The Congress effort to include Muslims in its "national" constituency was reflected in its Muslim Mass Contact program. But this too was read by many as an appeal to communal instincts. The choices were never easy.

Historians have emphasized the significance of the election of 1937 as a watershed in the evolution of Hindu-Muslim antagonism. Gould challenges this reading by arguing the importance of the early effects of a Hindu nationalist perspective as a basis for Muslim League representation of the Congress as a Hindu party. The incorporation of religious symbolism, Gould argues, was "both attractive for the politician and of lasting danger to the integrity of the Congress as a party." More significantly, it played an important role in the rise of Muslim separatism and constrained the effort to achieve the Congress goal of a unified "All-India" state.

MILTON ISRAEL
University of Toronto

MRIDU RAI. *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 335. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$22.50.

CHITRALEKHA ZUTSHI. *Languages of Belonging: Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 359. \$35.00.

Ever since the India-Pakistan near war of 2001–2002, we have been subject to an incessant flow of words on the Kashmir conflict. Sadly, this deluge has done little to enhance our knowledge of the subject. Bar changing the odd adjectives, adding a little detail, or inserting the views of the proverbial man on the street, little has been added to Sumit Ganguly's *Crisis in Kashmir: Portents of War, Prospects of Peace* (1997) or Victoria Schofield's *Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan, and the Unending War* (2000). Two new histories have been widely applauded for constituting a happy break with this dismal tradition. Little attention has been paid, however, to the considerable theoretical and empirical

problems presented by Mridu Rai's and Chitralkha Zutshi's books.

Both Rai and Zutshi deal with a critical period in the history of Jammu and Kashmir: the century of Dogra monarchical rule that preceded the independence of India and Pakistan, and the division of the state between the two powers in the course of the war of 1947. It was in this period that the welter of territories that constitute modern Kashmir were welded together under a single power, a consequence of Britain's handing over of the region to Maharaja Gulab Singh, a prince who sided with the empire's war of conquest against the Sikh kingdom of Lahore. Like the other semi-independent states of princely India, Kashmir witnessed a constant struggle for influence between the monarchy and the imperial government. It was to become the site of a number of other contestations: of monarch against democrat; of empire against nationalist; of Hindu against Muslim; of peasant against landlord.

Rai sees this century as one in which a "Hindu State" was formed, the consequence of the Dogra monarchy's search for legitimacy. Lacking any real basis for its sovereignty over the peoples whose destinies it now controlled, it responded by inventing a history in which the Dogra dynasty represented both the Hindu faith and Rajput martial tradition. Rai maps this process by carefully documenting the Dogra monarchy's growing control of Hindu religious practice in Kashmir, notably through state-controlled trusts. Since the state was Hindu in character, Rai concludes, "religion and politics became inextricably intertwined in defining and expressing the protest of Kashmiri Muslims against their rulers" (pp. 16–17).

Zutshi arrives at similar conclusions, but with considerably more attention to nuance and detail. Her study of the workings of Dogra rule suggests the need for a careful examination of what, if any, meaning the notion of a "Hindu state" may have actually had to contemporaries. There was, Zutshi's narrative suggests, no unilinear project of Hinduization under the Dogras; rather, there were complex and fluid processes of collaboration and conflict among various categories of elites, both Hindu and Muslim. Kashmir's small Brahmin community, the Pandits, whom Rai sees as key collaborators of the Dogra project, emerge at least one point in Zutshi's book as its most bitter opponents. Notions of a homogeneous Kashmiri Muslim identity, Zutshi's analysis suggests, need to be tempered by an understanding of the working of caste, class, and ideology.

Earlier historians have beaten trails across the terrain covered by Rai and Zutshi. Much of this historiography builds on an Indian secular-nationalist reading of history, which sees the accession of Kashmir to the Union of India as the logical outcome of the ascendancy of the modernist, antifeudal National Conference party, led by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. There is, of course, a body of dissenting literature, hostile to what it perceives as the opportunism and

authoritarian tendencies of the National Conference. Prem Nath Bazaz, a socialist politician who gets considerable play in Zutshi's rendition of events, charged Abdullah with having "a communal outlook" and the National Conference with acting "like the storm troopers of Nazi Germany."

It is to this genre of dissenting work that Zutshi's work—like that of Rai—belongs. Zutshi argues that by 1943, just four years from Indian independence, "the popular perception of the National Conference as a stooge of the Indian National Congress had become widespread" (p. 273). The problem with this assertion is that it is no more backed by evidence than nationalist accounts claiming near-total support for the National Conference. Zutshi cites a single incident in support of her proposition, a meeting in Jammu where Abdullah's affiliations with the Indian National Congress were questioned by the audience. How grand conclusions can be drawn from such thin evidence is unclear.

Rai's narrative, for its part, is liberally laced with invective, leading eventually to what can only be described as a spectacular secession from scholarship. She insists, for example, that "at the moment of the partition of India, most Kashmiri Muslims voted clearly . . . against the Pakistan option" (p. 297). Since there was no election at the time of Partition, or any other form of democratic consultation on Kashmir's future, Rai's assertion is mystifying. Her examination of the relationship between the period of Dogra rule and the ongoing conflict results in a claim that the "majority of Kashmir's Muslims largely believe that they are scarcely better off than they were through 101 years of Dogra rule" (p. 288). How she arrived at this determination, we are not told—an omission all the more startling in what is otherwise a meticulously footnoted work.

Zutshi, too, could have benefited by further probing into her premises. To charge, as she does, that Jawarhalal Nehru did not accept that a "communal problem existed and had to be overcome if India was to progress towards economic liberation of its masses" is absurd (p. 282). Nehru's understanding of India's communal problems, and his answers to it, have been the subject of rich political disputation and scholarly critique. To suggest he pretended none existed flies in the face of both the considerable body of literature Nehru generated on the subject, and the centrality of this issue to his political career.

It has become increasingly fashionable, drawing on work including that of the historian Ayesha Jalal, to assert that the Indian project of secularism is merely a mask for Hindu majoritarianism. Advocates of this position argue that the term "communalism" is merely a form of abuse, used to defame claims to difference and identity. Zutshi builds on the proposition by asserting that a "one state—one nation—one religion trope" has "defined South Asia in the postcolonial era" (p. 332). In other words, religion is as central to the Indian state and to Indian nationhood as it is for

Pakistan, a project in which Islam had an express founding role. For her part, Rai goes further, speaking of "an Indian nation that has not acknowledged the tenuous nature of its own secular credentials" (p. 297). In a curious, perhaps unintended way, Rai and Zutshi thus replace that most hallowed of colonial myths back at the heart of history: the notion of South Asia as a place where religion is the principal, even primordial language of both power and resistance. It is true that both communalism and secularism have been profoundly intertwined, not just in Kashmir but through the Indian nationalist project. Yet, to obfuscate the tension between them is to miss the trees for the wood, so to speak. The recent anti-Muslim pogrom in Gujarat has made clear, even if the anti-Hindu depredations of armed Islamists in Kashmir did not do so, that communalism is a brutal, experienced reality. That India's secularism is flawed is beyond doubt; that it is tenuous is less clear. The fact that the Hindu right decisively lost the 2004 General Elections, notwithstanding the project of "erasing Muslim-ness" that Rai claims shapes nationalist discourse, illustrated once again that the contest between secularism and communalism is not an illusion.

Kashmir still awaits a genuinely plural history: one that takes into account the complex relationship between religions, of course, but also among region, ethnicity, caste, language, and class. In offering reductive, monocausal explanations for the tragic events now underway in Kashmir, Rai and Zutshi end up in much the same trap as the nationalist historians they rail against: squeezing facts into a theory several sizes too small to contain them.

PRAVEEN SWAMI

United States Institute of Peace

OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

SALLY ENGLE MERRY and DONALD BRENNIS, editors. *Law and Empire in the Pacific: Fiji and Hawai'i*. (School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series.) Santa Fe: School of American Research Press. Oxford: James Currey. 2003. Pp. xi, 313. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

There is a dearth of work on American colonialism, Sally Engle Merry states in her book *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (2000), and this is even truer for comparative studies. Analyzing different histories of colonization can bear rich fruit, particularly in cases like that of Fiji and Hawai'i, which possess common characteristics. In both places, the natives lived in complex chiefdoms until Western sailors, missionaries, and merchants arrived. In both places, the chiefdoms accumulated power in the colonial encounter and—as Jane F. Collier argues in her contribution—transformed chiefs into authorities with power over land. Both islands were subject to imperial expansion, Fiji entering the British Empire in 1874 and Hawai'i becoming the first Pacific outpost of American

expansionism. In both islands, agricultural capitalist and white planters established a plantation economy that required imported workers, from India in the case of Fiji, from East Asia in the case of Hawai'i. And in both cases, the "ownership" of the land, as a hereditary resource of life, became of crucial significance for the identity of ethnic Fijians and of Native Hawaiians in the postcolonial era.

In spite of these commonalities, the outcomes of colonialism in Fiji and Hawai'i are strikingly different. While ethnic Fijians own the majority of land and successfully claimed political predominance in two coups d'état, Native Hawaiians are in a precarious position and at risk of losing their remaining land rights in a multiethnic state in which affirmative action, not to mention special entitlements, are contested on the legal principle of equal rights for every citizen.

The different paths Fiji and Hawai'i took under British and American colonialism were the subject of an advanced seminar at the School for American Research. This volume presents the diverse interpretations of legal anthropologists, historians, and social scientists from Fiji and Hawai'i, united by a common theoretical framework. The group had the good sense not to work with an ideal-typical dichotomy of British and American colonialism. Instead, the seminar emphasized that the way law was used "and the complex ways it defined power and property" is crucial for the explanation of the differences in the colonial histories (p. 8).

In three essays, John D. Kelly, Martha Kaplan, and Sally Engle Merry set forth the legal strategies by which subjects and property rights were defined, and as a result power, citizenship, and identity assigned, in Fiji and Hawai'i. While the British governor in Fiji set up a system of indirect rule, the white elite of missionaries and merchants in Hawai'i put through a liberal capitalist concept of property and private rights even before the coup that brought Hawai'i formally into the United States. The comparison sheds light on the history of colonial regimes more generally, underlining the importance not only of law but also of particular figures and their decision-making capacities. Moreover, these essays demonstrate the significance of an intersection between property law and conceptualizations of "land" that extends beyond the Pacific. Decisions made about land in the nineteenth century, the authors show, shape postcolonial experiences in the twentieth century.

In Fiji, ownership of land was exclusively assigned to Fijians, while the royal prerogative left the governor with enough discretionary power to do whatever seemed necessary for the "civilization" and "economic development" of the colony. In Hawai'i, by contrast, land passed out of the hands of *kanaka maoli* (Native Hawaiians) at the same time as Hawaiians were incorporated into the political system by receiving the right to vote, albeit limited to male property owners. The apparently inclusive strategy created its own history of exclusion, in the denial of citizenship to the rapidly

growing group of Asian workers in the plantation era and in the restrictive property requirements for *kanaka maoli*.

The volume is not a simple legal history that describes different concepts of colonial law in Fiji and Hawai'i. Describing the current political conflicts about citizenship, land, and indigenous rights, the volume focuses much more on the question of how colonial legal strategies influence postcolonial debates. Following in part Michel Foucault, in part Bruno Latour, contributors Noenoe K. Silva, Annelise Riles, and Hirokazu Miyazaki (besides the already mentioned authors) deal with legal discourses as systems of colonial knowledge that are continually negotiated and that shape the way subjects perceive race and citizenship, define land and cultural identity, and argue for indigenous rights. The main theme that runs through the volume is the way precolonial, Polynesian worldviews of land and sea were reimagined and transformed. These views become the basis for claims to an inherited Fijian supremacy that culminated in two coups d'état; in Hawai'i, such views gave rise to native political movements that demand primordial Hawaiian rights.

The volume raises a difficult question: how shall anthropologists, legal scholars, historians, and any interested reader relate to claims of *aloha 'aina*, the love of land in Hawai'i, or to *itaukei/turaga*, the notion of god-given resources in Fiji, that became powerful metaphors for inherited rights to land, privileges, and sovereignty? Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio details the divergent historical interpretations of American colonialism in the contemporary Hawaiian sovereignty movement. Brij V. Lal, one of the fathers of Fiji's nonracial constitution, offers a bleak assessment of the political and racial cleavages following the coups.

In the end, the volume leaves the reader with an ambiguous feeling. On the one hand, the contributors to this volume are rightly critical of the ethnic Fijians who have denied rights to the Indian Fijian population. On the other hand, pointing out the torts of American colonialism, the volume presents the claims of the Native Hawaiians with empathy. The contrast causes the reader to wonder whether the arguments that can be made before the Supreme Court for Hawaiian rights will not lead to the racial and social cleavages that plague Fiji. The law, the contributors indicate, does not provide a straightforward template for action—or for history. At the end of his article, Osorio notes that “law in general involves compromise, and tradition can be so uncompromising” (p. 235). There is no easy way out, neither for the people of these islands nor for the historian, anthropologist, or legal scholar who approach the matter from a disciplinary perspective.

JUDITH SCHACHTER [MODELL]
Carnegie Mellon University

PHILLIP BRADLEY. *On Shaggy Ridge: The Australian Seventh Division in the Ramu Valley Campaign: From*

Kaiapit to the Finisterres. (The Australian Army History Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 284. \$45.00.

The Pacific War does not enjoy the level of public or scholarly awareness, much less understanding, accorded World War II in Europe. There is no agreement over when it started (Pearl Harbor marks merely the belated entry of the United States) nor of what brought the Japanese to surrender in 1945, nor is this the place to revisit complex arguments over the role of the atomic bomb in that process. Between those two points, there exists what one Australian historian, speaking of the New Guinea campaign, described as a “green hole.”

That hole will take some filling, and the work needs to be done at various levels and in different areas. Non-American scholars and readers are depressingly familiar with the inability of U.S. scholars generally to notice that anyone else participates in “their” wars, and the war against Japan is an excellent case in point. Ignorance of that war and of the ordeal of fighting in places like New Guinea (or Burma, come to that), is common among the postwar generations of all nationalities, and one of the particular strengths of Phillip Bradley's book is the way in which he gets into the nature of the experience as that was endured by small groups of relatively young men in appalling terrain and climatic conditions, facing a skillful and tenacious enemy for whom New Guinea was every bit as hellish an experience (more than 100,000 Japanese died there, many through disease or malnutrition, and some units suffered ninety-seven percent mortality rates).

The Japanese were cleared from Papua in 1942 through Australian efforts overwhelmingly, and much of the hard, heavy ground combat in New Guinea in 1943 fell to the Australians as well. These operations were enabled and sustained by extensive U.S. air and naval support, and indeed could not have been mounted without it (although it is worth noting, in passing, that in General Douglas MacArthur's communiqués victories were always American while defeats were always “Allied setbacks”). Conforming to MacArthur's intention, U.S. forces were then used to drive north to the Philippines in 1944 (and from there onward to the home islands) from the secure base established in their rear and with the Japanese 18th Army rendered strategically impotent as a result of the Ramu-Markham campaign (to give it its more official title).

Bradley's account moves easily between such higher-level considerations and the overall rationale for the campaign, and the sub-unit level, where “ordinary” men feature prominently and, where appropriate in these pages, in their own words. This focus on the lower ranks and the tactical level of the conflict is a strong and familiar suit in Australian writing on war, stretching back to C.E.W. Bean, the official historian of Australia's effort in the war of 1914–1918. Those not needing the “worm's eye view” and relentlessly

tactical emphasis of his treatment may be inclined to dismiss Bradley's book, especially since it lacks any "theory" of combat motivation or exposure and its aftermaths. (Frankly, we have too much of the latter, too often written by people who have never experienced it.) To do so would be a mistake, for one of the strengths of Bradley's well-written, thoroughly researched and documented account is that it places the experience before the reader with as little garnishing as possible, and without the author constantly intruding himself into situations of which he is personally innocent.

The recent urge to lionize the so-called "Greatest Generation," at least in public and popular cultures and especially within the United States, seems to take place without any real contextualized understanding of what it is that this generation of Americans, or Australians, or Japanese actually went through. In a year (2005) of sixtieth-anniversary observances of the end of the war in Europe, the liberation of the murder factories of Eastern and Central Europe, and the final chilling battles in the Pacific as the fighting drew closer to the sacred soil of Japan itself, it is time to try to come to grips with the reality of the events themselves. Bradley's excellent book makes its own small contribution to that process.

JEFFREY GREY
University College,
Australian Defence Force Academy

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

ANTHONY S. PARENT, JR. *Foul Means: The Formation of a Slave Society in Virginia, 1660–1740*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, with the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. 2003. Pp. xiv, 291. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

This multicultural history situates colonial Virginia firmly with the Atlantic slave culture of the time. While sensitive to the English antecedents of plantation culture and the colonists' interaction with each other and with Native Americans, Anthony S. Parent, Jr., makes his most valuable contribution in his portrayal of the African slave community as major initiators of the political, economic and theological developments of the time.

Parent begins with a tribute to the thesis that Edmund Morgan expressed a generation ago: that black slavery and white freedom constitute the essential paradox of American history, and that this paradox originated in Virginia. However, Parent believes that Morgan focused too exclusively on Bacon's Rebellion of 1676 as the genesis of that contradiction. Therefore he asks how the paradox unfolded during the intervening century until the Declaration of Independence. He finds two important developments. The first is that the emerging plantation elite planned its slave system carefully. It was not a haphazard process but was based

on deliberate decisions and painstaking implementations. More importantly, however, the slave community relied on its own African heritage to generate such a powerful resistance to enslavement that Parent believes much of the revolutionary generation's thought concerning freedom was a deliberate refutation of the slaves' position.

While Parent acknowledges the decline of the Anglo-Irish pool of indentured servants as an influence on the Virginians' turn to the slave trade, he also elaborates positive reasons for the attraction to African labor. Many of the slaves had extensive experience of farming in West Africa. Many had already grown tobacco, which was not raised in the British Isles. Their experience of agriculture along the African coast equipped them well to deal with the conditions of tidewater Virginia. For instance, by the seventeenth century they would have had far more familiarity with forest husbandry and wilderness clearance than farmers from the British Isles. The skills of African farmers made Virginia agriculture work. This was another paradox: the political fear that the elite had of the slaves did not prevent their strong openness to learning from the slaves' technological and economic skills.

Parent believes that the first generation of slaves was already familiar with Christianity upon arrival in Virginia. Even if they may not have professed the religion yet, they would have heard much about it from missionaries along the African coast. They certainly knew of its ancient tradition that it was immoral to enslave baptized believers in Jesus Christ. Their eventual conversions to the faith became a basis for slaves' claims to the same freedom, property, and security as the godly English. Indians and mixed race people found the religion compelling for similar reasons. Slaveholders responded with a patriarchal definition of Christianity that emphasized social control over individual liberty. The slaves reacted with the Chesapeake revolt of 1730, which Parent believes was inspired by a Christian sense of freedom.

Greater theological context would be helpful here. The conflict that Parent outlines was not original to Virginia but present in the New Testament itself. Between the radical egalitarianism expressed in the Gospels, especially the Synoptics, and the social conservatism of the epistles, especially the Pauline letters, there has always been disagreement concerning Christian definitions of freedom. Parent should pursue scholarly dialogue with ecclesial historians of twentieth-century Latin America, where the same conflict emerged in dramatic form within the Roman Catholic Church during the liberation theology movement.

While Parent's emphasis on the extent to which the plantation elite defined liberty in reaction to the slaves' definitions is a valuable corrective to the emphasis on liberty's European antecedents, he needs greater consideration of how the Enlightenment itself reacted against the slaves. Is it not possible that the difficulty of refuting the black Christian case against slaveholding was a major reason why writers like

Jefferson found natural law to be an attractive alternative? This would have been a far more effective way to argue that African Americans were not suited for the rights and responsibilities of a free people, as Jefferson asserted in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785). There is a need for more research on this point. The slack Christianity and religious skepticism of founders like Thomas Jefferson is often ascribed to their deism, but they might have been deists precisely because Christianity seemed to undermine their slaveholding.

THOMAS MURPHY, S.J.
Seattle University

ROBBIE ETHRIDGE. *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 369. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

Anthropologist Robbie Ethridge has mustered impressive interdisciplinary skills to reconstruct what she calls "a distant, lost world—the world of the Creek Indians at the close of the eighteenth century" (p. 1). Through an imaginative use of archaeological and documentary records as well as some oral traditions, her book recovers daily life in a country that was integrally part of the modern world system. The writings of Benjamin Hawkins, U.S. agent to the Creek Confederacy from 1796 to 1816, constitute the main source for a detailed description of Creek country, from which Ethridge is even able to create maps that capture the local arrangement of villages and fields, archaeological sites, and topographical features of the surrounding landscape. Drawings by Basil Hall are also effectively utilized.

Ethridge begins her inquiry by exploring the origins of the Creek Confederacy. The shattering of Mississippian chiefdoms in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries resulted in the formation of "coalescent" societies, and various groups merged to become the Creek Confederacy without losing all of their distinctive identities and languages (p. 23). By the late eighteenth century, Creek country included seventy-three towns in the Chattahoochee, Flint, Tallapoosa, Coosa, and Alabama river valleys and encompassed more than sixty thousand square miles in the heartland of the American South. To depict how the Creek people interacted with diverse ecosystems, Ethridge weaves together contemporary accounts with studies of flora and fauna. The reader is consequently brought up close to swidden agriculture on fields in the floodplains and to the hunting and gathering activities in the mixed forests located around Creek towns. Social and political organization is also included in Ethridge's study, so we see how various divisions were bridged by kin relationships and township structures. Central towns called *Talwas* and smaller affiliated villages or *talofas* were the basic political units of the Creek Confederacy, maintaining their autonomy during development of a Creek National Council. Clans consti-

tuted the cohesive social units of Creek life, even permitting some assimilation of whites and blacks. Ethridge traces the travel and communication routes that linked Creek communities to colonial American population centers on the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico seaboards. Interaction with trade and military personnel, along with hunting and grazing, constituted an important dimension of daily life in the hinterland of Creek country.

Ethridge explains social and economic change in Creek country with nuance. She shows how the Creeks selectively adopted technology and practices introduced by Europeans without abandoning their matrilineally controlled fields in alluvial floodplains. The adoption of ranching, however, led to a dispersal of Creek families away from major river valleys and onto lands bordering secondary streams. Raising livestock for the commercial economy helped mitigate effects of a weakening deerskin trade, and Ethridge even discerns in late eighteenth-century documentary evidence "a commercial aggressiveness" among women in pursuit of their own interests. "With ranching money," she argues, "Creek women garnered a purchasing power that the old gender roles had denied them" (p. 162). Overgrazing depleted giant river cane and caused villagers to spread out across the countryside, but Ethridge minimizes the impact by noting how the archaeological record suggests that "settling on individual farmsteads was nothing new to the Creeks" and how Creek people "held fast to their township identities and political structures into the twentieth century" (p. 172). The real danger was that settlement on the smaller alluvial floodplains placed the Creeks in direct competition with frontier Americans, whose livelihood they now resembled.

The last few chapters of the book identify powerful forces facing Creek society at the end of the eighteenth century. Practices and principles of frontier exchange were disturbed by the infiltration of private property and wealth through elite Creeks. Economic diversification also occurred as men and women turned to wage labor, cloth making, livestock raising, small business, and horse stealing. Linked inexorably to the Atlantic economy, however, the Creeks found these alternatives not fully effective in meeting their consumer needs. Pressures and machinations to cede land to the United States consequently became more difficult to resist. Over the first decade of the nineteenth century, tension with frontier settlers mounted as they moved onto Creek land and as state governments refused to stop them. Representing the federal government, Hawkins was unable to protect Creek interests. An escalation of violence eventually led to the military defeat of the Creek Confederacy and the painful loss of territory.

Because Ethridge organized her book into eleven chapters addressing discrete aspects of livelihood and landscape, it has an encyclopedic quality that slightly mutes the analysis. There is some repetition in coverage, and lines of inquiry are sometimes interrupted.

But the creative use of an array of sources, especially Hawkins's *Sketch of the Creek Country* (1799), makes this book a remarkable contribution. We can now visualize what Creek communities looked like and feel the rhythm of their daily life, following a century or more of involvement in colonial trade and diplomacy.

DANIEL H. USNER, JR.
Vanderbilt University

DAVID HACKETT FISCHER. *Washington's Crossing*. (Pivotal Moments in American History). New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 564. \$35.00.

According to David Hackett Fischer, Emmanuel Leutze got it right in his famous painting. Not only was George Washington really standing up (the boats were flat-bottomed and ankle-deep in icy slush), he was a stand-up guy. The "high example" he and his soldiers set should inspire us. Debunkers need debunking, for "in the late twentieth century, too many scholars tried to make the American past into a record of crime and folly" (p. 379).

Fischer prefers Homeric paeans to "brave" soldiers, Washington's "muscular legs," and his "broad roman nose." But all is not lost in praiseful prose. Fischer knows how to make an argument. In the introductory chapters on the American, British, and Hessian armies who met in the mid-Atlantic region in 1776–1777, he applies his thesis of four distinct Anglo-American freedomways that melded in an American "army of free men" who joined together against the "forces of order." Fischer argues, though without much proof, that the war was a "clash of principles, not primarily a conflict of power or interest," at least in the writings of the soldiers themselves. In the book's conclusion, he maintains that out of these events and this culture clash between the less open British system and the more open American system came much of what is good in American history: civilian control of the military, a pragmatic way of war, and a humanitarian emphasis on preserving life, including that of the (presumably white) enemy. Fischer does not note that the American patriots had an interest in portraying their revolution in these best of possible terms. He regularly downplays anything that makes the American cause look less than noble or idealistic, such as slavery. This is the heroic, defensive, northern coastal war, where gallant planter elites lead plucky Yankees assisted by sharpshooting frontiersmen and invent a hybrid American character in the process. Absent from the stage are aspects of the war emphasized by other scholars in recent years: the pillage of Native American villages, ordered and carried out by the some of the same generals lionized in this study; the role of slave revolt in precipitating Virginian leadership; the greed for frontier lands as a motivating factor; and the simple but overriding "struggle for power," in Theodore Draper's terms.

Nevertheless, Fischer's willingness to give equal time to the British and the Hessians leads to illumi-

nating contrasts, balanced as it is by his equal-opportunity respect for brave men in arms. He explains why so many Hessians fought for the British in light of the political economy of Hesse-Cassel, a poor, war-torn region whose ruler lowered taxes and subsidized improvements by renting out soldiers. With a similar sensitivity to social and political context, he conveys the challenge of unification faced by the Continental forces. The problems of 1776 set up the disasters of the New York campaign and magnify the importance of the winter's reversals. Fischer's analysis of strategy and tactics in the New Jersey campaign is especially illuminating and convincing. The countryside's turn against British occupation made as decisive a difference as Washington's successful crossing. More subtly and more effectively than his brief for cultural superiority, Fischer argues that the usual contrast of ineffective militia and gradually victorious Continental army—a contrast usually supported with ample quotations from Washington himself, and cast as American versus European styles of warfare—is overdrawn. Washington learned to capitalize on the militia's strengths and to deal with members' characteristic comings and goings. The offensive-defensive strategy was pragmatic, hybrid, and learned (adaptive), if not learned (schooled).

After telling the stories and detailing the contingencies, Fischer again ascribes causation to culture: Lord Cornwallis's failure really to listen to subordinates is defined as quintessentially European, while Washington's encouragement of "freewheeling" discussion in councils of war is celebrated as a reflection of American diversity and a "plurality of elites." That it may have been, but Fischer neglects a simpler explanation. The tide turned when the British forces started to try to cover and occupy rural ground, as it would again later. When the American Revolution became a civil war that moved beyond Boston and New York (or Concord and Brooklyn), Americans had opportunities they did not have when it was a matter of protecting the port cities. Focusing on this admittedly heroic and pivotal winter—and ignoring the ugly, violent, triracial war in the south that would follow—may limit as much as it advances understanding.

Despite its fallacies, this book deserves a wide and a specialized audience. Its problems are food for thought; its candor and boldness, earned by tremendous research, are often clear and refreshing. Most readers will find it simply delightful; many scholars of the American Revolution will find it maddening and yet indispensable. We can be glad that Fischer still attacks our fallacies and commits his own.

DAVID WALDSTREICHER
Temple University

JOHN LAMBERTON HARPER. *American Machiavelli: Alexander Hamilton and the Origins of U.S. Foreign Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 347. \$30.00.

Alexander Hamilton was the founder of realism in U.S. foreign policy. Republics, he believed, were not inherently more peaceful than monarchies. Nations, like individuals, act from offended honor as well as self-interest and thus should not needlessly provoke opponents. A militarily and economically vulnerable power, like the United States in the 1790s, must recognize its constrained options. Above all, it should not assume that its location or its republican principles exempt it from the kind of power politics practiced throughout the world.

John Lamberton Harper draws explicit parallels between Hamilton's thought and life history and that of Niccolò Machiavelli, the father of European realist statecraft. Harper does not claim that Hamilton was directly influenced by Machiavelli; secondhand influence (e.g. David Hume) is sufficient (p. 6). More important is similarity of situation: both Florence in 1500 and the United States in the 1790s were fledgling republics caught in the crossfire between warring great powers. This led Machiavelli and Hamilton independently to reason their way to strikingly similar conclusions.

Harper's portrayal of Hamilton-as-Machiavellian is mostly sympathetic. Hamilton, he argues, had a far better understanding of America's strengths and vulnerabilities than did Thomas Jefferson, whose bellicose anti-British policy Harper compares to that of a gambler with an empty bank account (p. 62). But he concedes to Hamilton's critics that Hamilton's pose of neutrality between France and Britain during the 1790s was false, indeed a piece of Machiavellian deception. Machiavelli himself consistently advised against neutrality (p. 103). Hamilton likewise rejected neutrality and consistently tilted toward Britain, yet in a way that fostered "in the public mind the appearance of absolute evenhandedness" (p. 170).

In at least one case, Harper's Machiavelli-Hamilton parallel is perfect. In 1500 Cesare Borgia "requested" to cross Florentine territory with his military on his way to Rome. Should Florence formally consent to something it was powerless to prevent? The United States faced exactly the same situation in the Nootka Sound crisis of 1790, which brought Britain and Spain to the brink of war in North America. British plans for an assault on New Orleans would have required sending troops across U.S. territory. Jefferson's advice to George Washington—the United States should refuse permission to Britain, but not resist—is exactly what Machiavelli advised against (pp. 81–82). Hamilton's advice was exactly parallel to Machiavelli's: the president should either explicitly grant permission or be prepared to resist Britain with force; Jefferson's middle position was both humiliating and dangerous (pp. 82–85).

Harper also discusses Hamilton's role in the foreign and domestic crisis of 1798–1799, when he sought to create an effective American military. Harper concludes that Hamilton did have "Machiavellian" designs against Spanish territory and probably "planned for,

and tried to hasten a conflict with France and Spain" (p. 229). By contrast, he argues that Hamilton did not intend to use an army principally for domestic repression in a way that would have provoked a civil war (pp. 234–35).

Harper's Hamilton-Machiavelli parallel is usually convincing and insightful but occasionally rings false. Harper's comparison of the religion passages from Washington's Farewell Address (which Hamilton drafted) with Machiavelli's advice that a prince should disingenuously appear "all piety, all faith, . . . all religion" seems forced (p. 175). The same goes for his suggestion that Hamilton fiercely opposed Aaron Burr because he "saw the looming shape of a rival prince" (p. 261). Hamilton's fear that Burr would destroy the republic deserves somewhat more emphasis.

Hamilton's legacy for present-day American foreign policy, Harper argues, is double-edged, lending support to either cautious restraint or bold action. But Hamilton would be skeptical of the dogma that a democratic world is a peaceful world, and would warn against "failing to fathom the impact of one's actions on others" (p. 275).

One of the strengths of this work is detailed examination of correspondence and documents overlooked in other treatments of the diplomatic history of the period. The Machiavelli-Hamilton comparison itself is extremely interesting and reveals new aspects of Hamilton's thought and statecraft even as it underplays others (like Hamilton's constitutionalism). This work will not command universal agreement, but it breaks important new ground and honors (in the scholarly domain) Machiavelli's maxim that it is better to be bold than cautious.

JAMES H. READ

College of St. Benedict

STEPHEN HOWARD BROWNE. *Jefferson's Call for Nationhood: The First Inaugural Address*. (Library of Presidential Rhetoric.) College Station: Texas A & M University Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 155. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$14.95.

Americans, hungry for words, ideals, and guidance from the nation's real and imagined past, have, from the day Thomas Jefferson's first inaugural address was delivered and then rapidly printed in newspapers, magazines, and satin broadsides, elevated this masterful speech to iconic status. John West Butler, a Federalist from Annapolis, Maryland, wrote to Jefferson in praise of the "wise, virtuous, and liberal conduct" that his "'Address' promised in such clear, nervous, and elegant language." Successive generations of American leaders—Whigs, Progressives, Democrats, and Republicans—have sought to bolster their own legitimacy by appealing to Jefferson's mantle and eloquent language.

Stephen Howard Browne, the author of several works on political rhetoric, aims in this book to examine the "origins, composition, meaning, and de-

livery" of Jefferson's first inaugural (p. 5). Each of three chapters takes a phrase from the address and uses it to illuminate a particular Jeffersonian theme. "Brethren of the same principle" becomes Browne's platform for discussing the language of political party and the partisan struggles of the 1790s. The speech was "an ingenious political performance," as Browne rightly argues (p. 49). Although Jefferson's words were meant to reassure Federalists that "every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle," his overall performance (text and inaugural ceremony) was indeed what we would now see as "partisan," and brilliantly so. Browne notes that Washington's Farewell Address had indicated real fear about the divisive factionalism in the American political community and wonders whether Jefferson, with his "euphemistic language," was, "not altogether ingenuously, glossing the problem to make it disappear" (p. 35). On the contrary, Jefferson was not glossing or making light of the problem. He *had* been anxious, but the stunning Republican victories in the New York City elections in May 1800 and the successful congressional contests in the autumn reassured him. He did not sound anxious on March 4, 1801, because he looked forward with confidence to a democratic-republican future. For this reason Jefferson was quite sincere when he embraced federalists as republicans, but it was precisely his ability to do this with such aplomb that frustrated his enemies beyond belief.

Chapter two explores the phrase "the strongest government on earth" as an avenue to a discussion of the eighteenth-century political theories that shaped Jefferson's beliefs. Browne asks what kind of a political theorist the third president was and finds his achievement in his ability to hold in balance two sets of very different republican principles (p. 51). The third chapter seizes the elegant phrase "the circle of our felicities" as the springboard for what I find to be the strongest section of the book. Here Browne captures the genius of the address: "A speech about politics, it offers as well a politics of speech; it is a rhetorical expression of the republican creed, and the republican expression of a rhetorical creed" (p. 95). This hits the nail on the head.

This book is a beginning, but it is not the contextualized, well-written analysis of the rhetoric of the first inaugural that students, scholars, and the public still need. Browne refers throughout to "Jefferson's text," but in fact three very different texts in Jefferson's hand are extant. One of these Jefferson gave to printer Samuel Harrison Smith the morning of his inauguration for publication that day, and it is the basis of successive printings. These versions, with their variations and emendations, are handsomely presented, in facsimile and printed transcription, in Noble E. Cunningham, Jr.'s *The Inaugural Addresses of President Thomas Jefferson: 1801 and 1805* (2001). Cunningham's study of reactions to the address, in America and abroad, testifies to just how powerful its rhetoric was.

Jefferson's choice of words, phrases, and sentence structure was never accidental. He revised and revised what he wanted to say, struggling to get the words just right, deleting passages and interlining others, and moving sentences from one place to another. He had been thinking about the key principles expressed in the address for years. He had long been grappling, for example, with what it meant to be a "federalist" or a "republican." After the elections of 1792 he wrote of those who "felt themselves republicans and federalists too" (to Thomas Pinckney, December 3, 1792), and six years later he told John Wise that "both parties claim to be Federalists and Republicans, & I believe with truth" (February 12, 1798). The rhetorical power of the famous "we are all republicans: we are all federalists" derives from the way in which Jefferson had struggled not just with the meaning of the words in the new era but with their very order.

BARBARA B. OBERG
Princeton University

ANDREW SHANKMAN. *Crucible of American Democracy: The Struggle to Fuse Egalitarianism and Capitalism in Jeffersonian Pennsylvania*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. xii, 298. \$34.95.

Some questions just never go away—and rightly so. To many historians trained in the "consensus school" of the 1950s, capitalism and democracy were two sides of the same coin. Many subsequent scholars, rejecting that premise, nevertheless have sought to explain how the two became fused. Prominent among them have been Joyce O. Appleby and Gordon S. Wood, who, in their distinctive ways, traced the fusion to the revolutionary period and its aftermath. In this important new study, Andrew Shankman acknowledges an interpretive affinity with both of them. Like Wood, he sees capitalism and democracy as twin legacies of the American Revolution, and like Appleby, he sees Jeffersonian politics as the vector of a liberal democratic tradition. But he differs from both in his explanation of how a "democratic capitalist consensus" (p. 221) emerged. It arose not from an established liberal tradition or as an outturn from the politics of the revolution, but from the political struggles of the early republic. This was a "tortured and contingent" (p. 238), even paradoxical process, in which politicians ended up with something none of them had intended to achieve.

Pennsylvania—the early republic's most proto-capitalist place—was an arena for the fusion of capitalism and democracy because after 1800 most of its politicians were Jeffersonians, committed to rule by "the people." Having defeated the Federalists, Pennsylvania's Jeffersonians divided into factions that put the questions of democracy, equality, and opportunity at the center of debate. Urban radicals sought to keep power away from elites by reforming the legal system and introducing direct democracy. They attacked as

“aristocrats” their fellow Jeffersonian “Tertium Quids,” who came to see the best hope for democracy in economic development and prosperity. Radicals first allied with rural supporters of Simon Snyder, but in the gubernatorial campaigns of 1805 and 1808, which saw Snyder first narrowly defeated and then elected, radicals, Snyderites, and Quids emerged with three views of the relationships between popular politics and economic activity. Over time, Shankman argues, the radicals were marginalized for notions dangerous to property rights, but Quids and Snyderites stumbled toward a consensus, in which the pursuit of growth and prosperity outweighed anxieties about inequality. Having espoused freedom as an instrument of equality in struggles with the Federalists in the 1790s, many Jeffersonians found that the same principle would foster inequality as economic growth proceeded. Their consensus, which became a basis first for National Republicanism and then for the Whig Party in the 1830s, was forged not from first principles but from political contest and debate.

Shankman does a skillful job, turning a detailed narrative of political events in one state into a study of wider significance. He remarks that he had started out knowing a good deal about Jeffersonianism and little about Pennsylvania, but that by the time he had finished this was the other way round. Readers might well agree. His book issues an intriguing challenge. If a consensus about capitalism and democracy did enter what Shankman calls “the American mainstream” by the 1820s, and if that process had been accomplished by political debate at state level, then how representative was Pennsylvania? Will comparable analyses in other states produce similar results? Shankman’s work provokes two kinds of reflection on that question. At several stages in his argument, he attributes the twists and turns of ideas to the process of political competition itself: the presence of a rival party or faction at a particular moment can shape the rhetorical ground on which any one group can stand. But if this was so, and if politics was primarily conducted at the state level, then was the emergence of any kind of national consensus more than a function of chance? Parallel studies to this, examining other states, will be needed to find out. But before historians rush to start these, they may want to consider whether politics alone is a broad enough arena for the creation of fundamental ideas in political economy. Were there not social, cultural, and economic circumstances across an array of situations, from households and workplaces, to public spaces and the public lands, in which ideas about democracy, equality, and capitalism were contested? Shankman’s achievement is to focus our attention on the task.

CHRISTOPHER CLARK
University of Warwick

DORON S. BEN-ATAR. *Trade Secrets: Intellectual Piracy and the Origins of American Industrial Power*. New

Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xxi, 281. \$38.00.

Although based almost exclusively on secondary sources and well-known collections of primary sources, Doron S. Ben-Atar’s book is a useful, well-written synthesis on an important topic. The book carefully establishes that early Americans, unofficially aided and abetted by the national and state governments, engaged in what we today call intellectual piracy. They claimed foreign inventions as their own, smuggled plans, models, and in some cases functioning machines out of Europe, and enticed foreign artisans to emigrate to America.

The book contains an introduction and seven chapters laid out chronologically and thematically. Chapter one provides legal and historical context. Chapter two argues that British support for colonial commercial development soon devolved into fear of economic rivalry. In chapter three, Ben-Atar argues that Benjamin Franklin established a “path not taken” (p. 77) by giving away his inventions free of charge and arguing that others should do likewise. Chapter four covers Americans’ largely successful pilfering of skilled artisans and machines from Europe, primarily Britain, during the Confederation. Chapter five discusses the role of intellectual property rights in the coming, formulation, and ratification of the U.S. Constitution. In chapter six, Ben-Atar describes the new federal government’s “brief flirtation with technology piracy” (p. 183): namely, Alexander Hamilton’s *Report on Manufactures* (1791) and his active support of the “Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures” (pp. 162–171). In chapter seven, Ben-Atar quickly brings the story up to the 1851 Crystal Palace exhibition, which showcased the superiority of American technology.

Although Ben-Atar mastered the most important literature related directly to his topic, there is little evidence that he has read widely in related fields. For instance, he frequently makes the untenable claim that “smuggled technology” (p. 213) spurred U.S. economic growth (pp. xviii, xx, 214). No consensus on the causes of U.S. growth exists, but technological piracy is not among the major contenders. If only technology theft could induce growth, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, and Burkina Faso would not be so desperately poor. Mere knowledge is of little value without the proper institutional structures in place—business, economic, financial, legal, political, and social—to turn know-how into marketable goods and services.

At best, stealing ideas can provide marginal benefit to economies ready to employ those ideas productively. As this book shows but does not acknowledge (p. 206), intellectual piracy was far from costless. Agents and spies had to be employed, officials bribed, artisans enticed, and numerous other costs incurred. In some cases, technology pirates may have found it cheaper to develop anew the knowledge that they stole at great expense.

As Ben-Atar demonstrates, it was market forces, not techno-larceny, that ultimately shifted the center of technological innovation to the United States. By 1800, artisans and others with technical know-how voluntarily flocked to America in search of higher living standards. Wages and profits were higher than in Europe, and the costs of business finance and business failure were much lower. Increasingly, technology, in the form of artisanal expertise, and finance, in the form of European portfolio and direct investment, came to America of their own accord.

Ben-Atar hints that there is something sinister about the fact that the United States engaged in technology piracy in the late eighteenth century but now is a leading advocate of intellectual property protection (pp. xv-xvii). America has definitely followed the self-interest of a majority of its citizens. When the United States needed technology it obtained the same by hook or crook. Now that it is the great fount of ideas, the United States tries to keep others from stealing from it. I would expect no less from a democracy. Moreover, there is a larger point here that bears on economic efficiency. Due to high transaction costs (shipping, insurance, taxes, fees, commissions), many of the technologies that early Americans stole did not injure European patentees because those inventors simply could not have profitably marketed their goods or services in the United States. So Franklin was right when he argued in the eighteenth century that the free dissemination of ideas was Pareto improving (i.e. that it helped some without injuring anyone). In our truly global age, however, firms can operate profitably internationally, so intellectual piracy does hurt their stakeholders (individual and institutional shareholders and bondholders, suppliers, distributors, and employees).

ROBERT E. WRIGHT
New York University

LAWRENCE A. PESKIN. *Manufacturing Revolution: The Intellectual Origins of Early American Industry*. (Studies in Early American Economy and Society from the Library Company of Philadelphia.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 294. \$49.95.

DAVID R. MEYER. *The Roots of American Industrialization*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 333. \$45.00.

The delineation of prime movers or forces in the economic and industrial development of the United States during the antebellum period is a bygone exercise. In the 1950s, at the height of the Cold War and competition with the Soviet Union, U.S. scholars sought and found lessons on economic modernization in the American past that ostensibly proved the efficacy of markets over state planning. Construct transportation systems (as Americans built railroads) to

enable market activity and spawn manufacture; rely on advantageous exportable commodities, as Americans grew cotton, to generate income for commercial and industrial progress: these were notions prominently offered at the time as keys to U.S. economic history and recipes for other nations. In recent decades, scholars have instead emphasized the unevenness of development and the very diversity of economic pursuits, and the issue of causality has been cast to the side. With their attention to "origins" and "roots," the books under review appear as throwbacks to an earlier literature. However, neither author engages in a crusade. While they share a prime concern for the genesis of American industrialization, they have also written remarkably dissimilar books.

Advocacy is critical to Lawrence A. Peskin. His book is devoted to early spokesmen for industrial development, a group of "revolutionaries" in his estimate, whose publicizing "played an important role in jump-starting large-scale American manufacturing" (pp. 1, 223). Peskin traces the first promotion of industry to the 1770s. With increased taxation on British imported goods, various voices arose on behalf of colonial production of wares; some took care to picture such manufacture as complementary to the British trade system, while others argued in anticipation of independence. At least one society emerged to offer awards for mechanical invention. With the outbreak of armed conflict, the Continental Congress and state governments considered measures and offered bounties for the manufacture of iron and guns. The Revolutionary War-era discussion, however, did not spur development, capital and labor scarcities effectively limiting any advance.

In the decade after independence, Americans tentatively embarked on greater market production of leathers, shoes, nails, rope, soap, beer and ale, and sugar and initiated ventures in textile manufacture. More notably, promotion of industry became pronounced, with the writings of such proselytizers as Matthew Carey and Tench Coxe, the formation of trade associations to press for protective tariffs, and the creation of societies devoted, as their titles variously indicated, to the "Encouragement" and "Establishing" of "Manufactures" and "Useful Arts." Peskin analyzes the positions and ideologies of the promanufacture advocates of the period and casts them as neither "liberal" nor "republican" but rather as "neomercantilist." Early promoters of industry proposed that the new nation be economically independent and administered by a strong central government and have a positive balance of trade and harmonious commercial, agricultural, and industrial sectors. To reinforce his portrayal, Peskin notes the strong merchant presence in the promanufacture movement and the shared interests of commercial wealth with artisans and journeymen. Peskin finds a similar worldview among late eighteenth-century promoters of productive agriculture (such as David Humphreys).

The early promoters of industry had little to show

for their efforts. Their own touted ventures failed, and during the first decades of the nineteenth century, American manufacture remained limited and at the mercy of geopolitical events. Advocacy, however, did not abate, and Peskin documents new organizations and government reports that sustained the drumbeat. He also notes emerging divisions. So-called mechanics' banks that emerged in the period to seed industrial enterprises proved to be institutions run by and for commercial interests. Peskin ends his book in the late 1820s with new calls for protective tariffs and the birth of the Whig Party.

The weaknesses of Peskin's study are easily cited. The original advocates of industry formed a small group and they were hardly revolutionaries. The author cannot draw a line between intellectual promotion and actual industrial advance; he couches his argument by concluding that promanufacture publicizing "may" have played a role (p. 223). The book is mercifully free of poststructuralist verbiage, but Peskin infers that the advocates created a discourse that validated industry. Yet, in this regard, sorely missing in his study is reference to the stiff ideological opposition that greeted the promoters. Conflict between merchants and manufacturing interests are also unexamined and whether the Whigs represented the fulfillment of the vision offered by early advocates of industry is an open question.

Peskin succeeds, however, in drawing attention to neomercantilist belief in the early republic; the harmonious political economic order embodied in the British imperial system remained a model for many (this was not simply, Hamiltonianism). While readers have to take on faith Peskin's contention that the promanufacture discourse was not suffused with liberal or republican notions, future studies of ideology in the new nation, following Peskin's lead, will have to take neomercantilism into account (and examine the play and tension among the three political economic visions).

Tench Coxe and societies to promote manufacture never appear in David R. Meyer's study of early American industrialization. People have places but largely as part of business and technological-information networks. Meyer's book is devoted to the impersonal forces behind industrial development in the antebellum period; it is the work of an accomplished historical geographer.

Meyer's treatment is rich in case studies of early manufacturing enterprise and statistical tables (for example, on the changing geography of invention). A brief account cannot do justice to the book. The major argument can be summarized as follows: a prosperous agriculture emerged in the new republic serving growing urban centers; with reduced food costs, rising real incomes and population expansion, demand grew for manufactured goods produced in both rural and city settings; specialized rings of agricultural production developed around urban centers; pre-existing but enlarging networks of wholesalers and retailers facili-

tated exchanges and also supplied cues for industrial production; and rivers and turnpikes readily handled the increased traffic of goods. In other words, the development of manufactures in antebellum America rested on thriving hinterland farming, population growth, and market progress, not on interregional demand or the export trade, and on wagons, not railroads.

Connecticut, not an obvious choice, provides an illustrative example for Meyer. By the 1840s, the state brimmed with hat, button, clock, and tin and brassware production. Development occurred not through Yankee ingenuity but rather through successful farming and locational circumstances. Farm products could be marketed east to Boston, south to New York City, and along the Atlantic coast through ports on Long Island Sound. As a result, the state benefited from a merchant group with wide market information. Distributional expertise furthered Connecticut agriculture and surplus income gained from successful farming and commerce both boosted demand for manufactured goods and served as the source of investment for local industry.

Meyer draws comparisons between textile production in Providence, Rhode Island, and Lowell, Massachusetts, for further illustration. Samuel Slater joined a circle of Providence merchants, machine builders, and mechanics to establish a wide band of textile mill villages in southern New England (an alliance fitting Peskin's portrayal). Poor energy sources may have contained technological possibilities, but limited financial reserves precluded Slater and his backers from building the large-scale, fully automated and integrated textile mills later established by the Boston Associates in Lowell and elsewhere in northern New England. The Associates also sponsored an intricate network of commission salesmen and jobbers that allowed Lowell broad cloth to dominate markets in the northeast and opening Midwest. Meyer makes note of an equally impressive national merchandizing structure developed for the marketing of shoes produced, with a mix of old and new technologies, in Lynn, Massachusetts. If there are revolutionaries in Meyer's book, they are the creators of distribution systems, although they assume their historic role in his presentation only with productive agriculture.

There are holes in Meyer's treatment of early American industrialization. Neither labor costs nor energy resources shape events. Successful farming and marketing, in this regard, cannot account for the persistence of craft manufacture in Philadelphia, the adoption of standardized parts production techniques in Connecticut or the full-blown textile mills of Lowell. Meyer can similarly be criticized for ignoring ideology, political economy, and culture (consumerism for him is purely a function of gains in real income). Yet his materialist method furnishes a much more encompass-

ing and firm guide to the development of American industry than Peskin's study of discourse.

WALTER LIGHT
University of Pennsylvania

RICHARD W. CLEMENT. *Books on the Frontier: Print Culture in the American West, 1763–1875*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, in association with The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 2003. Pp. 139. \$29.95.

An 1870 color lithograph appears on the dust jacket of this volume. It portrays a frontiersman clad in buckskin. He holds a pistol in his right hand, steadies a rifle on the ground with his left, and has a knife hanging from his neck. A statement from Emerson Hough in 1918 complements the image: "There, for a time at least, we were Americans. We had our frontier. We shall do ill indeed if we forget and abandon its strong lessons, its great hopes, its splendid human dreams."

The dust jacket reflects the author's old-fashioned ardor for his subject. Richard W. Clement aims to attract those general readers enamored by the frontier as well as those with a keen interest in books. Little that he says will surprise historians familiar with the arguments made by Richard C. Wade in *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790–1830* (1959), but academic specialists do not comprise his target audience.

Instead, Clement introduces readers to a number of interrelated topics in a book that runs less than 150 pages. He devotes much of the text to the careers of booksellers and publishers. In "The First Frontier," Clement focuses on James D. Bemis, who settled in Canandaigua, New York, in the early 1800s. "To the Mississippi and Beyond" emphasizes Joseph Charless who lit briefly in Lexington and Louisville before starting a long career as a publisher in St. Louis. Anton Roman, who moved from mining gold to selling books in San Francisco in the 1850s, is a key figure in chapter four (which is entitled "The Last Frontier" despite the fact that the settlement of much of the West occurred after the California gold rush). Such men produced works with practical applications for a regional market. Almanacs, guidebooks, school books, and song books, along with legal documents, became their stock in trade. Other topics, such as the bringing of the printed word to Native Americans and the meaning of books to overlanders and early settlers, receive brief but suggestive treatment.

Clement reserves the final chapter of his book for a look at such figures as Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett, and Buffalo Bill Cody. He shows the role they played in publicizing their own stories and how quickly the popular print culture of the day enlarged on those stories, turning the men into national icons. Clement believes that Americans can and should continue to find inspiration in the lives of Boone, Crockett, Cody, and others who manifested the frontier virtues of courage, initiative, and practicality. Sounding like the

historian Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893, Clement asserts the connection between the frontier experience and the American values of democracy, egalitarianism, and individualism. He only briefly indicates that another view of frontier history might now be dominant. Recognizing that "the facts of history may have punctured the vision created by this image of the frontier," he contends that "such realities are hardly pertinent" (p. 18). In his view, it is important for nations seeking to achieve and maintain greatness to possess a nationalistic vision. The frontier myth, now transformed into the American Dream, continues to motivate the masses of Americans today (p. 125). These statements seem more patriotic than analytical.

Nevertheless, the book has a redeeming feature. It contains seventy-two illustrations drawn from the rare book and special collections division of the Library of Congress. In addition to the sort of images one would expect, such as title pages, mastheads, and portraits, there are several that grab the reader's attention. These include glorious maps like the 1810 "Map of the United States, Including Louisiana," rollicking sketches like "The Way They Travel in the West," from the back cover of the 1840 *Crockett Almanac*, and printed versions of works of art like Alfred Jones's 1850 steel engraving, "Daniel Boone's First View of Kentucky," after a painting by William Ranney. One can tell that the author is someone who loves beautiful books.

This work will please general readers unfamiliar with the complexity of the debate about the frontier. Historians looking for illustrations will enjoy thumbing through it, as will anyone who appreciates a beautifully designed and printed work. Scholars with a serious interest in books on the frontier will find that this study presents a cursory treatment. They may wish to consult the list of "Further Reading" at the end.

CAROL A. O'CONNOR
Arkansas State University

PHILIP F. GURA. *C. F. Martin and His Guitars, 1796–1873*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xix, 250. \$45.00.

Philip F. Gura's book is a labor of love. The book itself is oversized, though not quite a coffee table book, generously illustrated in both color and black and white. From the dust jacket to the color plates that go with each chapter, warm-toned wood grains of old Martin and other American and European guitars from the nineteenth century invest the images with an almost tactile feel.

The text is based on a cache of documents that has barely been scanned before—Christian Frederick Martin's account books, ledgers and correspondence—kept at the Martin factory in Nazareth, Pennsylvania. Other books on Martin guitars refer to the existence of these documents but do not use them in a systematic fashion. Gura mines the archive for the American

years of the founder of the guitar company's life, 1833 to 1873.

There are significant gaps in the sources, particularly from 1840 to 1849, the first decade at the Nazareth factory. Martin himself remains somewhat of an enigma. The Martin archive is rich in business detail but yields little about Martin as a person. This is a history of a guitar business, not a biography, a point Gura makes clear at the outset.

Gura sets the stage by describing what the French labeled "guitarmania" in both Europe and America during the 1830s. Guitars and music were everywhere in antebellum America. Martin was there to supply the demand for high-quality instruments. Although the book does not purport to be a social history, Gura points out that guitars were a middle-class instrument; Americans could more easily afford them than more expensive pianos. He notes occasional black musicians and mentions minstrelsy in passing but has little to say about guitars and race. Women were central players in guitarmania, but there is no sustained gender analysis.

Martin learned to build guitars as an apprentice in a cabinetmakers' guild in Neukirchen, Saxony, and from a master Viennese guitar maker, Johann George Stauffer, during the 1820s. Gura maps out the interesting conflicts over who had rights to build guitars in Saxony: the cabinetmakers, who had developed the craft, or the violin makers, who had traditionally held a monopoly on the construction of stringed instruments. Perhaps partly as a result of that conflict, Martin immigrated to New York City in 1833 at the age of thirty-seven. There he set up a music shop, selling, repairing, and building instruments. In 1842, Martin moved to Nazareth, Pennsylvania. He kept his ties to the city but changed his focus to guitar making alone. Between 1842 and his death, Martin carved out a position as the premier guitar craftsman in the United States.

The middle chapters of the book track how Martin met the challenge of crafting and selling his guitars as revolutions in commerce, transit, and industry took place around him. He responded by breaking away from some of the European characteristics that were the hallmarks of his earlier guitars and developing a uniquely American instrument. He modernized his shop with steam power and streamlined production but never fully industrialized the process of making a guitar, which remained a craft rather than an assembly line product. This allowed Martin to maintain a quality in his instruments unmatched by competitors, who were able to produce more guitars than Martin but not at the same level of craftsmanship. Sometimes the competing guitar factories were truly innovative, and their guitars make some of the most intriguing illustrations and descriptions in the book. But it was the quality of Martin's guitars that allowed him to remain at the top of the business throughout the remainder of his life.

For many of the Nazareth years, Martin handled all the correspondence and sales himself. The book doc-

uments rapid changes in the transportation network as train lines and better highways cut down the cost and time of transit services and began to connect the East with the West and the South in ways on which Martin was quick to capitalize. As he grew older he began to sell more of his guitars to a single wholesaler in New York, leaving distribution matters to that house. His customers were slow to accept this new scheme, often seeking out better prices directly from Martin rather than going through his wholesaler. Ultimately, this plan left him time to consolidate his business, and increasingly he turned affairs over to his son.

This is a beautifully illustrated, well-written book that guitar lovers will want to read. Gura uses one immigrant's business—albeit, hardly a typical one—to open up a window on mid-nineteenth-century commerce. This in turn makes the book valuable to a wider audience of American historians and general readers.

RICHARD CULLEN RATH
University of Hawai'i,
Mānoa

ROBERT G. ANGEVINE. *The Railroad and the State: War, Politics, and Technology in Nineteenth-Century America*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 351. \$65.00.

Robert G. Angevine's book would be more accurately titled *The Railroads and the Army*. Angevine describes the relationship between the army and railroads in terms of a series of developmental phases. From the earliest rail construction up to the end of the 1820s, West Point produced surveyors and railroad engineers who played important roles in the growth of railroad companies. From that point until the Civil War, the army lost interest in railroads. The Civil War saw the beginning of army-railroad cooperation in response to belated recognition of the strategic importance of rail transport. Following the war, the army and the railroads in the West developed a relationship of "symbiosis," in which the army provided security in return for cheap transportation.

Across this chronology of development, Angevine tells three different stories, with varying degrees of success. The first consists of a finely crafted, thoroughly researched, well-written account of the development of the U.S. Army officer corps and military attitudes toward a new mode of transportation. Angevine is at his best here. His accounts of the jockeying for position within the military bureaucracy and its consequences for army rail policy have important lessons for military history, and for today. One is left to wonder what lessons might be drawn for current debates about reforming the military organization, the military procurement system, and the defense intelligence establishment.

The second story examines the influence of the army over railroad development. During the earliest period, Angevine shows how individual army officers took on the roles of surveyors for rail lines, and produced

books of rules for the regular operation of rail systems. What is not clear, however, is the degree to which those rule books were influential on railroad development thereafter. For example, Angevine jumps from a reference to books of rules created in 1804 to a head-on collision in 1841 that prompted the adoption of regular timetables, line regulations, and so on (pp. 90–91). But to what degree did the rules adopted in the 1840s borrow from the books authored by military men a generation earlier? Similarly, there is detailed discussion of the migration of officers moving to the civilian sector in the 1830s (pp. 93–96), but there is no indication of what percentage of all railroad managers were military or ex-military.

Moreover, from 1840 to 1860, the period of greatest railroad expansion, Angevine describes the army as essentially disengaged from railroads. When he gets to the creation of rail lines reaching the West Coast following the Civil War, Angevine has more to say, but with regard to the bulk of the nation's rail system one is left with the impression that if the question is "what was the influence of the army on the pattern of American railroad development?" the answer is "not much."

Angevine's third story attempts to describe his account of military-rail relations as "representative of the broader currents transforming the nation during the nineteenth century," and "the program of military assistance to railroads . . . fundamentally shaped the technological and industrial contours of nineteenth-century America" (p. 230). These claims hardly appear at all between the introduction and the conclusion, however, and where they do their treatment is woefully inadequate. To take one example, the abrupt failure of numerous state-run development projects and the subsequent default of many states on their bonds due to the Panic of 1837 is never mentioned. But this bit of historical experience was absolutely central in the preference for indirect support (e.g. land grants) over direct subsidization in later years, a preference to which Angevine attaches a great deal of importance.

Turning to political culture, Angevine assigns great weight to the proposition that there was "a deep reluctance in nineteenth-century America to sanction federal interference in private enterprise" (p. 79). But, of course, throughout the early antebellum period there were fierce debates in state legislatures over the propriety of state involvement in creating and then subsidizing corporations, and "the State" in the book's title is primarily found in statehouses, not Congress, throughout most of the period under consideration. Angevine says that in the post-Civil War-era railroads came to be seen as a mechanism for maintaining national unity, and "harbingers of civilization" (pp. 165–70), but these ideas were already widely in circulation in the 1830s, when states engaged in massive programs of support for rail development. By 1850, resistance to state support had largely vanished, and in 1860, the national platforms of the Republican and Democratic Parties and Breckenridge's alternative

Democratic platform all contained planks calling on the federal government to undertake the construction of a rail line to the Pacific.

It is always easy, and unfair, to complain that a book is not the one that the reader wishes the author had written, but in this instance the disappointment is engendered by the disconnect between the promises that the book makes and the content that it delivers. This is a shame, as the book that Angevine did write is in many ways a fine one, which should be of great interest to military and railroad historians.

HOWARD SCHWEBER
University of Wisconsin,
Madison

JAMES L. HUSTON. *Calculating the Value of the Union: Slavery, Property Rights, and the Economic Origins of the Civil War*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 394. \$45.00.

James L. Huston's book offers a sweeping interpretation of U.S. history during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that roots the causes of the Civil War in differing conceptions of property among northerners and southerners. Whereas southern slaveholders claimed the sanctity of property in enslaved humans, citizens in states north of the Mason and Dixon Line increasingly found such property contradictory to their ideal of "free village labor" (p. xiv). Five chapters survey popular political ideology with respect to property rights from the colonial period to the eve of the Civil War. These chapters treat southern defensiveness regarding slave property, the growth of antislavery and free-labor ideology in the North, and the escalating debate over the constitutionality of slavery expansion into the western territories. Two long chapters examine the political realignment of the 1850s.

Huston's overview of developing public opinion regarding slave property offers much useful information. His comparison of wealth and economic activity between the northern and southern states, for instance, reveals that both sections depended heavily on agriculture, although to vastly different ends. He echoes earlier commentators who emphasized the importance of slave property to the wealth of the South and the nation, and he effectively musters testimony from contemporary partisans of slavery to indicate the strength of their commitment to preserving it. Invoking the political philosophy of abstract property rights, South Carolinian Armistead Burt in 1851 justified secession as a means to preserve "the institution of African slavery, unimpaired and unmolested" and to assure for slaveholders "the quiet and undisturbed enjoyment of this species of property, as well as the means of making it profitable and desirable" (p. 185). In Huston's view, Alabamian William Lowndes Yancey's oft-quoted assertion that "Twenty-eight hundred millions of dollars" in slave property, along with the fate of "four millions of slaves" and "the social and

domestic relations of the eight millions of whites of the South," hung in the balance during the election of 1860, identifies "all the variables necessary to explain southern secession and the coming of the Civil War" (p. 24).

The chapters on the political realignment explore two phases of the process, the first occurring in the South after the Wilmot Proviso and the Compromise of 1850, and the second occurring in the North, particularly in the states bordering the Great Lakes, following the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. Chronology frames the analysis, with commentary from contemporaries filling in the interpretive details. Huston employs statistics sparingly but effectively to demonstrate the collapse of the old parties and the meteoric rise of the Republican Party after mid-decade. In these chapters, like the earlier ones and Appendix A (titled "A Theory of Political Realignments"), Huston argues that political realignments result not from ethno-cultural changes in the electorate or government economic policy but from "technological transformation that alters the expected income stream for a sizeable segment of the population" (p. 245). During the 1850s, northern champions of such transformation increasingly viewed southern slavery as an obstacle, while at the same time slaveholders viewed northern commerce and industry, and the complementary ideology of free labor, as antithetical to slavery and southern prosperity. Huston maintains that the Reconstruction amendments to the U.S. Constitution confirm that property stood at the center of the realignment. Whereas the Thirteenth Amendment assured the "triumph" of the northern regime of "free labor village society," the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments "had little relationship to the central issue of power derived from property rights" and hence proved "weak" (p. 235).

In pressing the argument, Huston at times overstates its main features, oversimplifies some of the details, and introduces distracting asides. Describing the constitution-making process as one in which "the wishes of northerners were lost while the desires of slaveholders were built into the structure" is likely to confuse more than it clarifies (p. 23). Further, it simply is not true that "[n]o northerner had a direct social or economic interest in preserving property rights in slaves" at the dawn of the Civil War (p. 49). Nor was it preordained "that a system of human relations founded in violence, nurtured by violence, and maintained by violence, while constantly augmenting wealth, could only be removed by violence" (p. 6). Finally, Huston too casually dismisses the impact of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments on southern and national politics in the period immediately following their ratification.

Although readers need not agree with every claim that Huston advances, they will appreciate this book's exhaustive treatment of the role that property rights

played in the demise of the Second Party System and the coming of the Civil War.

JOSEPH P. REIDY
Howard University

JOHN WOOD SWEET. *Bodies Politic: Negotiating Race in the American North, 1730–1830*. (Early America: History, Context, Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 486. \$49.95.

For more than a generation, historians of the American South have variously expanded on Edmund S. Morgan's famous thesis that, in the Chesapeake, American notions of freedom emerged alongside and in direct relationship to slavery. Of late, historians of the American North have made parallel claims. They argue that the North became free territory through racism and denial. The North defined freedom as exclusively white and also denied that slavery and African Americans ever played an important role in northern life. At once detailed and sweeping, social and political, archival and synthetic, John Wood Sweet's book is perhaps the most ambitious attempt yet to explain the origins of what Sweet deems "the Northern model: universal freedom but racial inequality" (p. 11).

Sweet nicely counterpoints breadth and detail. He alternates broad analysis with well-chosen vignettes and exhaustively researched local studies of significant communities. The book's first chapter, for instance, uses a major and bitter mid-eighteenth-century public dispute over who should inherit the chief sachemship of the Narragansett tribe in central Rhode Island as a vehicle to examine how Native Americans in the North attempted to adapt to the English. Throughout, Sweet is both sympathetic and refreshingly tough-minded. He rejects the now fashionable idea that Indian/white conflicts resulted largely from misunderstood cultural differences. Instead, he shows that the Narragansetts grasped English norms very well. The problem was less understanding than power—the political and legal deck was stacked even against Anglicized Indians owning and especially keeping land. Without land, Indians had little chance to assimilate on favorable terms, to preserve their way of life, or to create lastingly meaningful syncretisms. Sweet argues, indeed, that the many eighteenth-century English attempts to pin down Indian cultural differences clearly served English political purposes of extending colonial sovereignty into tribal matters and of stealing more and more territory.

Sweet is equally shrewd on slavery and race. He argues that the key issue regarding slavery in the North was the relationship of private to public. Masters tried to portray their relationships to slaves as an entirely private affair. By contrast, African Americans continually pushed to expose slavery's cruelties in an increasingly open and republican public sphere. In Sweet's view, the language of early northern antislavery, based on sensibility and moral empathy with the sufferings of

slaves, split the difference between private and public, with unfortunate consequences. Emancipation became a public issue cast in private language: "Sentimentality presented the problem of slavery not in terms of justice or equality but in terms of comfort and happiness" (p. 266). Sentimental antislavery set itself up for proslavery counterarguments that slaves were happy and contented. And sentimentality meant that northern white calls for emancipation and universal freedom would not be tied to demands for black civil and political equality.

Free but not equal, people of color were expected to fail. Scapegoats, they came to signify failure and profligacy in a northern white society that was politically more and more democratic but terribly anxious because economically more and more stratified. Dealing with this by now familiar story of racialization, democratization, and the market revolution in the early republic, Sweet is at his least original. He does make an important point about nonwhite agency: if there was less open conflict about race in the 1790s than, say, the 1820s, that was not because racial lines did not exist in the earlier period. It was because they were not being challenged much then: "Lines of color sparked violence only when they were crossed" (p. 313). They were frequently crossed by the 1820s: as is by now well known, northern African-American communities became stronger and much more assertive amid debates about safeguarding public order by packing free blacks off to "colonize" Africa. But Sweet merely notes the radicalization of African American and also Native American public discourse. He fails to consider how such protests might have shaped northern identities and citizenship.

Sweet probably sees antebellum northern blacks and Indians as remaining in a quasi-colonial relationship to whites. But he does not say so openly. Throughout, his reticence makes the book less interesting, and less developed, than it might be. Clearly, his agenda all along is to show that northern "freedom" is best seen as a product of colonialism. He drops no names and makes no theoretical pronouncements in the process, but for my money, this book is the best application yet to early American history of postcolonial theory. Were Sweet more explicit about his aims, the payoff might be a novel and persuasive reinterpretation of the antebellum slavery controversy itself as a postcolonial negotiation. It seems plain why Sweet chooses the implicit road. Sticking to his sources and to concrete analysis means that he will not be pigeonholed and dismissed. His understatement may help convince mainstream historians that colonial legacies constituted American ideas of free society.

BRUCE DAIN
University of Utah

JONATHAN DANIEL WELLS. *The Origins of the Southern Middle Class: 1800–1861*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 321. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

In 1847, Daniel Webster traveled to South Carolina to be honored by an organization of transplanted New Englanders. Jonathan Daniel Wells uses this obscure story to introduce his study of an evolving antebellum southern middle class. It is also not widely known that in the 1840s women in Gaffney, South Carolina, formed a literary society and named it for Connecticut author Lydia Sigourney. This is another example of the rich antidotal evidence Wells draws on to develop his thesis that, in the decades before the Civil War, a viable middle class arose in the South, made up of people who recognized commonality with their northern counterparts and interests that separated them from both the southern planter class and the working class.

Wells has a great deal to say about class formation. He convincingly challenges scholars, including C. Vann Woodward, who have identified the middle class as a force only in the postbellum South. He also establishes that middle-class southerners had strong ties with and admiration for their counterparts in the North. Wells acknowledges the value of his own work when pointing out that the antebellum southern effort to follow the northern path of economic development and the modernization of values "has largely escaped historical scrutiny" (p. 14). He presents a thoroughly researched and well-written account of this neglected aspect of the oft-studied Old South. A chapter on travel portrays a number of northerners living in the South who "earnestly attempted to bridge the gap between the North and the South" (p. 39). Wells's creative use of post office records demonstrates how much even southerners who did not travel had access to northern publications of all sorts. He challenges the common assumption that reform movements of the 1830s and 1840s made few inroads in the South. The concerted (albeit futile) efforts of merchants, bankers, lawyers, doctors, and ministers to end dueling in the South are, he claims, "testimony to the formation of a middle class" (p. 81). Indeed, all sorts of reform movements, voluntary associations and intellectual endeavors, hallmarks of the modernizing North, also flourished in the South.

Wells makes clear that historians have exaggerated the degree to which southern women were excluded from a nascent women's movement, claiming that, to the contrary, "the notion of separate spheres was contested and complicated in the Old South, as it was in the antebellum North" (p. 131). The chapter on women and families is especially rich with suggestions for future research. Wells also argues that historians have exaggerated the degree to which southerners opposed educational reform. Letters to Horace Mann from southern reformers are offered as interesting evidence of the effort to emulate northern schools. Wells forcefully argues that these middle-class southerners, carefully cultivating ties with northerners like Mann, were not deferential to the planter class. In the words of the author, the middle class "had concluded by the 1850s that the planter class was antagonistic to

its goals" (p. 200). They also clearly identified their interests as distinct from the laboring classes. "Ironically," the author argues, "it was the issue of slavery that most helped to draw greater distinctions between the middle class" and the working class (p. 179).

Slavery is not the central focus of this study of the antebellum South, but it is a profoundly important part of the story told here. When middle-class southerners determined that slave labor could accelerate economic progress, they alienated planters who preferred a monopoly over slave labor and working-class people who feared competition with slave labor. Thus, Wells argues, in the 1850s the white South did not enjoy the racial solidarity often assigned it. Although the middle class had successfully cultivated closer ties with the North, by the 1850s slavery undermined those ties as well. Wells does not offer a major new interpretation of the causes of the Civil War. He does, however, persuasively argue that understanding the needs and aspirations of the emerging southern middle class offers "an additional piece of the puzzle of Civil War causation" (p. 208). A variety of northerners had aided and supported the modernization and industrialization of the South, but when middle-class southerners determined to use slave labor to hasten the changes they wanted, northern support was replaced with hostility. Middle-class southerners, Wells claims, helped push the nation to war both "by destabilizing the southern social structure" and "by drawing the ire of northerners suspicious of a modernizing slave South" (p. 209). Bridges carefully built to unite northerners and southerners with common middle class interests "became the vehicle for the transference of mutual distrust" (p. 215).

Wells's focus forces some exaggeration of class distinctions in the antebellum South. Certainly some planters supported much of the middle-class agenda. Yet some distortion was necessary to delineate a group largely ignored in the massive historical accounting of the antebellum South. This important book should be required reading for students of the Old South and should be considered in any future synthesis. I hope that the author's thesis will soon find its way into textbooks. Graduate students will find Wells's book particularly valuable for the wealth of new research possibilities it suggests.

BESS BEATTY
Oregon State University

DAVID BRION DAVIS. *Challenging the Boundaries of Slavery*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. 115. \$18.95.

Delivered in 2002 as the Nathan I. Huggins Lectures at Harvard University, the three chapters of this short book offer smart aperçus, insightful nuggets from the master historian of comparative slavery. As the title suggests, David Brion Davis aims to make his reader rethink context, particularly of space and time. Thus, the first chapter takes a bird's-eye, panoramic view of

the origins of New World slavery, ranging over centuries and most of the globe; the second is a worm's-eye, microcosmic look at a single year, 1819, which Davis sees as a critical "foretaste of what American slaveholders and abolitionists would be up against" (p. 2); and the final chapter, reverting to a wider lens, probes African-American abolitionism and the overreaction of southern leaders, which Davis believes stemmed from their "fixation on the Caribbean" (p. 3). The chapters move forward in time and extend the limits of the North American continent. Using cinemascope, microscope, and telescope, Davis reveals North American slavery in a new light.

The first chapter is a tour de force. In just thirty breathtaking pages, Davis points to some key antecedents of New World slavery. Enslavement, he notes, was always "an important byproduct of intercontinental empires" (p. 7), and therefore ancient examples are relevant. Arabs and their Muslim converts were the first to develop a long-distance slave trade from sub-Saharan Africa, which rivaled or even exceeded its transatlantic counterpart in numbers of captives. Even though the Koran and Islamic law were essentially color blind, Islamic literature developed racial stereotypes about blacks that seem to have been transmitted from Muslims to Christians, from the eastern Mediterranean to Iberia. At the same time, within Europe, the northwest saw the rise of free labor nations while the Mediterranean witnessed a revival of slavery and the development of the prototypes—most notably sugar plantations—of New World colonization. Initially, Mediterranean slavery was dominated by "white" slaves from the Black Sea, but Turkish expansion cut off the supply, making sub-Saharan Africa the primary source. These were some of the critical preconditions for New World slavery, although Davis emphasizes that its development was not predetermined but was rather "haphazard, irrational, and episodic" (p. 23). Indian slavery might well have worked but for enormously destructive pandemics that nobody at the time could have predicted. European slavery would have been cheaper than its African counterpart, but a sense of unity among Christians of Western Europe blocked any revival of white slavery in the New World. Instead racial enslavement of people of African descent became an inextricable part of New World settlement, "the dark underside of the American Dream" (p. 32).

The next two chapters are less sweeping in scale. For Davis, the year 1819 marks "a kind of national rite of passage," a watershed, when many trends converged, leading to "a broad national consensus that the nation's contradictions involving slavery should be repressed or on occasion resolved by compromise" (p. 44). He couples two "models of flexible interpretation" (p. 54)—John Marshall's vision of a powerful federal government and William Ellery Channing's espousal of moral improvement—as harbingers of later challenges to proslavery readings of the Constitution and the Bible. The last chapter explores the connections

between abolitionism, led in key ways by African Americans, and the paranoid fears of southern slaveholders, who were increasingly obsessed with antislavery agitation. At the heart of those fears lay the specter of Haiti, the possibility of a "nuclear retribution" (p. 81) on the part of slaves. "Ironically," Davis concludes, "by continually overreacting to a somewhat neutral, complacent, and racist North, Southern militants created an *antislavery* North in the sense that many Northerners felt personally and justifiably threatened by an undemocratic Slave Power" (p. 90). The slaveholders' increasingly militant stance ultimately led to their own destruction.

Davis proves here that his mind is as subtle and vigorous as ever. This reader eagerly awaits more works from the greatest living historian of comparative slavery.

PHILIP D. MORGAN
Johns Hopkins University

HAROLD HOLZER. *Lincoln at Cooper Union: The Speech that Made Abraham Lincoln President*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2004. Pp. 338. \$25.00.

Harold Holzer has done more than produce a book about a neglected Abraham Lincoln speech; he has shown Lincoln delivering it, close up, impressing an audience of staunch antislavery men, most of whom opposed making citizens of those they wished to emancipate. Had Lincoln failed to gain their support, his party might not have nominated him for the presidency.

The story has one complication. Shortly after Lincoln arrived in New York, he learned that the location of his speech had been changed from abolitionist Henry Ward Beecher's Plymouth Church in Brooklyn to New York's Cooper Union building. The information unsettled Lincoln. What he had prepared "for Mr. Beecher's church folks" would never work for a general Republican audience. To one of his hosts he complained, "I must *re-write* my address in the main" (p. 73). Throughout the weekend, Lincoln revised.

On Monday night, February 28, 1860, Lincoln brought his new draft to a partially filled but excited auditorium. Straightaway he assaulted Stephen Douglas, who believed the Constitution's framers favored slavery's extension into the territories; Lincoln, by counting their votes on earlier and later slavery questions, showed the framers' overwhelming opposition to slavery's extension. In the second segment of his speech, Lincoln discussed the issues dividing North and South. Since neither side could recognize the merit of the other's position, the status quo was the only alternative to conflict. Lincoln concluded by calling on his party to reaffirm its policy of containing slavery, to resist compromise, and to fight to reserve America's new territories for free men.

The evening's event concluded, Holzer follows Lincoln on a midnight visit to the *New York Tribune* to ensure the accurate typesetting of his speech. He

accompanies him on his unanticipated eleven-day speechmaking tour throughout New England; then he follows him home, where Lincoln imagines himself president while meticulously editing the pamphlet version of his Cooper Union Address.

Holzer's book is powerful because it raises many issues about Cooper Union's role in Lincoln's presidential campaign. Lincoln's New York speech may or may not have made him president, but his words were important, and we do not know why his audience was so receptive to them. If, in fact, he went East "to create a sensation in the national media" (p. 86), did the delivery or content of his words make him sensational? What if Lincoln had caught the flu and depended on a less dynamic speaker to read his speech, whose wide print distribution was planned before he delivered it? How much weaker would have been its impact?

Many readers will wonder whether Lincoln's audience estimated him to be a radical or moderate Republican. Holzer declares that Lincoln's address was "conservative in tone, but liberal in message" (p. 139), "an ingenious attempt to make Republican principles *appear* nonthreatening" (p. 233). But to which principles does Holzer refer? Containment, not abolition, of slavery was the keystone of Republican policy. What made Lincoln's vision more progressive, more threatening, than his party's?

On the content of Lincoln's original speech, one can only speculate. He went to New York to campaign for the presidency, as Holzer tells us, but since he never spoke at Beecher's church, his revisions become important. If Lincoln had expected the New York audience to be more moderate than Beecher's, he might well have softened his prose, then hardened it when he toured the more liberal New England states. Had he spoken successfully to Brooklyn's more liberal audience, then his original speech, if more strident than his revision, might have disappointed his moderate party.

Questions about the Cooper Union Address cannot apply to Lincoln's more famous but less significant speeches: the Gettysburg Address and the Second Inaugural Address. Had Lincoln made different ceremonial speeches at Gettysburg and at his Second Inauguration, the course of history would have remained unchanged. Had he made a different political speech in New York—one too radical or too tame—the presidency could have gone to another man. This last point may or may not bear scrutiny, but no one can ever again write about Lincoln's rise to the presidency without coming to grips with it. Holzer's superb assessment of the Cooper Union Address's context, purpose, and consequence will therefore be a touchstone for future scholarship on the election of 1860.

BARRY SCHWARTZ
University of Georgia

THOMAS J. GOSS. *The War within the Union High Command: Politics and Generalship during the Civil War*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2003. Pp. xx, 300. \$34.95.

The Union army's several "political generals" populate—even dominate—almost everyone's list of the Civil War's worst field commanders. The military blunders of men like Benjamin Butler, Franz Sigel, Nathaniel Banks, John C. Frémont, and others have made them synonymous with military failure and served to underscore the foolishness of entrusting high command responsibilities to politicians rather than to West Point-trained professionals. Yet in this extended essay, Thomas J. Goss (himself a West Point graduate and a former Military Academy faculty member) argues that Civil War political generals have been given a bad rap. To be sure, their battlefield record was less than stellar, although Goss insists that it was not as bad as is often represented, but the real value of these men, he argues, was that unlike most of their West Point-trained counterparts, they recognized that winning the war was about more than battlefield victories.

Goss notes that President Abraham Lincoln appointed 583 general officers during the Civil War, only 217 of whom (thirty-seven percent) were West Pointers. The rest of them—the "amateurs"—got their jobs not because Lincoln necessarily expected them to win victories, but because he needed the support of the constituencies they represented. Far from being a gross error, Goss concludes that the appointment of these men made "a vital contribution . . . in rallying popular support for the war" (p. 47). Moreover, he argues that they were not as disastrous on the battlefield as popular myth suggests. Goss tries to show this statistically by citing the fifty major battles of the war, and noting that the win-loss percentage was not significantly greater for the professionals than it was for the amateurs. He concludes that "the stereotype linking of political generals and tactical debacles was not justified" (p. 88).

The nub of Goss's argument, however, is not that political generals were able warriors on the battlefield. Rather, he argues that they could envision the war more broadly as "a partisan political struggle" (p. 146) instead of a contest to win victories. Goss praises the work of Banks and Butler as effective administrators precisely because they possessed "traits few West Pointers valued or could match" (p. 143). He contrasts Butler's savvy management of the contraband issue, for example, with Burnside's "clumsy" (p. 151) handling of Clement Vallandigham. Only a few professionals—men like William Tecumseh Sherman, Philip Sheridan, and especially Ulysses S. Grant—came to see the importance of political factors in strategic planning. In effect, Goss sees the political generals as essentially Clausewitzian—"achieving the government's political objectives by the use of military force" (p. 171)—whereas most West Point-trained generals were Jominian: obsessed with victory on the battlefield.

Goss notes that West Pointers had the last laugh, however. After the establishment of the draft, and especially after Lincoln's reelection, the administration had less need for the support of political generals

and they were gradually replaced. By war's end, only a handful still held positions of any real authority. In Goss's view, the Civil War was a milestone in eroding the American tradition of the talented military amateur. The notion that professional expertise trumped the natural genius of talented amateurs left the post-war army in the hands of the professionals, where it has remained ever since.

Goss has not uncovered any new sources for his argument; instead he has recast the discussion to throw new light on an old question. Not everyone will agree with his conclusions, but his thoughtful reassessment is sure to attract the attention of military historians generally, and Civil War scholars in particular.

CRAIG L. SYMONDS
U.S. Naval Academy

MARTIN W. OFELE. *German-Speaking Officers in the U.S. Colored Troops, 1863–1867*. (New Perspectives on the History of the South.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2004. Pp. xviii, 320. \$55.00.

Martin W. Ofele's book is a well-underpinned and impressive piece of scholarship on an arcane but quite interesting subject. German Americans, while a quite heterogeneous group, were united in belief that U.S. colored troops needed well-qualified officers. There were approximately 1,000 foreign-born applicants for commissions in the U.S. Colored Troops, and slightly more than 400 of these came from German-speaking countries. Two hundred and sixty-five German-speaking immigrants eventually became officers in the U. S. Colored Troops, and 131 (49.4 percent) of these had been born in German states excluding Prussia.

Ofele elaborates quite well on the few German-speaking officers who did poorly (thirty-six faced charges before courts-martial, and nineteen of those were convicted). But with scant exception the others generally proved to be quite good officers. Many had prior military experience; nearly all of them took the study of military art and leadership seriously. They were eventually involved in every major battle in which the U. S. Colored Troops fought. They ranged in age from eighteen to fifty-two years when they received their commissions; their average age was twenty-eight, and slightly more than sixty percent were in their twenties.

Only a handful of these officers revealed their private feelings about serving with African Americans. First-hand accounts by black soldiers on this topic are equally rare. Some were racially prejudiced, but all in all the German-speaking officers interacted quite well with the black troops. Not a single immigrant was accused of deliberate or systematic abuse of his men.

That the units of black troops led by German-speaking officers were well regarded by high commanders is illustrated in the relative numbers of them that saw combat. Almost two-thirds of the 166 black regiments never saw action on a battlefield; but a vast percentage of the black units led by German-speaking

officers were committed to action. If doubts existed early about any unit's capabilities, they quickly dispelled due to good performances in conflict.

After the war's end, huge numbers of the German-speaking officers tried to stay in service, but—like all but four regiments of the black troops—the bulk of them were quickly discharged. Their Civil War service produced a boon, however, in that the German Americans were more speedily assimilated into American society. A few former officers even became well-known personalities, and Ofefe delineates their societal roles quite well. These included such men as Jacob Scholl, a bridge builder after the war and an active participant in Indianapolis politics; Friedrich Markle, called by one of his friends “a tried and true Republican”; Bavarian Andreas Grunewald, who became the county marshal in Washington, Missouri; and Carl Bonath, who was a schoolteacher, a merchant, and a civil engineer and also very active in local politics in Shakopee, Minnesota, holding several offices including justice of the peace. A thoroughly intriguing epilogue, entitled “War and the Black Troops in German-American Memory,” well probes the aftermath in both reality and myth.

HERMAN HATTAWAY,
Emeritus
University of Missouri,
Kansas City

DONALD R. SHAFFER. *After the Glory: The Struggles of Black Civil War Veterans.* (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. 281. \$34.95.

This informative monograph traces the postbellum lives of the black soldiers whose experiences during the Civil War have received extensive attention in recent years. The well-chosen focus illuminates the racial order during and after Reconstruction by closely examining a relatively well-documented group of ordinary African Americans, and it significantly enriches the scholarship that has explored the meanings of the war from the perspective of the veterans who embodied its legacy. As its title pun implies, the scholarly sequel to the movie *Glory* (1989) is more subdued than cinematic, but the story features many interesting characters and some important surprises.

Donald R. Shaffer investigates his veterans from several different directions. His evidentiary base includes two different study groups: a random sample of black soldiers followed primarily through pension files, and a set of veterans notable either for extant papers or for the availability of information in biographical dictionaries. He also draws on census data and the records of units of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) as well as a variety of other sources. His chapters combine wide-ranging thematic coverage with a sense of chronological flow. His account of the transition to peace, for example, describes the service of African Americans on garrison duty after Appomattox,

the process of demobilization, the cases of reenlistment in the regular army, the violence that black veterans faced in the South, and the efforts of ex-soldiers to use accrued pay to buy land and, in a few cases, to establish black veterans' colonies. Subsequent chapters turn to veterans' patterns of migration and economic activity, their participation in politics, their family lives, their access to the pensions and residential facilities provided to Union veterans, their position in the GAR and their creation of other networks, and their place in the Civil War memory fashioned through Memorial Day ceremonies, civic monuments, and popular histories. Throughout the survey, Shaffer illustrates his general arguments with compelling portraits of individual veterans.

Shaffer's most striking observation is that for all of the ideological weight attached to black military service during the Civil War, and for all of the pride it inspired, long afterward among African Americans, veterans' separate influence in black society was relative short-lived. They were a substantial force in early postwar political mobilization and stood at the center of the demand for suffrage, but only in Louisiana did they constitute a disproportionate share of black officeholders during Reconstruction, and nowhere did they express a distinctive political point of view. Similarly, Shaffer places veterans at the forefront of the postemancipation formalization of slave marriages, which added the patriarchal biases of the law to the increased prestige that men derived from military service, but he stresses that the persistence of informal marital arrangements enabled black women to mitigate the restructuring of gender relations. He also argues that African Americans extended veteran status to a wider circle than whites did, recognizing service personnel who may well have come under fire and who in any event contributed to the success of the cause. That cause was above all emancipation, and Shaffer reinforces the scholarship that has described the frustration of African Americans with the downplaying of emancipation in celebrations of a sectional reunion sealed by the common valor of white Union and Confederate soldiers. Hardly shocked by postwar white racism, however, Shaffer emphasizes the inclusivity of the GAR in comparison with other fraternal organizations, although it fell far short of equality, and the significance of pension payments to African Americans despite the uneven government treatment of applications.

Shaffer seeks to unify his analysis of the different aspects of veterans' experience by framing their story as a quest for manhood. That strategy, well supported by quotations, connects the study to the rapidly growing literature that places gender at the center of Civil War and Reconstruction scholarship. But while manhood is a multifaceted goal in this book, pursued through adoption of a family name or accumulation of property or countless other means, Shaffer does not identify clear development in the concept. For example, he does not indicate that black veterans felt

tensions between manhood and acceptance of government assistance, which other scholarship on Civil War entitlement programs has characterized as an important ideological challenge. He describes veterans' entry into the ministry as a vehicle for community leadership, but he does not examine their religious interpretations of their wartime experiences and the implications for their definitions of manhood. He does not tie his veterans to the postwar racial politics of militia service, the most visible peace-time demonstration of armed male citizenship. Nevertheless, his emphasis on manhood usefully highlights some of the racialized dimensions of gender ideas and frames questions for further work that will build on Shaffer's solid research.

THOMAS J. BROWN
University of South Carolina

WILSON JEREMIAH MOSES. *Creative Conflict in African American Thought: Frederick Douglass, Alexander Crummell, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 308. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.00.

Since publication of *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850–1925* (1978), Wilson Jeremiah Moses has defined the contours of black nationalism. In the last decade, however, a revisionist scholarship has begun to reshape the black nationalist landscape, questioning Moses's perspectives and no doubt provoking this response. In his new book, Moses addresses loopholes in his earlier studies. Focusing on five key black leaders—Frederick Douglass, Alexander Crummell, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey—Moses offers a more balanced assessment of their contributions. In his view, admirers and detractors of these leaders have focused too narrowly on constructed images designed to advance ideologically skewed and misleading perceptions.

Classical black nationalism combined cultural assimilation with political/geographical separation. Critically engaging this ambivalence, Moses portrays his subjects as nationalists whose ideas reflected those of mainstream society. These blacks embodied complex, multiple values and perspectives, reflecting the “essential paradox” of classical black nationalism. This is represented in Douglass's assimilationist integration of black militancy, his subscription to, and exploitation of, ontological blackness, his aversion to black pride/racial distinctiveness, and his inconsistent responses to black nationalist ideals. It can also be found in Crummell's blending of black nationalism, Victorian civilizationism, and anglophilism; in Washington's contradictory constructions of slavery and black religion, embodiment of liberal and conservative ideals, and his combination of materialism, idealism and economic determinism; in Du Bois's ambivalent response to black separatism, his elitism, and his distrust of democracy. These leaders were often in conflict with each other. Crummell shared Du Bois's political elitism and embraced an authoritarian view of government. Doug-

lass, Crummell, and Du Bois all harbored condescending attitudes toward the black masses. Moses portrays Douglass as a representative black man who was often at odds with critical cultural and political demands of the black struggle.

Moses illuminates certain neglected dimensions of black nationalism, including the conservative dimensions of Garveyism; the progressivism of Washington and the “Afrocentric” character of his history; the multiplicity of Du Bois's souls and ideals; Douglass's universalism, loyalty to racial movement, subscription to assimilationist ideas, and multiple racial identities. His book underscores the paradoxes of black nationalism. It also offers a scathing rebuke of the instrumentalist construction of black leadership. Moses underlines the problematic of compartmentalizing black leaders into distinct, mutually exclusive ideological categories. They embraced multiple ideals and visions, and however alienated they seemed, could not completely jettison metropolitan values.

Although well written and passionately argued, the book offers little that is new. The thrust of Moses's argument has been articulated in recent revisionist writings. This is essentially his attempt to respond to critics by revisiting his earlier construction of black nationalism. Nonetheless, this revisiting, especially in relation to Crummell, about whom Moses has written extensively, is a welcome exhibition of intellectual humility. The book, however, raises a critical problematic. Moses suggests a linkage between the contradictions in diasporic black nationalism and those of continental African nationalism and Pan-Africanism. His conviction that “contradiction is a universal aspect of the human condition” (p. xiii) leads him to a simplistic conclusion that glosses over fundamental differences. The contradictions embedded in continental African nationalism are not apologies for Africa's political annihilation. The goal of African nationalism was dismantling of colonialism, which the contradictions in diasporic black nationalism sought to stabilize. Moses's emphasis on Kwame Nkrumah's dictatorial policies clearly suggests a lack of understanding of the essence of Nkrumaism. Although Nkrumah exhibited dictatorial tendencies, he envisioned situating Africa on a foundation that would solidify the continent against imperial machinations. The nationalism of black diasporans, by contrast, often maligned and caricatured Africa to the point of negating its sovereignty. Moses seems most reluctant to acknowledge this point.

The book contains a few critical factual and interpretative errors. First, in the preface, Moses offers a simplistic conception of the African tradition of “Palaver” as a contradictory phenomenon. Contradiction is not the defining essence of palaver. The tradition exemplifies controversy, the underlying dynamic of which is resolution. Second, Moses erroneously identifies Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther as a person of Ibo ancestry (p. 95). Although Bishop Crowther published primers in Igbo and Nupe, he was of Yoruba ancestry,

from Oyo. Third, Moses accuses Douglass of an “ego-centric interpretation of history” that led him to “confuse his individual progress with the experience of an entire people” (p. 43). This is not unique to Douglass. In fact, as several revisionist black biographical studies show, other black leaders have also projected individual achievements as reflective of broader community accomplishments.

Finally, there was nothing “apparent” (p. 83) or “seeming” (p. 84) about Crummell’s contradictions. They were clear and unambiguous, and contrary to Moses’s disguised attempts to exonerate them, they functioned essentially to undermine Africa’s sovereignty, regardless of whether or not Crummell had intended this consequence. The above strictures notwithstanding, Moses’s book is a welcome addition to a growing body of revisionist literature on the complexities and contradictions of black nationalist thought.

TUNDE ADELEKE
University of Montana

ERROL G. HILL and JAMES V. HATCH. *A History of African American Theatre*. (Cambridge Studies in American Theatre and Drama, number 18.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xxiv, 608. \$100.00.

This is the sort of encyclopedic history book that usefully fills in gaps. Anyone interested in Charles Gilpin or the Hyers Sisters or the Karamu Theatre could certainly begin here, with its solid index and a good bibliography. The participation of African Americans in the theater throughout the nineteenth century was not deemed important enough, either by participants or by historians, for much of it to be recorded in print. Errol G. Hill and James V. Hatch attempt an exhaustive review of the written records of the past, and as they move into contemporary history, where there is certainly more to draw on, they cite, even if briefly, the most notable African-American theatrical achievements.

The question here, as in so much historical writing, is what defines its borders. Hill and Hatch decided that the African-American part of their title should focus on black people who were either born in the United States or immigrated to it, though they include a chapter on Caribbean-born artists who spent time in North America; when it comes to the sort of theater they write about, they stick to “companies, productions, actors, managers, and technicians who achieved national reputations” (p. xv), figuring that a second volume would have to take on nontraditional theater, like performances of songs or preaching in lodges and churches. Finally, recognizing that much of black theater is influenced by white theater (and vice versa) they incorporate discussion of the most influential white theatrical expression, such as minstrelsy and George Gershwin’s *Porgy and Bess*.

The earlier chapters are filled with nuggets of information that are fascinating. The pages on the African

Grove, the first black theater run by a black man, William Alexander Brown, between 1821 and 1824, are alternately heartbreaking and inspirational. Brown clearly saw an opportunity to fill a niche within the black population in New York, whose members, like their white counterparts, enjoyed—when they could afford it and when they were allowed in segregated seating—popular theater. What we can see from this is that African Americans were thoroughly assimilated by this point in their tastes and habits. White and black spectators and actors watched and played the same repertory: Shakespeare, musical interludes, epic drama. Indeed, although Brown may have slightly emphasized plays that included slave scenes or slave rebellions, what caught the attention of newspapers and the courts was his audacious attempts to match the offerings of Stephen Price, the owner and manager of the leading playhouse in New York, the Park Theatre. When Price produced *Richard III*, two weeks later so did Brown. Even if not a critical success (though what black production could have been deemed successful, given the prejudices of the time), enough whites came to the African Grove that over time Brown had to enlarge the viewing arena for whites and insure that his loyal black customers got to have space in front. Brown continued to challenge Price and the Park Theatre, staging a program of Shakespearean scenes just prior to an advertised appearance of Edmund Kean. And he was punished for it. There were two episodes in which white gangs crashed African Grove performances; the second time, Brown himself was severely beaten and actors and actresses were stripped of their clothes. For three years, Brown persisted, moving his theater, rebuilding it when it burned, taking his troupe to Albany for a time, and then returning to the city. But by the summer of 1824, we hear no more of his theater productions in New York City. Perhaps bankrupt, perhaps fed up, Brown got out of the business.

From the beginning, the theater was a way to make a living; as an actor or a producer/manager, one might do as well in the theater as one could as a porter or a teacher or a preacher, if one was very lucky and very talented. But also, for many players and for some managers from the earliest period through our own, theater provided a way to prove that blacks were as talented, as skilled, and thus as worthy of the same rights and dignity as whites. Hill and Hatch return to this theme again and again throughout this chronicle, as they return also to the way in which both white and black critics struggled with the task of defining what was authentically different about a black performance and a white one. Could blacks really do Shakespeare? Could whites really imitate blacks authentically?

A comprehensive history like this of African-American theater proves that the history is too complex and the art too rich to be reduced to a single story of singular influence or purpose. African Americans of the theater were probably some of the most cosmopolitan people of their time: we hear about the Christy Minstrels in 1862 in Cape Town, the American Co-

loured Minstrels in Sydney in 1890, and James Hewlett, the African Grove's famous star, who went to England in 1824 in order to challenge the renowned English comedian, Charles Mathews, whose act parodied the Shakespearean efforts of the Grove actors. These were actors and managers sure of their powers, undaunted by their competition, fighting great prejudices, touring the world. That the earlier generation of practitioners turned into the contemporary generation of playwrights, directors, actors, and producers like August Wilson, Suzan-Lori Parks, Lloyd Richards, George C. Wolfe, Anna Deavere Smith, and Ellen Stewart should come as no surprise. African Americans have staged themselves and been staged from very early on in United States history. This book comprehensively charts those efforts. As an encyclopedic exploration, it should give other historians the base from which to delve deeper into the records of those players and stages with whom we are familiar and of those newly introduced.

RENA FRADEN
Pomona College

MICHELE BIRNBAUM. *Race, Work, and Desire in American Literature, 1860–1930*. (Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture, number 138.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 195. \$60.00.

Michele Birnbaum examines various texts written between emancipation and the Harlem Renaissance for the ways in which interracial working relationships shaped and were shaped by sexualized race discourses. Three of Birnbaum's four chapters juxtapose texts by whites and blacks in order to show the range of responses to desire in the workplace, from "traditional hegemonies" to "more complex and potentially progressive transformations" (p. 15).

The first chapter of the book focuses on seamstress Elizabeth Keckley's account of the work she did for Mary Todd Lincoln. Keckley makes clear, in *Behind the Scenes* (1868), that Mrs. Lincoln's yearning for and presumption of intimate friendship was based on her assumption of her seamstress's racial inferiority. For Keckley, the results, including unannounced visits to Keckley's home, were a burden, and she repeatedly resisted them. She would, for example, insist upon and receive additional payment whenever Mrs. Lincoln made demands in the name of friendship. In a coda to this chapter, Birnbaum considers a far more normative text: Grace King's *Monsieur Motte* (1888), in which a black domestic worker is wholly devoted to her white female charge. The juxtaposition helps to explain why Keckley was reviled by the white reading public for her exposure of the burden of white desire in the interracial workplace and her attempts to resist it.

Birnbaum returns to the issue of domestic labor in chapter three, a consideration of Kate Chopin's *The Awakening* (1899). This is the book's most valuable chapter, insofar as it corrects long-held views regard-

ing a central text in the canon of American women's literature. Many readers will have encountered the chapter ten years ago when it appeared as an article in *American Literature*. Until then, feminist critics had been celebrating the text as a break-through sexual coming-of-age novel. Birnbaum shows the imperial gesture evident in such popular critical articulations and in the novel itself. Not only is Edna made to rely on the physical labor of the women of color who work for her, but Chopin makes her sexual awakening entirely dependent on borrowing what are imagined to be these women's highly sexual ways of being. Unfortunately, this is the only chapter where no juxtaposition is offered with a contemporaneous and politically divergent text.

In chapter two, Birnbaum turns to two novels about the relationships between doctors and their mixed-race patients: Frances W. W. Harper's *Iola Leroy* (1892) and William Dean Howells's *An Imperative Duty* (1891), works that are usually considered for their treatment of passing. Birnbaum opens up this conversation, calling our attention to the fact that both novels look to interracial working relationships to mend the scars of racism. She begins by noting that both novels equate blackness with female pathology, repositioning their female protagonists as hysterics once they have learned of their black ancestry. Their doctors finally cure these women of the problem and pain of race in America by extending their professional relationships into marriage. Thereafter, Howells's protagonist can absorb her blackness to become white and Iola Leroy can reject passing and become black. Birnbaum reads these developments as a "striking" reversal of "orthodox theories of African-American physical and civic degeneracy" (p. 69). One has to wonder, however, if these novels are as radical as Birnbaum would like. As she notes, both doctors/husbands imagine their prospective wives as ideal "angels in the house" because they are invested with the stereotyped traits of devoted slaves (loyalty, obedience, a good work ethic).

In her last chapter, Birnbaum moves ahead to the 1920s and 1930s. She examines the correspondence between Langston Hughes and two of his patrons, Amy Spingarn and Carl Van Vechten, as well as Hughes's play *Mulatto* (1935), which she reads as a comment on interracial working relationships. Looking again at the ways in which the intimacy of work forges sexual desire in particularized ways when the working relationship is interracial, Birnbaum finds that Spingarn used Hughes's blackness much in the way Chopin's Edna did: as a way to reach for her own sexual and cultural freedom. Like Keckley, Hughes was forced continuously to resist this kind of appropriation. Eventually, he was able to move into the role of mentor with both of his patrons, although Birnbaum devotes far more attention to how this happened with Van Vechten than she does with Spingarn.

Historians may find Birnbaum's definition of what counts as a working relationship too loose. There is much that separates doctor/patient, domestic laborer/

employer, artist/patron relationships, in terms of the time frames in which these relationships began to cross race lines, the power relations that structured them, and the frequency in which contact occurred. But insofar as Birnbaum instructs us to look at the ways in which desire and race come together explosively in the workplace, as well as at some of the means of negotiating their intersections, she has helped open a rich field of inquiry.

ELISE LEMIRE
Purchase College

MICHAEL J. PFEIFER. *Rough Justice: Lynching and American Society, 1874–1947*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. x, 245. \$35.00.

Scholars in recent years have produced dozens of good books on lynching, moving the subject toward the center of American history generally and specifically to struggles with race, violence, and law. Some have focused on a single lynching, placing one tragic event in larger contexts. Others have sought to find patterns across time and space, usually the South from post-Reconstruction to the 1930s. Michael J. Pfeifer takes the nation as his subject. He reminds us, as has other recent work, that lynching was not ephemeral and not exclusively southern. More important, Pfeifer attempts to create order out of the chaos of thousands of lynchings by showing how and why lynching patterns reflected social identities, beliefs, and values.

Pfeifer's central argument is that lynching was part of a broader cultural war between those Americans who privileged due process and those who wanted community-based, quick, and violent retribution against certain suspected criminals. The latter, proponents of rough justice, were often lower-class, rural whites who believed the criminal justice system too slow and inefficient and insisted on personal and harsh retribution; the former were usually middle-class, often urban dwellers who saw law as neutral and fair and as a prerequisite to economic development. To bring more definition to these two sides, Pfeifer moves to analyses of regional differences, focused on the states of Iowa, Wisconsin, Wyoming, Washington, California, Louisiana, and New York.

Lynchings were rare in the Northeast, Pfeifer argues, because earlier capitalist transformations had made this region by the late nineteenth century more attuned to the connections among law, order, and economic development. Other regions lagged behind, not just the South, but the Midwest and West as well. In these regions mobs were able to lynch a victim and avoid the stigma of community disapproval. They applied their rough justice to African Americans, of course, expressing the racism that is commonly associated with lynching, but also to Mexicans, Chinese, and Native Americans, and, on numerous occasions in the West and Midwest especially, to whites as well. Pfeifer's comparative regional analysis is convincing in part because he allows for significant intraregional

variation, as, for example, between the lower Midwest and upper Midwest or within the state of Louisiana. His careful attention to exceptions and to change across time adds to the persuasiveness of his regional categories and arguments. Although he offers no sophisticated quantitative analysis of lynching data, it is likely that his framework will prove exceedingly helpful for other studies of lynching in any part of the nation.

Some readers will find Pfeifer's last chapter on the demise of lynching the most interesting, particularly in connecting past and present. Again, the near absence of lynching in the Northeast is the base that shows how capitalist transformation moved Americans toward law and order, first in this region and gradually in the rest of the nation. Northeasterners were the first to see that chaotic and unseemly violence was not good for business or social order. Even in the South by the early decades of the twentieth century, a growing white middle class began to question rough justice. What replaced lynching was the modern death penalty, a compromise, Pfeifer argues, that gave the appearance of order, control, and due process and yet also allowed retribution. Reformers moved legal executions from public spectacles to closed and technically proficient routines as exemplified by the electric chair in New York's Sing Sing prison. But the change was really a compromise acceptable also to many rough justice advocates. Other regions replicated the new style, which too often was nearly as arbitrary and racialized as lynching. It is no surprise that the death penalty flourishes where once lynching flourished, nor that, in the parlance of today's politics and values, these are the "red states."

JAMES H. MADISON
Indiana University,
Bloomington

ELNA C. GREEN. *This Business of Relief: Confronting Poverty in a Southern City, 1740–1940*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 356. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$22.95.

Richmond, Virginia, like other American cities, had little outside help in dealing with the problems presented by poverty prior to the New Deal. Unfortunately, the sizable body of literature on social welfare history that has developed over the past two decades may not have much to say about Richmond's experience, because Richmond is southern and most of the literature focuses on northern cities. Elna C. Green addresses this omission by exploring how Richmond's government and private groups responded to poverty from 1740 to 1940, as well as examining how the city's impoverished citizens lived. In the process she makes larger arguments about poverty, welfare, and charity in southern cities over the two centuries preceding the New Deal, and shows how the North and South differed (or did not) in crucial ways as they adopted

more extensive welfare programs, including the New Deal itself.

Some parts of the story of Richmond will be familiar to students of social welfare history, such as Green's description of Richmond's poor relief efforts in the colonial era. Relief was based on the English model, public relief was more widespread than private charity, outdoor relief was far more extensive than institutionalization, and relief reflected society's assumptions about gender roles; there are few surprises.

But other parts of Green's tale are more illuminating, in both the details and the big picture. Her brief discussion of the experiences of the Freedmen's Bureau in Richmond after the Civil War shows the similarities between northern and southern concepts of poor relief; yet the one meaningful difference, over race, was so politically charged that it overwhelmed the similarities. After the war, the federal aid flowing to blacks further stigmatized federal programs in the eyes of many southern whites, and also served to reinforce the prewar segregation of aid. Once the Bureau left Richmond, blacks struggled to receive help from either the city government or private charities, leaving them no option but to try and help themselves as best they could.

The most important aspects of the book come when Green describes the relationship between national welfare and charitable trends on the one hand, and southern views toward race and defeat in war on the other. The best example is chapter six, "The New South, part one—Scientific Charity and Confederate Commemoration." As occurred in most northern cities, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Richmond was influenced by the national "charity organization" (COS) movement. But in Richmond the COS interacted with specifically southern issues, most noticeably support for segregation and the Lost Cause, to form a "social welfare policy that paralleled, but did not duplicate, national norms" (p. 103). Green begins the chapter with an excellent, concise discussion of Richmond's response to the Panic of 1873, discussing several new mutual aid and charitable organizations created in response. When charity organization societies arrived, they sought to make order out of the array of groups that they found in place through the use of "scientific charity," just as they did in northern cities in the same era. The COS assumption that individual flaws, rather than economic or social forces, were the cause of poverty fit well with southern assumptions about the poor. The COS did not challenge segregation, instead accepting it and often completely excluding blacks from aid. At the same time, the ideology of the Lost Cause led to the development of public welfare for Confederate veterans that resembled a welfare state without requiring the general public or the elite to adopt a welfare state philosophy. The result in Richmond was a system of welfare and charity that shared important traits with what was happening at the same time in New York City and many other northern cities, but can only be fully

understood in the context of southern politics and ideology.

As with most of the historical literature on poverty, Green sheds more light on policies and attitudes regarding the poor than she does on the lives and reactions of the poor themselves. Despite ongoing recognition in recent years that disadvantaged people took active roles in seeking and shaping the aid they received, the lack of sources still presents problems. Green tries to address this in chapter eight, "On the Margins," using a variety of sources, including the admissions register to the City Home. The specifics of her story are fascinating, while still falling very much within the parameters outlined by scholars who have long argued for the variety and importance of the roles played by the recipients of aid. This book deserves a wide audience among scholars and students interested in the South, welfare history, urban history, and the nature of public and private policy.

TIMOTHY A. HACSI
University of Massachusetts,
Boston

RONALD M. LABBÉ and JONATHAN LURIE. *The Slaughterhouse Cases: Regulation, Reconstruction, and the Fourteenth Amendment*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2003. Pp. xiv, 295. \$34.95.

Justice Felix Frankfurter has observed that Supreme Court decisions present "windows on the world" (p. 244). The *Slaughterhouse Cases* (1873) strikingly illustrates the accuracy of Frankfurter's comment. Ronald M. Labbé and Jonathan Lurie's book explores the Court's precedent-setting construction of the Constitution's Fourteenth Amendment within the context of New Orleans' efforts to implement effective public health and sanitation regulation of the slaughtering business amid racially charged and corruption-ridden political confrontations during Louisiana's Republican Reconstruction. Like contemporaries, some historians emphasized the legitimacy of the public health issues against the record of political perfidy. Others focused on the restrictive interpretations of the Fourteenth Amendment's privileges and immunities clause, which gutted federal protection of individual rights and enabled the South's suppression of the rights of African Americans. Labbé and Lurie contribute useful insight to each of these perspectives.

The facts of the *Slaughterhouse Cases* obscured white Democrat's antagonism toward African-American enfranchisement, which permeated Louisiana's Reconstruction politics. In 1869, Republican governor Henry C. Warmouth signed an incorporation statute creating the Crescent City Live Stock Landings and Slaughterhouse Company. In order to "protect the Health of the City of New Orleans" (p. 253), the statute conferred upon the company the sole right to locate live stock landing and slaughter operations at a point on the Mississippi River below the city's water works. Labbé and Lurie show that relocation of the slaughtering

business was a vital health and sanitation measure in an era before refrigeration technology transformed the industry. They demonstrate, too, that the company's monopoly did not limit the right to operate the business except to require, in return for a modest fee, that it be located in the company's facilities. Critics nonetheless railed against a pernicious monopoly.

Yet, the opposition's antimonopoly rhetoric also reflected white Democrats' deep racism, directed at African-American enfranchisement sustaining Warmouth's Reconstruction government. During the period, many states and municipalities employed private corporations to achieve public health purposes on the basis of their police powers. Where business challenged these measures in other states, including the regulation of slaughterhouses and stock landings, the courts usually held that they were a legitimate exercise of the police power. The grant of a monopoly privilege for regulatory purposes was held to a high standard of proof; but in Louisiana and elsewhere the courts generally deferred to the legislature despite the obvious incentives for the nefarious play of special interests. Thus, Labbé and Lurie persuasively argue, the antimonopoly rhetoric reflected popular yearnings for white supremacy as much as anger against the apparent corruption of a Republican regime. Indeed, numerous studies have demonstrated that such corruption was endemic to Louisiana politics regardless of what political party was in control.

From these facts, the butchers' lead counsel, John A. Campbell, argued that the Fourteenth Amendment's clauses guaranteeing privileges and immunities, and to lesser extent due process and equal protection of law, embraced economic rights like those the butchers claimed, as well as the protection of freedman's civil rights. Labbé and Lurie make the best case yet that Campbell's argument was motivated more by resistance to African-American citizenship and Republican Reconstruction than by concern for the butchers. They also present well the Supreme Court's 5-4 division regarding these arguments. Samuel F. Miller's majority opinion affirmed the Crescent City Company's franchise as a legitimate exercise of the police power; he nonetheless construed quite narrowly any federally protected rights the freedman might claim against state infringement. Basically, the dissenters accepted Campbell's interpretation, without expressing concern for the freedman.

Miller's decision establishing limited civil rights protections under the Fourteenth Amendment dominated American law until the liberal constitutional revolution beginning in the 1930s. Indeed, in *Bradwell v. Illinois* (1873), the Court decided against Myra Bradwell's claim that the privileges and immunities clause overcame the state's exclusion of women from practicing law. By contrast, during the 1890s the dissenter's opinion in the *Slaughterhouse Cases* became the Court's majority opinion regarding economic rights, a doctrine that lasted until the 1930s. Labbé and Lurie address the puzzling question: why would a

Court dominated by Republicans who seemingly possessed a political stake in preserving Reconstruction sanction such limited Fourteenth Amendment civil rights protections for the freedman? They answer this question in terms of the Court's overriding commitment to preserving the nation's traditional system of dual federalism. I think Eric Foner's and Michael Vorenberg's studies of Reconstruction and the Thirteenth Amendment, respectively, provide a deeper explanation: the *Slaughterhouse Cases* epitomize the triumph of moderate Republicans who, while opposing slavery as an institution, never embraced racial equality. Still, Labbé's and Lurie's book is the best we have on the *Slaughterhouse Cases*.

TONY A. FREYER

University of Alabama School of Law,
Tuscaloosa

MICHAEL J. KLARMAN, *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Racial Equality*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 655. \$35.00.

Fundamental constitutional change in the United States frequently takes place outside of Article V. At the turn of the twentieth century, racial segregation was a constitutional truism. Only a few libertarian eccentrics questioned very separate but formally equal policies. Fifty years later, in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the Supreme Court declared that Jim Crow education was inherently inconsistent with the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Over the next fifty years, the *Brown* decision acquired sacred constitutional status. Only a few racist extremists presently celebrate formerly unquestioned racial practices. But these constitutional changes are nowhere reflected in the constitutional text. The Fourteenth Amendment, ratified in 1868, did little to promote racial equality after Reconstruction was abandoned in 1876. Rather, as Michael J. Klarman documents, constitutional law became more egalitarian when American society became more egalitarian. "Constitutional interpretation" in race cases, Klarman details at great length, "almost inevitably reflects the broader social and political context of the times" (p. 5). *Brown* was a consequence of such liberalizing forces as black migration northward, postwar electoral competition, and the Cold War. No major legal or political decision dismantling separate but equal was a simple consequence of following the rules laid down.

Klarman's magnificent study of how separate but equal rose and fell in the United States provides an exhaustive and sometimes exhausting account of the impact of social context on judicial policy making in race cases. His is the definitive study of the law and politics of Jim Crow and the civil rights movement. Beginning with *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), he examines every Supreme Court decision on the rights of African Americans handed down from the late nineteenth century until the passage of the Civil Rights Act of

1964. Detailed legal and political analysis accompany each case. When discussing the white primary cases, most notably *Smith v. Allright* (1944), Klarman begins by explaining the pressures World War II generated for expanding black voting, assesses whether the decision striking down white-only primaries merely applied existing law or expanded legal precedents, and explores the impact of that decision on African-American suffrage. The result is a work that can be used in political science, history, and legal classes and is becoming a must-cite for political science, history, and legal scholarship.

Klarman highlights the vital role "subconstitutional rules" (p. 42) played maintaining and eradicating Jim Crow. African-American rights during the hundred years after the Civil War were typically subverted by "rules about standards of proof, appellate review, and federal court access" (p. 42). Many fairly racist justices were hostile to overt racial discrimination. The Supreme Court in *Strauder v. West Virginia* (1879) declared unconstitutional West Virginia's ban on black jurors, even though the Fourteenth Amendment could easily be interpreted as not protecting political rights. Judges supported white supremacy, Klarman details, primarily by tolerating substantial administrative discretion in the enforcement of ostensibly neutral laws. Federal courts did not permit officials to discriminate explicitly against potential black jurors, but judges consistently deferred to official judgments that no black juror was legally qualified to sit in a given case. As Klarman asserts, "(b)y refusing to infer discriminatory motives from disparate racial impact or to closely scrutinize the findings of fact by state courts, the justices essentially invited nullification" of legal rules banning discrimination against black jurors (p. 55). Voting rights were dispensed with by similar means. The Supreme Court declared unconstitutional such obvious subterfuges as the grandfather clause, while permitting states to apply literacy and understanding clauses in ways that disenfranchised most African Americans. "(B)lack disenfranchisement," the book documents, "depended more on discriminatory enforcement of literacy tests, white primaries, and the threat and reality of physical violence" than black-letter law (p. 159).

Persons of color initially relied on litigation to remove these disabilities largely because litigation was the only means available for challenging Jim Crow. At a time when lynching was common, direct-action protest would have met with violent reprisals (pp. 58, 163–64). This fear of violence explains why most litigation took place in the border states and Upper South, where white supremacy was not quite as entrenched as in the heart of the former Confederacy. Litigation had some value. Klarman details how the Supreme Court decisions in the white primary cases increased black voting from a trickle to a small number (p. 249). Nevertheless, white supremacy was largely immune to judicial decree. Even when proponents of liberal racial policies won cases, little change occurred.

"Successful litigation had limited results," Klarman recognizes, "unless local communities were prepared to act on it" (p. 158).

This book provides vital support for and an important elaboration on Gerald N. Rosenberg's powerful claim in *The Hollow Hope: Can Courts bring about Social Change?* (1991) that litigation did little to promote racial equality. Following Rosenberg, Klarman details how *Brown* failed to desegregate southern education. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the national decision most responsible for eradicating Jim Crow (p. 363). Unlike Rosenberg, however, Klarman believes *Brown* had perverse consequences that eventually led to the Civil Rights Act. The decision shifted the focus of much civil rights activism from voting to primary education, which struck at the core of Jim Crow (pp. 245, 340). As a result, judicial efforts to desegregate schools most inspired a racial backlash in the Lower South. Former racial moderates competed to outdo each other in their commitment to massive resistance. The southern backlash against the courts, in turn, inspired a northern backlash against the South. Northerners who were relatively indifferent to *Brown* during the mid 1950s became committed racial liberals when they saw daily images of bombed black churches and dogs being let loose on black children during protest marches.

As is the case with all lengthy tomes, individual reviewers will have particular bones to pick with this one. Klarman frequently points out that Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and Dwight D. Eisenhower were relatively indifferent to racial justice (p. 193). Perhaps, but the Justice Department from 1932 to 1968 was staffed by racial liberals who used their positions to try to fill the courts with those who felt similarly. The more important point is that the next generation of scholars will have to quibble with Klarman to be taken seriously.

MARK A. GRABER
University of Maryland,
College Park

RAYVON FOUCHÉ. *Black Inventors in the Age of Segregation: Granville T. Woods, Lewis H. Latimer, and Shelby J. Davidson*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 255. \$34.95.

My first assignment in graduate school was to be a teaching assistant for Edwin T. Layton, Jr., the renowned historian of technology who is also cited in the first endnote of Rayvon Fouché's fine study of black inventors in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century. Layton and other historians of technology of his generation reoriented the entire history of technology away from a dry study of the details of technological artifacts and toward recognition that technology was always embedded within society and that technological artifacts can only be

understood as part of larger technological and social systems.

In the 1960s and 1970s, while Layton and others were reconceptualizing the history of technology, African-American history was undergoing a similar reinvention. In that field, historians increasingly found ways that African Americans created their own social spaces away from white oppression and resisted portraying African-American action as occurring solely in response to that oppression. Concomitant with this new historiography was a decrease in the "Great Man" practice of African-American history: the race leader who heroically succeeded in the face of the racism and discrimination of American society.

Fouché's book is the first attempt, to my knowledge, to combine these two historiographic trends. Through his detailed research and finely argued book, Fouché undercuts what he calls the four tenants that support the picture of the heroic African-American inventor. Two of the tenants have to do with the meaning of patents in historical study. Fouché wants to show that patents do not mean financial success and that patents do not necessarily indicate a "first" in technological development. Patents could deny monetary rewards to the patent holder if the artifact represented by the patent could only be useful as part of a larger technological system, which is also why patents might not signify a truly new invention. For Granville T. Woods, who patented any number of devices for railway communication through electrical induction, the patents could only return financial success when embedded within the corporate railway system. For Lewis H. Latimer, the most financially successful of the triumvirate, his achievements had less to do with his patents and more to do with his skill as a draftsman and his extensive knowledge of the entire electrical lighting system. For Shelby J. Davidson, his patents for the automatic fee add-on to the Post Office's adding machines proved no defense against the racist Charles A. Kram, his superior at the Post Office who succeeded in denying Davidson credit for his accomplishments and eventually drove him from government service completely.

The second set of tenants deal with the motivations of black inventors and how they responded to racial oppression. As Fouché demonstrates, his subjects had differing views for how to best uplift the race, and all three were more interested in their own personal advancement rather than racial uplift generally. As Fouché admits, it is difficult to tease out the role that racism played in stifling the career of Woods when many of his woes owed to his unfortunate entanglements with James S. Zerbo, a man who could best be described as a swindler. The best documented position on racial uplift was that of Latimer, who held deeply conservative views on racial agitation, preferring to reflect the ideas of Booker T. Washington on economic advancement as a path to assimilation into white society. The bureaucrat Davidson fought against the increasing racism of the federal government in the

early twentieth century, eventually leaving his position and building a successful law practice, joining the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and exemplifying a member of W. E. B. Du Bois's "Talented Tenth."

Fouché closes his book with the observation that there is little historiographic space amid the celebrations of the heroic black inventor for critical history that captures the complexity of the lives of these figures. The same could well be said of the role of the heroic tradition of the sole inventor in the history of technology, particularly given the tradition of the "practical American." However, if more historians follow the fine example that Fouché has set in this book, we will be on the path to creating that space.

JOHN P. JACKSON, JR.
University of Colorado,
Boulder

LINDA SIMON. *Dark Light: Electricity and Anxiety from the Telegraph to the X-Ray*. San Diego, Calif.: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 2004. Pp. 357. \$25.00.

Linda Simon skillfully weaves together biography, literature, primary materials, and archival records to explore the cultural beliefs and practices that created the context within which electricity was first understood within the United States. In doing so, she helps readers understand that the enthusiasm historians have often found in nineteenth-century writing on electricity was, in fact, dramatically tempered by anxieties over its physical and spiritual effects. This is not entirely new, as books by David E. Nye, Cecelia Tichi, and Carolyn Marvin have also documented American anxiety in the face of technological change. What is new here is Simon's intellectual geography and her conclusions. She deftly interweaves the writings of electricians and physicians with accounts from journalists, philosophers, and writers of fiction. She is equally at home with theories of electrification as she is with the workings of mesmerism, spiritualism, vitalism, and psychology. This ambidexterity allows Simon to conclude that the anxiety over electricity was part of a much larger anxiety about the place of the immaterial within an world of science increasingly dominated by matter.

Those scholars working on cultural reactions to scientific and technological change will find useful the author's model of how individuals confronted electrical progress, provided in the concluding chapter. Generalizing across biographies, works of fiction, and professional sources, Simon argues that there are four distinct phases to the American reception of electricity: an early amazement, an eagerness to hear vast claims for its significance, a popular enthusiasm for its use as entertainment, and a resistance to its potential impact on bodies and minds. Individuals could, and did, hold conflicting views on electricity simultaneously. And electric science that challenged accepted

notions of mind, matter, and spirit could be marveled at yet not universally viewed as "progress."

The book is divided into three sections: "Wonders" provides a history of public encounters with electricity; "Cravings of the heart" looks at assumptions about the body, mind, and soul and explores the connection between constructions of illness and scientific knowledge; and "Electrostrikes" discusses particular anxieties over the social and physical effects of electric power raised by public executions and exhibitions. Each section is driven by specific case studies of individuals and inventions. This approach is both a strength and a weakness. Readers are provided with vivid, specific examples of sources of and reactions to the enthusiasm and anxiety that surrounded electrical progress. Simon's Thomas Edison tirelessly promotes illumination (and profit), from light to sound to x-rays, yet in the very process he increases public anxiety by vilifying George Westinghouse's AC, current largely for personal gain. Her George Beard furthers electricity's legitimacy as a curative force through his electrotherapy practice, yet he undermines the authority of scientists among the general public by insisting that mental illness leaves sufferers at the mercy of matter, in this case biology, rather than possessing transcendent self-control. Her Edward Bellamy promotes a future of material convenience driven by electric technology, yet he seeks to foster a sense of responsibility and triumph of spirit over object in his readers. Her William Kemmler becomes the site of contestation over electricity's relationship with the human body. His execution, promoted as an example of electricity's ability to improve humane practices, instead becomes a public torture, leaving questions of scientific authority and electric "progress" in its wake. And her William James, in many ways the book's hero, navigates the cultural transition from naturalist to scientist hastened by electricity, working furiously to prove that, contrary to an increasingly materialist universe presented by science, there continues to exist a world beyond empiricism of "one harmonious spiritual intent" (p. 200).

This book is neither a cultural history of anxiety nor an account of how average Americans experienced electrification. Were it either, one could fault Simon for providing an incomplete account of historical forces during this era and overlooking important class and gender distinctions in how electricity was experienced in everyday life. Instead it is an account of the broader conflicts between science and naturalism, between rationality and emotion, between materialism and mystery that crystallized around the specific experience of electrification. And while Simon leaves to the reader the work of connecting her study to current concerns, it is not difficult in this day of conflicts between science and faith to understand the continued attraction of things that remain simultaneously "impenetrable" and "real." We remain anxious, as was Henry Adams a century ago, that in our quest to find explanations in matter for the "occult, supersensual,

[and] irrational . . . the divine might be lost forever" (p. 296).

CAROLYN THOMAS DE LA PEÑA
University of California,
Davis

JEFFORY A. CLYMER. *America's Culture of Terrorism: Violence, Capitalism, and the Written Word*. (Cultural Studies of the United States.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 277. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

Terrorism's peculiar combination of attack and propaganda make it spectacularly compelling. Since September 11, 2001, Americans have struggled to understand terrorism; in the process they have resuscitated long-dormant narratives from the country's collective past. Jeffory A. Clymer's book, largely written before that date, provides a timely reminder that terrorism has played a dramatic role in modern U.S. history. "Terrorism is word *and* deed, symbol *and* substance," Clymer writes, "a form of action whose sheer outrageousness may awe us into silence, but which also compels us to attempt to regain our mental balance by groping toward a narrative structure in which the tragic events can be understood, even if they still make no sense to us" (p. 211, emphasis in original). Since the discovery of dynamite in 1866 made possible the mass killing of seemingly random targets, terrorism and terrorists have loomed large in the American imagination.

The book examines the developing stereotype of the American terrorist that took shape from the 1886 bombing in Chicago's Haymarket Square to the Wall Street bombings in 1920, and how the terrorist icon allowed interested parties to compete for discursive control and political leverage. Through a series of cultural texts ranging from bombings to novels, Clymer sketches the popular image of the terrorist as an amoral foreigner wielding destruction under a cloak of anonymity. This image, he suggests, convicted the German-American anarchists for the Haymarket bombing, despite the lack of evidence against them. Once established, the gendered (male), foreign terrorist icon resisted alteration. Novelists like Henry James and Jack London, who proposed alternative visions of terrorism—female radical to faceless bureaucracy—could not displace the more powerful stereotype arising from Haymarket. Likewise, Ida B. Wells's painstaking documentation of the Ku Klux Klan's white terrorism could not preclude novelist Thomas Dixon's subsequent rewriting of the Klan as an agent of law and order. By 1920, the terrorist came to symbolize un-American, socialist political agitation, even as demands for scrutiny of state-sponsored acts of violence against workers and other disenfranchised groups became synonymous with treason.

The book's synthesis of text and event—word and deed—yields important insights. One intriguing subtext is Clymer's suggestion that fears of terrorism arose

simultaneously with the faceless megacorporations of an increasingly sophisticated industrial capitalism. Exaggerated narrations of anarchists and other social radicals distracted attention from equally elusive, but socially powerful, monopolies and trusts then swallowing up small and independent businesses; anxieties about shadowy working-class conspiracies trumped less tangible concerns about the declining autonomy of workers (p. 28). The dialogue between the terrorist and the state, with its cycles of violence and retribution, Clymer argues, silenced more moderate debate over modern capitalism and set the tone for the post-World War I red scare.

Despite reference to historical events, the book is primarily a literary analysis; historians may take issue with its chronology. Clymer's reading of Dixon as if he were provoking Wells, for example, rather than the reverse (pp. 129–30), undercuts the significance of her extraordinary challenge to notions of southern honor. It is far more likely that Wells's indictment of southern white male chivalry and white female purity prompted Dixon to take up his pen; his success in turn galvanized the Niagara Movement and the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Ignoring the historical specificity of this timeline unnecessarily confuses the period's high-stakes dialogue over racial justice. A smaller problem arises from terminology; his equation of the word "slavery" with "racial slavery" (p. 57) ignores the particular ways in which white supremacists coopted the notion of "wage slavery" to enlist support from northern workers.

These concerns do not undermine the book's cogent reconstruction of terrorism debates at the turn of the last century. Cultural historians may be disappointed that Clymer does not address precisely how the events and narratives he analyzes affected their audiences and American political culture as a whole. He finesses the question of reception with the noncommittal statement that stories of terrorism "inform[ed] readers' subjectivities in a political world" (p. 45). The book's recovery of these historical narratives of terrorism and their integration into subsequent events and texts, provide needed historical context to Americans' current efforts to make sense of terrorism in the twenty-first century.

AMANDA K. FRISKEN
State University of New York,
College at Old Westbury

BARBARA A. WHITE. *The Beecher Sisters*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 399. \$35.00.

The three wives of New England Calvinist evangelist Lyman Beecher (1775–1863) bore thirteen children. Of the four daughters surviving to adulthood, Barbara A. White offers an important and densely researched analysis of three who made "pathbreaking careers," despite paternal devaluation of them as mere females barred both from the ministry and from public speak-

ing. Catharine Beecher (1800–1878), Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896), and Isabella Beecher Hooker (1822–1907) anchor White's study, as advocate pioneer for women's education, antislavery writer, and woman suffragist organizer and orator, respectively. White compellingly illuminates their decisive contributions to generating some of the Beecher family's fame and controversy: Catharine, as an unmarried writer and educator, Harriet, as a minister's wife and mother of seven, and Isabella, a lawyer's wife and mother of four. Moreover, their sometimes imperious interferences in relatives and friends' lives led to tempestuous relations and volatile dealings within the family as well as beyond it.

Unquestionably, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), selling more copies in Britain than in the United States, made Harriet the most famous Beecher sister. Yet Catharine's vigorous sectarian and sexual politics treatises also garnered her national attention. Meanwhile, Isabella's complicated and religiously inflected feminist suffragism, her relationships with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and, more controversially, Victoria Woodhull, unleashed a more ambiguous notoriety.

White contends, persuasively, that their embrace of abolitionism propelled the sisters from their father's bleak Calvinism toward a more "Christocentric" and reform-tempered faith. In turn, abolitionism lurched toward feminism, although only Isabella unambiguously embraced it, while Catharine, conversely, signed an antisuffrage petition. Indeed, Catharine condemned women's rights, stressing instead women's duties. Both elder sisters rebuked Isabella's public feminism as dangerous in view of men's unlimited power over women. Women could do best by influencing men to justice. By contrast, Isabella denounced male power, particularly the double standard of sexual morality entailing women's sacrifice and sexual exploitation. She demanded a single standard of morality.

White deftly adumbrates the explosive differences in sexual politics among the sisters in the 1870s. Isabella's distinguished minister brother, Henry Ward Beecher, admitted to her his affair with one of his Brooklyn parishioners (the notorious Beecher-Tilton scandal of 1872–1875). When Woodhull and Stanton publicized his indiscretions, his family proclaimed his innocence, denouncing his accusers. Since Isabella backed Woodhull, urging Henry to confess, his friends threatened to accuse her of adultery. Henry called her insane, proposing she be incarcerated in an asylum, in a plot resembling a Wilkie Collins novel. Meanwhile, Harriet published a merciless satire about two feminists, easily recognized as Woodhull and Isabella. More generally, Harriet attacked Stanton and Anthony, leading the former to chide that Beecher Stowe privileged religion over women's rights. These gripping chapters are the most satisfying in this finely crafted study.

The aftermath is poignant at White's pen. For her "disloyalty" to Henry, family, neighbors, and friends

shunned Isabella. Thereafter, she embraced spiritualism, suffragism becoming less engrossing than attempts to contact the dead. An earlier admirer and correspondent of John Stuart Mill in the wake of his *The Subjection of Women* (1869), she seemed indifferent to her own niece, Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860–1935), being judged the greatest contributor to “the Woman Question” since Mill with the publication of *Women and Economics* (1898).

White attempts to examine the three sisters equally. Thereby, the chronologically arranged narrative reads unevenly, even mechanically. Isabella is the revelation: the book could be retitled *Isabella Beecher and Her Sisters*. In fact, this focus might have permitted a fuller exploration of significant issues: for instance, her abolitionism, feminism, suffragism, and relations with men. The evidence White presents about her lawyer husband, John Hooker, her suffragist brother Henry, her misogynist son-in-law, Eugene Burton, and her father, Lyman, bears sharper analysis. Relevant men seem to enter and leave the narrative suddenly, whether lost or wounded in the Civil War or tried in ecclesiastical courts for heresy or some theological schism. Of course, biographies and histories routinely treat women in the lives of notable men in exactly this way; it is hardly less problematic in reverse. Given the importance that White ascribes to Isabella’s conversion to abolitionism, her husband’s specific influence seems most significant. Meanwhile, that her brother Henry was a suffragist, indeed a movement official, but not one of her sisters could generate interesting analysis. Moreover, was Isabella’s transgressive evolution into a public orator in any way indebted to the example of her father Lyman’s famous evangelical oratory? Finally, how far were the decided brakes upon her feminist insights and interventions due to her investment in the care of younger men, not only her own sons but others to whom she extended her maternal attention?

This book contributes greatly to understanding momentous changes in patterns of United States gender, religion, politics, and reform across the nineteenth century, particularly in the Gilded Age. The book will interest scholars of sexuality and reproduction as well as to those engaged with the history of abolitionism, woman suffrage, and spiritualism. For an appreciation of the genealogy of the career of the Progressive era’s preeminent feminist theorist, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, the legacy bequeathed to her by the three of her aunts so skillfully examined in White’s fine study is indispensable.

JUDITH A. ALLEN
Indiana University

MARTIN PADGET. *Indian Country: Travels in the American Southwest, 1840–1935*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press in association with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex. 2004. Pp. xiv, 250. \$37.95.

In this book, Martin Padget analyzes the writings and artwork of several prominent nineteenth-century sojourners in the West, including John Wesley Powell, Helen Hunt Jackson, Charles Fletcher Lummis, and Elbridge Ayer Burbank. Padget argues that as these writers popularized the image of the Southwest as a land of “unspoiled” natural beauty and “primitive” Native American and Hispanic cultures, they set in place forces that would incorporate the area into the modern world. The popularity of the Grand Canyon as a tourist destination led to the intrusion of railway lines across the desert regions and, by the twentieth century, the proliferation of paved roads and interstate highways. Padget concludes that the invasion of visitors into the Southwest also dramatically influenced the Native American cultures present in the area. Tourists were fascinated by the unique art, architecture, music, dance, and dress of the Pueblo peoples. The sojourners to the West sought refuge from the growing urban industrial sprawl that was occurring in the cities of the Eastern seaboard. They romanticized preindustrial Native American cultures as representing a more harmonious, communal orientation than the cut-throat competitive nature of mainstream American society. Yet, as Padget points out, modernization was dramatically influencing Native American lives. Railway lines, paved roads, and particularly the construction of large dams bisected Native hunting lands and destroyed irrigation canals, making traditional methods of subsistence very precarious. Padget argues that many tribes of the Southwest believed that their economic survival dictated that they take advantage of the growing tourist industry. By charging people money to take pictures of adobe buildings and tribal members in “traditional” dress, they allowed tourists to become consumers of Native American societies. For Padget, the rise of tourism in the Southwest is the story not only of white appropriation of Native American culture, but also of the acumen of tribal peoples in adjusting to severe economic dislocation brought on by the forces of modernization.

Padget notes that Native American participation in the burgeoning Southwest tourist industry often created bitter intratribal conflicts. Many tribal members questioned the desirability of religious rites being used for commercial entertainment purposes. Native critics argued that few whites had any recognition or sensitivity to the role of the Snake Dance in Hopi culture; they were solely attracted by the spectacle. Padget does not fully address these internal and intertribal schisms. Did gender, age, degree of Native blood, or individual wealth affect support? Also, what factors led some tribes to embrace tourism as a means of economic betterment and others to reject it? Finally, how does the popularity of the public performances of Pueblo ceremonies relate to the success of Wild West shows and minstrel shows elsewhere in America?

Another area that Padget leaves underdeveloped is the relationship between Native American peoples and Hispanic settlers in the Southwest. Padget is careful to

point out that Anglo-Americans often characterized Hispanics in terms very reminiscent to those used to describe Native Americans: inherently lazy, drunken, and carefree. Padgett notes that one reason New Mexico and Arizona remained federally run territories for so long, was that officials in Washington, D. C., feared the ramifications of self-government and statehood for a population that was overwhelmingly Native American and Hispanic. Padgett does not account for why tourists were attracted to the communal nature of pueblo life but showed no interest in Hispanic life in the barrios. Nor does Padgett make an attempt to understand how people of these two interrelated cultures viewed each other.

It is unclear why the author arbitrarily ends his study of Southwestern tourism in 1935. Much of the evidence that Padgett cites of Native American agency in determining the parameters of public performance of dances comes from more recent times. The book's conclusion contains remarkable evidence of how much has changed in recent years at Taos pueblo. Most of the residents now live outside of the pueblo and "commute" in for public tours. Within the pueblo, Native artisans sell jewelry, artwork, basketry, and blankets to tourists. The pueblo is now closed for two months a year and also for special ceremonial occasions. Interestingly, a large casino has recently been built on the reservation. Despite these profound changes, the reader is left with no explanation as to their cause. A longer framework of analysis for the book could have provided key insight into the transformation in Native American participation in southwestern tourism.

This study illustrates how a broad range of Euro-American explorers, novelists, and painters helped to forge an identity of the Southwest as a "land of enchantment," a place of unparalleled natural beauty, and an oasis for members of "primitive" cultures to enjoy the tranquility that freedom from the fast-paced modern industrial world brings. What it lacks, however, is the perspective of Native Americans and Hispanic Americans themselves on their incorporation into this idyllic vision. Although Padgett is willing to grant them agency, he does not provide evidence of how they actively sought to contribute their own vision of the Southwest to the national consciousness.

MURRAY WICKETT
Brock University

ETHAN R. YORGASON. *Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 261. \$32.50.

It is well known that Mormonism changed in highly significant ways between 1880 and 1920, but Ethan R. Yorgason adds the special insight of a cultural geographer to understanding this transformation as he focuses on changing perspectives among both Mormons and non-Mormons in the "Mormon culture region." Nineteenth-century non-Mormons were bent

on "Americanizing" Mormons by forcing them to get rid of polygamy, church domination of political life, and their brand of communitarianism. The Mormons' defense of these things exacerbated intraregional strain, but by 1920 they had abandoned polygamy, aligned themselves with national political parties, were no longer dominated politically by the church, and fully embraced American capitalism. As a result, the relationship between Mormons and non-Mormons was entirely different. In broad outline this is no surprise to students of Mormon history, but what is new is Yorgason's fresh interpretation of the underlying nature of the changes.

After a fine analysis of the nature of regions and their social significance in America, Yorgason discusses four major themes involved in the transformation of the Mormon cultural region: gender, the move from communitarianism to capitalism, perceptions of Mormon relationships to America and its history, and the family. In doing so, he does not hide his personal biases in favor of feminism, egalitarianism, and current liberal politics.

Yorgason shows that Mormon women were more independent and had more "cultural authority" in 1880 than they did in 1920. They were also part of the larger feminist movement, especially in the quest for suffrage. By 1920, however, they had stopped trying to reform gender roles further. Content with their achievements and with their roles in the still strongly patriarchal, monogamous American society, they were unprepared, Yorgason argues, to take the next step with American feminism that involved criticism of that society.

Yorgason also holds that Mormonism changed from a society based on communitarian ideology to one that accepted and promoted "individualism, speculation, and inequality" (p. 78). He contends, however, that the standard perception of this change is too simplistic for it does not treat the economy as having a cultural or moral component. The major change was not that Mormons became capitalists but, rather, their "further acceptance of capitalistic cultural logic" (p. 127), which assumed the necessity of subordinate positions, or inequality, in society as opposed to the earlier emphasis on equality. He sees this in changing attitudes toward wage labor as well as in the effort by Mormons to colonize the Uintah Indian Reservation after its opening in 1905. In this particular capitalistic pursuit, Yorgason concludes, Mormons, "much like most people throughout U.S. history, thought only through their own conceptual prisms . . . They exhibited few qualms about sacrificing Native American communal wealth at the altar of their own Zion" (p. 94).

Nineteenth-century non-Mormons questioned Mormon loyalty to America, while Mormons saw themselves as a persecuted people and "felt little compulsion to conform to national sociocultural norms or to follow the federal government in bad policies" (p. 131). By 1920, however, they were seen, both by

themselves and others, as a loyal part of the American mainstream. They no longer linked religion with political opinion. They looked at their own history, and its relationship to American history, in a new way, tending to suppress the differences and emphasize the similarities. They saw their destiny tied with that of the nation, and felt that their mission "was as much to make Americans as to make Mormons" (p. 166). They still had unique religious beliefs and practices but, having been "Americanized," they were also "happy to jump on the nation's bandwagon" (p. 170), along with regional non-Mormons.

Yorgason also argues that nineteenth-century Mormons "never felt a great need to separate family and home from the rest of society," whereas by 1920 they had accepted the nuclear family as the "fundamental unit of society" (p. 175). There was also a regional connotation for the word "*home*," and in 1920 the regional home was shared more comfortably with non-Mormons. Yorgason laments, however, that something was lost in this transformation: "the willingness of many people to seek fundamental changes in American society" (p. 184). Most Mormons were no longer aware "that Mormon culture once encompassed a social agenda offering fundamental alternatives to the national status quo" (p. 186).

In a brief afterword, Yorgason idealizes a time when Mormonism will again be in greater tension with the broader society, rather than being comfortable as a "model minority." It ought to stand for more egalitarian political, social, and economic reforms, he implies, and, as an active Mormon, he is saddened by what he thinks his church has lost by not participating in that "wider conversation" (p. 192).

Yorgason demonstrates a remarkable grasp of relevant secondary literature, drawing on various sociological models as well as a wide range of historical literature for his interpretive framework. He has done painstaking research in primary sources, including sermons, letters, diaries, newspapers, periodicals, and various government documents. This book is highly complex, and perhaps not one for popular consumption, but it ought to be brought to the attention of anyone seriously interested in Mormon or regional history. Yorgason's challenging insights add an important dimension to the discussion of this time of transition, and they may well have a significant impact on how future scholars deal with it.

JAMES B. ALLEN
Brigham Young University

KATHLEEN FLAKE. *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 238. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

The Mormons prosper. So expansive is their growth and so distinctive their character and history that influential non-Mormon analysts construe the movement as a new religious tradition—perhaps the most

important to arise since Islam. Exactly one century ago, however, the sprawling western Latter-day Saint (LDS) church-kingdom writhed in crisis.

Traditional accounts of Mormonism's traumatic re-entry into American culture tell of submission to an indignant, steel-armed federal government that forced the Saints, upon pain of corporate extinction, to surrender polygamy and theocracy. Statehood for Utah followed. Kathleen Flake focuses on a subsequent extension of this late nineteenth-century history, weaving a more interesting, illuminating, complex, and persuasive tale. "The Mormon Problem," Flake argues, was not eliminated through legal force in the 1890s. Instead, resolution came during the first decade of the twentieth century, accomplished through political compromise satisfying the principal interests of both the nation and the LDS Church. She shows, moreover, that the transformation of Mormonism into something acceptable to a country that was itself changing is also the story of the evolving relation of churches to the state in the early twentieth century.

Between 1903 and 1907, the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections held hearings about the right of newly elected Utah Senator Reed Smoot, a (monogamist) Mormon Apostle, to retain his seat. Prompted by mainline Protestants and others determined to highlight Mormon practices and loyalties they found threatening to the moral and political fabric of the nation, the hearings centered superficially on Smoot. Actually, however, they provided a national forum for the most thoroughgoing scrutiny of a religious body in the Senate's history, scrutiny Flake links intriguingly to contemporaneous congressional antitrust initiatives.

One hundred witnesses produced a 3,500-page record of every Mormon distinctive: "un-American" family structure, private rituals, "secret oaths," an open canon, economic communalism, and theocratic politics. Spectators overfilled the galleries; cartoonists and journalists portrayed each day's scandal; individual senators received 1,000 letters a day from angry constituents. Testimony established that the LDS Church continued to exert profound political and economic sway in Utah and that Latter-day Saint allegiance to polygamy had not wholly dissolved. An official 1890 church declaration abandoning the practice, issued under federal pressure, had been selectively winked at. This yielded, among some in the church's inner circle, a distinction between public policy and private practice.

Supported by Theodore Roosevelt and the Republican establishment, Smoot ultimately retained his seat. But the unwanted attention the hearings generated made them a Mormon trauma, bringing genuine discipline for those who had recently entered polygamy and the resignation of two apostles. More important, they compelled changes in internal policy and a reformulation of some church doctrines. LDS leaders had been pushed to paper-thin definitional distinctions—even prevarication—while attempting to negotiate competing claims of faith and citizenship under a

searing national spotlight. To mute charges that Mormons owed ultimate political allegiance to an entity other than the nation, church president Joseph F. Smith, under oath, diluted claims of revelation and authority, thereby impairing the religious glue of some of the Mormon faithful.

Among the strands Flake pursues is the question of how religions successfully manage profound change without forfeiting identity. For the Saints this entailed the reworking of institutional memory: a forgetting of their founding prophet's last revelation (polygamy) while rediscovering his first, an encounter with God, which theretofore had only a recessive place in Mormon consciousness, overshadowed by the appearance of the Book of Mormon and the rise of the church.

Flake may oversimplify here. Mormonism's first generation was dying off in the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s, just as Smith's narrated First Vision began to ascend in importance. Its entry into the scriptural and cultural canon may represent a natural process of recovery akin to the formulation of the gospels in the two generations after Jesus's death. Yet Flake is brilliant in baring the function of the rediscovered First Vision for a reconstructed Mormonism blinking—but soon to flourish—in the light of an altered reality.

Flake knows the power of narrative. She is steeped in the practice of law and in the study of constitutional history, religion, feminist theory, ritual, and identity formation. No more sophisticated mind has turned its attention to the history of the Latter-day Saints.

PHILIP BARLOW
Hanover College

PETER CONOLLY-SMITH. *Translating America: An Immigrant Press Visualizes American Popular Culture, 1895–1918*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 2004. Pp. ix, 414. \$22.95.

This book describes the vertiginous collapse of German-American *Kultur* in New York City between 1895 and 1918. Once hailed by anxious WASPs and pompous Germans alike as the measure of vitality and vision—of all that was missing from Anglo-American arts and letters—by the end of World War I *Kultur* had succumbed to the crushing assimilative force of an emergent popular media. Author Peter Conolly-Smith emphasizes that the war only completed a process already under way. The anti-German hysteria that war unleashed in the United States would have been negligible without the medium to transmit it. In a city rent by language differences, new cartoons, comics, films, and theater delivered visual messages that any immigrant could understand: look and act like *them* and you'll have a rough go of it here. Better to look and act like *us*.

Kultur did not yield to pop culture overnight. It did so as the result of a quarter-century-long process of social mediation that Conolly-Smith calls “translation.” Translation is really a form of negotiation. In literature, the translator negotiates between language;

in turn-of-the-century New York, translators negotiated between cultural communities. There are many fascinating characters in this book, but few villains. The imagery Conolly-Smith examines emerged as the product of artistic agency, audience participation, economic imperative, and social prejudice. The author has a sharp eye for partly-intended consequences. For example, he tells the story of one German-American cartoonist who so thoroughly Americanized his audience that he translated himself right out of a job.

This book succeeds by superimposing the narrative of German-American acculturation over the more fundamental process of America defining itself. At the turn of the twentieth century, suffrage and labor agitation, political corruption, and economic disparity, among other things, unsettled conventions of social propriety and national loyalty, engendering vociferous debate. Joining the debate was a host of new voices, many of them transported by the new visual media that are the subject of the book. Conolly-Smith is especially interested in German-American voices, and he turns for evidence to three influential and competing German-language dailies: the conservative *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, the socialist *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, and the *New Yorker Morgen Journal* of William Randolph Hearst. Offering a lesson in how to read a newspaper, Conolly-Smith extracts not only cartoons, comics, and advertisements but also extensive commentary on theater, films, and the new pop cultural in general. A Smithsonian imprint, this book is full of illuminating images; with Conolly-Smith's deft guidance, acculturation occurs before our eyes.

Acculturation often implies linear progression. Conolly-Smith demonstrates how complex acculturation really is. Immigrants' adjustment to the United States was never simply a matter of loyalty divided between old country and new. Cutting across national loyalty were all sorts of other allegiances and affiliations: to competing forms of cultural expression, to newspapers, political ideologies, race and gender norms. The complex of loyalties, allegiances, and affiliations that constitute life can cohere, of course, but they often do not. This study shows how New York's different German-American communities negotiated positions on important social issues, ultimately negotiating difference away.

The pace of the acculturation that Conolly-Smith describes is breathtaking. I found myself wondering if one can argue conclusively about cultural change based on evidence drawn from a single generation—from less than that, in fact. For despite purporting to trace the collapse of *Kultur* over two-plus decades, the balance of the book addresses the five years of World War I. Might a longer scope mitigate evidence of *Kultur*'s collapse? Anthropologists have taught us to think of cultural change in generational terms, in patterns of ebb and flow. Did *Kultur* go underground? Did it migrate? Did it reemerge elsewhere in the United States? To bolster his argument, Conolly-Smith points to Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moyni-

han's conclusion in *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City* (1963) that Germans disappeared as a group by mid-century, but we have come to think of ethnicity in rather different terms from the religious and political interest groups that were the focus of the Glazer/Moynihan study. This is just another way of saying that I would like to see Conolly-Smith extend his analysis beyond World War I. I look forward to the sequel.

JONATHAN M. HANSEN
Harvard University

HUPING LING. *Chinese St. Louis: From Enclave to Cultural Community*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 286. Cloth \$68.50, paper \$22.95.

Huping Ling's book makes two important contributions. First, it is a history of a Chinese community in the Midwest, a region that has received little attention in terms of Asian-American studies. Second, it proposes a model, defined as cultural community, for understanding post-1965 Asian-American communities.

In the first part of the book, Ling provides a detailed account of the Chinese-American community of a few hundred people in St. Louis in the period between the 1870s and the 1960s. Mainly due to the Chinese exclusion laws and anti-Chinese prejudice, the majority of the Chinese in St. Louis were adult men with families in China, and most were in the laundry business. They lived in a small back street, known as Hop Alley, in downtown St. Louis. In Hop Alley, there were Chinese grocery stores, Chinese restaurants, and the headquarters of the On Leong Merchants and Laborers Association. The On Leong Association "was the legislative, judiciary, and administrative authority" for the Chinese in St. Louis (p. 89). It sponsored cultural activities such as the Chinese New Year celebration. Its headquarters provided local Chinese residents with spaces for family and social gatherings. Hop Alley was a commercial, residential, and recreational sanctuary for Chinese St. Louisians.

Ling's remarkable research brings Hop Alley to life. Old newspaper accounts, stories told by the few remaining residents of Hop Alley, photos of families and of social gatherings, and church and cemetery records have all been mined to reconstruct the bygone community. Utilizing merchant status, which was an exempt category according to the Exclusion Act of 1882, and American citizenship, Chinese St. Louisians started in the late nineteenth century to bring wives and children over from China. Chinese merchant wives in St. Louis wore American dresses, spoke English, and even decorated their houses the American way. Chinese wives of common laborers and small merchants, however, worked hard in helping to run family businesses such as restaurants and in raising a family. The appearance of families helped bring the Chinese community closer to the mainstream society. Chinese women actively participated in Christian church activ-

ities, while their children went to public schools as well as Sunday schools. American-born Chinese participated in World War II as soldiers or as factory workers. Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943 opened a small door for Chinese professionals to immigrate to St. Louis. The urban renewal movement finally affected the Chinese community in the 1960s, when Hop Alley had to make way for the city's new stadium.

The second part of the book details the various political, economic, cultural, and social activities of the St. Louis Chinese community in the post-1960s period. In this section, Ling establishes the cultural community model. "Common cultural practices and beliefs of its members" (p. 12) define such a community. Such a community runs ethnic-language schools, newspapers, and religious institutions, sponsors cultural and social activities, and organizes political coalitions. A cultural community, Ling further points out, does not usually have its members live in a specific geographical location such as the old Chinatown.

Ling presents ample facts to support her proposed model. She shows that, in the period between the 1960s and 1980s, the Chinese in St. Louis experienced several changes that caused the disappearance of the old ethnic enclave and the establishment of a cultural community. First, many Chinese moved to live in the suburbs. Second, most of them moved away from the laundry business and into other service businesses. Third, newly arrived Chinese immigrants and college-trained, American-born Chinese worked in professional jobs. In this process, community organizations such as the St. Louis Chapter of the Organization of Chinese Americans and cultural institutions such as Chinese-language schools emerged. Instead of a geographic Chinatown, such organizations and institutions created a sense of community. Language schools, cultural institutions, and political organizations existed purely for reasons of ethnic solidarity and for the social and cultural needs of members.

This emerging cultural community, Ling points out, experienced further development in the 1990s and 2000s. The influx of several thousand Chinese immigrants, most of whom were professionals and students, added to an already viable Chinese community in St. Louis. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, this community supported two Chinese-language newspapers, organized the Chinese Cultural Days activities each year, and had many community organizations and cultural institutions. In 2001, the Chinese-language school had three hundred students in sixteen classes.

Ling's model for a cultural community is well established and solidly supported. The model breaks the stereotypes of old ethnic enclaves and establishes a new way of understanding modern ethnic communities. The book is an appropriate read for those in the fields of ethnic and immigration history, community

and public policy studies, cultural and diaspora studies, and in American and Chinese history.

SHEHONG CHEN

University of Massachusetts,
Lowell

MARIE ROSE WONG. *Sweet Cakes, Long Journey: The Chinatowns of Portland, Oregon*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 337. \$24.95.

Steeped in primary source research, Marie Rose Wong's book traces the convoluted evolution of the second largest concentration of Chinese Americans in the United States. The fact that this community, based in Portland, Oregon, through 1930, remains so little known underscores scholarly biases toward the largely unique history of San Francisco's Chinatown. Wong's detailed account of Portland is invaluable for the comparative insights it offers into the better known Chinatowns of California and New York.

Through local newspapers, documents in Seattle's branch of the National Archives, and municipal and state records, Wong recovers a chapter of Chinese-American history that differs markedly from those of neighboring California and Washington. Her training as a spatial demographer produces Wong's major conceptual contribution in the argument that Portland's early lack of a ghetto or enclave concentration of Chinese stemmed from relatively low levels of discrimination. Unlike San Francisco or Seattle, where anti-Chinese sentiments became institutionalized in the form of land ordinances and restrictions, Portland's leading citizens refrained from legalizing their prejudices, although also concerned about the spread of Chinese. Their restraint permitted a relatively dispersed settlement of Chinese as graphed in fifteen maps.

Before the 1940s, Portland featured three Chinese districts: the earliest Chinatown community scattered throughout downtown Portland beginning in 1851, the urban Chinese Vegetable Gardens located on the banks of Tanner Creek between 1879 and 1910, and the new, and only surviving, Chinatown area that developed after 1906 when a series of fires conjoined with an urban beautification movement to relocate Chinese to the city's northern end. Portland's Chinatown district did not fully condense until the 1940s, when World War II declines in discrimination and civic rejuvenation projects combined to suburbanize some Chinese while clarifying a smaller urban business center.

Conditions in neighboring states greatly influenced the size and composition of Portland's Chinese community. Heightened levels of anti-Chinese violence in California and Washington during the 1880s drove Chinese to seek sanctuary in Oregon. Violence and crime among Portland's Chinese skyrocketed after the 1890s, when gang members fled police crackdowns on secret societies in Los Angeles and San Francisco. Wong finds that after passage of the Chinese Exclusion

Act in 1882, illegally immigrant Chinese found a city such as Portland to be a safer place to live and work because the Immigration Bureau lacked sufficient resources and personnel to police more remote regions of the United States.

Wong's monograph covers topics as diverse as demography, legal and institutional history, immigration policy and institutions, architecture, geography, gender, brief biographies, ethnic relations, and economics. The author highlights the revealing contrasts between strategies employed by immigrant and American-born Chinese. The most prominent immigrant leaders, Moy Back Hin and Seid Back, attained success by straddling multiple worlds: Chinese and American, official and unofficial, legal and illegal. Hin, for example, became "Portland's Chinese millionaire" (p. 178) as a labor contractor, import-export merchant, and sometime opium smuggler who was appointed China's honorary consul for the Northwest despite well-known memberships in a secret society and the antimonarchist Chinese Reform Association. American-born Seid Gain Back, Jr., however, emphasized his Americanness by changing his surname to Gain, attempting to enlist in the army for the Spanish-American War, founding the paramilitary organization, American-Born Chinese Brigade, and becoming an interpreter with the Portland branch of the Immigration Bureau in 1903. He acquired an "impeccable record" of service (p. 192) by prioritizing government interests to the disadvantage of Portland's largely immigrant Chinese community. Back, Jr. rose to the position of interpreter-at-large with supervisory capacities over immigration translators throughout the United States but quickly became disillusioned with his limited authority to implement reforms. He then quit his job, reclaimed his Chinese surname, and returned to Portland to manage his father's business empire and lead Portland's Chinese-American community.

Despite the fresh perspectives offered by this monograph, it is already dated and lacks reference to the plethora of pathbreaking scholarship on migration and ethnicity published since 1998. Wong thus misses many opportunities for more nuanced conclusions and comparative analysis. However, it is reassuring to find that she draws many of the same conclusions as scholars working with different sets of sources. For example, her descriptions of the corruption, widespread immigration fraud, systemic problems of underfunding, and poor quality of personnel in the immigration service echo that of Erika Lee's *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (2003). A less mediated flaw is the absence of Chinese-language sources that would grant far greater insights into Chinese experiences of adaptation and survival in the Pacific Northwest.

Despite these limitations, Wong's book is an engaging read and features an abundance of illustrations, maps, and tables providing fodder for interstate comparisons. It illuminates the importance of grounding

studies of migration and ethnicity in both localized history and national and transnational contexts.

MADELINE Y. HSU
San Francisco State University

CHRISTINE ROSEN. *Preaching Eugenics: Religious Leaders and the American Eugenics Movement*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 286. \$35.00.

During the last few decades, religious spokespersons have played a central role in discussions of strategies for regulating marriage, reproduction, and family size. It is therefore surprising that the role of religious leaders within the eugenics movement, which in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries sought both to encourage "fit" couples to increase the number of their progeny and to persuade, even coerce, the "feeble-minded" and others deemed biologically "unfit" not to procreate, has received so little attention. In fact, Christine Rosen's book is the first sustained account of the response of opinion leaders within the American religious community to eugenics.

After briefly describing the origins of the eugenics movement in the late nineteenth century, Rosen argues that numerous religious spokespersons within the "Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish mainstream" (p. 4) joined other reform-minded intellectuals and political leaders in writing books and articles espousing eugenics and lending their support to programs that in one way or another sought to regulate human reproduction in the name of creating a healthier, more "fit" society. Most of those mainstream religious leaders, she argues, embraced "progressive," liberal theological perspectives. Fearing for their prestige and even their relevance in an increasingly scientific age, liberals drew on the resources of science in attempting to reconstruct doctrines and take practical steps to alleviate human suffering. Their commitment to "scientific philanthropy" ultimately brought them into contact with claims that heredity played a crucial role in shaping the contours of society. In the face of such claims, many of those liberals, including such notable figures as Harry Emerson Fosdick, John Haynes Holmes, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, found themselves supporting programs associated with the eugenics movement.

The author makes two particularly important contributions to our understanding of the role of religious leaders within the American eugenics movement. First, in showing that most of the support for coercive policies regulating marriage and births came from religious spokespersons on the liberal end of the theological spectrum, Rosen usefully complicates our understanding of the relationship between religion and reform during the first four decades of the twentieth century. She is not the first historian to recognize that theologically liberal opinion leaders proved quite willing to use the arm of the state to coerce the recalcitrant—whether they happened to be greedy slumlords or ambitious captains of industry—into behaving in ways that were consistent with the dictates of the

Social Gospel. Still, it is conservatives—especially conservative Protestants—who continue to be the religiousists who have most often been associated with coercive measures, most notably prohibition and immigration restriction. Second, she demonstrates that prior to 1930, when the papal encyclical *Casti Connubi* appeared to most Catholics to repudiate both the methods and the goals of the eugenics movement, American Catholic opinion leaders exhibited a wide range of opinion regarding eugenics. Some who were closely associated with social reform, such as the priest John Augustine Ryan, lent their names and their moral support to the eugenics movement.

Rosen's work leaves several important questions unanswered. One of the most obvious is whether religious opinion really affected the behavior of parishioners. Perhaps even more important, given the author's subject, Rosen does not tell us just how widespread and how intense both support for and opposition to eugenics really were among American religious leaders. Unfortunately, the vivid and telling case studies that the author presents are not sufficient to allow readers to determine whether eugenics was a matter of intense concern to a large number of religious leaders or whether it was a minor plank in a reform platform endorsed by a relative few. The author does acknowledge that some of the liberals who lent their names to organizations such as the American Eugenics Society were not particularly passionate in their support of eugenics. This raises the question of just how important religious spokespersons really believed eugenics was. Questions of breadth and depth of support and opposition are difficult to resolve, but they need to be addressed.

Notwithstanding these limitations, this book takes an important first step in grappling with the role that religious leaders during the early twentieth century played in public discussions concerning the regulation of childbirth. Rosen's work should inspire others to pursue investigation of that issue.

JOHN H. ROBERTS
Boston University

JIMMY ELAINE WILKINSON MEYER. *Any Friend of the Movement: Networking for Birth Control, 1920–1940*. (Women and Health: Cultural and Social Perspectives.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2004. Pp. xxii, 296. Cloth \$54.95, CD \$9.95.

In 1992, Ellen Chesler published a history of the birth control movement in the twentieth-century United States with the pioneering figure of activist Margaret Sanger standing firmly at the narrative's center. Subsequent historians knocked a few chinks in Sanger's heroic armor, however, stressing her refutation of her own radical roots as well as her strategic decision to forge links with the eugenics movement and population control efforts rather than continuing the struggle for women's reproductive rights. Debates about whether historians should valorize or condemn Sanger

ensued, much as her contemporaries had once become polarized around Sanger herself. A welcome corrective from Jimmy Elaine Wilkinson Meyer now moves historians forward in our understanding of the evolution of the birth control movement—away from Sanger's orbit of influence. As the title suggests, this book offers a view from the trenches, carefully reconstructing the intricacies involved in twenty years of organizing and sustaining the Maternal Health Association (MHA) of Cleveland, Ohio.

Wilkinson Meyer argues, in fact, that MHA organizers deliberately steered clear of any association with Sanger's early controversial appearances in Cleveland and endeavored to operate beneath the political and legal radar screens to avoid open clashes with local opponents of birth control, especially the influential Roman Catholic Church. MHA organizers represented the social and professional elite in Cleveland, and their very respectability afforded them effective cover as they ventured into potentially hostile territory, establishing their movement in the open space that had been created by ambiguities between federal and state laws governing, prescribing, selling, and advising about birth control. Their careful approach is well illustrated by the fact that, before beginning their operations, they sought to protect themselves via a formal legal opinion sanctioning the association, written by the husband of an MHA founder, a birth control supporter in his own right who practiced in one of Cleveland's most prestigious corporate law firms. MHA activists then confidently, albeit naively, proceeded on the assumption that they were operating within the limits of the law, even smuggling diaphragms into Ohio from New York in their personal luggage during their clinic's early years. Wilkinson Meyer maps in prodigious detail the professional and familial interconnections among those involved in MHA activities, constructing a clear picture of the MHA as a tight circle of elites who were careful, smart, and efficient in their endeavors and therefore ultimately successful in operating a birth control clinic within a potentially controversial milieu. They avoided public clashes by placing their activities within the acceptable rubric of child welfare and their clinics under the supervision of medical professionals. Local press coverage, for example, supported MHA fundraising activities without actually mentioning its contraceptive work at all. In Wilkinson Meyer's narrative, MHA activists are no crusaders for the rights of women and the poor, but neither are they rank amateur "ladies bountiful" dabbling in social reform and social control.

The book's local focus allows some interesting insights into the day-to-day realities of the birth control movement. Numerous illustrations including photographs, clinic forms, and MHA publicity material convey the general approach and tone of the association's activities. Letters from clients (albeit possibly saved only selectively by clinic operators, as Wilkinson Meyer acknowledges) reveal the true diversity of indi-

vidual circumstances that brought people to the clinic, and that kept them away. Cordial relationships developed between some clinic staff and clients, while other clients found the MHA's interest in their intimate lives intrusive. Men appear as organizers, physicians, and clients of the MHA, which actively encouraged male involvement in birth control by offering special "family responsibility" programs for them. While Wilkinson Meyer attends to issues of race and ethnicity, she does not fully explore their potential within her material. Particular events in the birth control movement outside of Ohio are mentioned as parallels without really being integrated into the story. Similarly, while the author discusses how the exigencies of the Great Depression created a more permissive climate for the birth control movement, she does not fully develop the analytical connections between the MHA and the national scene.

The book's conclusion is disappointing. Meyer Wilkinson rather arbitrarily ends her narrative in 1940 without discussing what became of the MHA and its clinics. The careful piecing together of detail that characterizes the book's early chapters largely dissipates by its closing chapter. It will prove difficult for readers to assess the MHA within the larger scope of birth control history in the United States.

LYNNE CURRY

Eastern Illinois University

KELLY SCHRUM. *Some Wore Bobby Sox: The Emergence of Teenage Girls' Culture, 1920–1945*. (Girls' History & Culture Book Series.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2004. Pp. xii, 209. \$29.95.

Over the past fifteen years or so, scholars in numerous disciplines have begun to combine the interests of women's studies, popular culture, and youth history to form the fledgling field of girls' studies. Kelly Schrum's book joins a growing conversation about the experiences, social roles, and identity formation of American teenage girls by examining their relationships to popular and commercial culture. Focusing on the interwar period of the twentieth century, Schrum draws from a creative array of evidence: institutional sources, such as longitudinal studies conducted by psychologists and industrial or educational surveys of consumer patterns, are augmented with material from popular magazines and newspapers, photographs and illustrations from high school yearbooks, and a handful of girls' diaries preserved in archives. She employs this original evidence to prove that, through their uses of popular culture and their peer rituals, adolescent girls initiated America's understandings of "the teenager" as a distinct social category. In so doing, girls also negotiated the various identity positions—as individuals, peer-group members, and developing adults—with which they struggled in their adolescent years.

To make this argument, Schrum tackles two assumptions that have tended to dominate earlier studies of youth: that "the teenager" only arrived after World

War II, and that the default identity of youth is male. Schrum persuasively demonstrates that girls were the first teenagers, and that their growth and social impact occurred far earlier than previously thought: they led the way in developing society's consciousness of teens as early as the 1920s, when "awareness of high school girls as a distinct market originated with the fashion industry" (p. 5). Manufacturers, retailers, and advertisers in the fashion industry found and exploited a lucrative distinction between the sartorial needs of teens and those of little girls or grown women. Other industries were slower to follow; although teenage girls actively engaged with cosmetics, popular music, and film, the producers in those industries did not directly address teenagers until well after the phenomenon of "the teenager" was widely known and accepted. Indeed, Schrum's highly original research into the early, awkward relationships between teen consumer desires and industrial marketing strategies will fascinate historians of film, music, and commercial culture as well as girls' historians.

Long before most of these industries learned to acknowledge and accurately address the teen market, girls used products intended for adults to create their own rituals of meaning. Experimentations with fashion and cosmetics allowed girls to express fantasies of mature glamour, while also rehearsing styles more appropriate to the nascent category of teen identity. Girls combined their interests in fashion and popular culture to create distinctive styles, as when some proclaimed their favorite songs by sewing the appropriate musical notes onto the hems of their skirts, or recycled outdated records by threading them with ribbons and wearing them as hats (pp. 101–02). Such practices allowed girls to articulate their solidarity with an emergent peer group while also allowing them enough improvisational options to express their own individuality as well. Similarly, film fandom afforded girls a wealth of opportunities to perform vital maneuvers in developing self and peer-group identities. Perhaps even more important than the content of the films themselves, the fan culture surrounding films and the peer bonding it allowed constituted a rich and lively channel for girls' energies.

Some will recognize Schrum's debts to John Fiske, who theorizes that subjects can avoid the oppressive ideologies of hegemonic power through their individual uses of popular culture materials. While many have criticized this theory for seeming to overstate the causal links between consumption and resistance, Schrum avoids simplistic optimism by frequently reiterating that the search for agency in girls' history is a story not of either/or but of both/and: girls employed the products of hegemonic industries in unique and oppositional ways, but they were not therefore immunized against the dominant ideologies imbedded in those products. As she argues, "Teenage girls navigated consumer messages [and] challenged parents, schools, adult advisors, and even peers over when and how to interact with these messages, but they did not

object to their central tenets" (p. 174). Keeping this uneasy balance at the forefront allows Schrum to explore and give credit to the kinds of strength and power girls gleaned from individual expression and peer-group formation, while still acknowledging the limits of that power.

Clearly written, amply illustrated with rare source material, and full of fascinating illuminations of a history we have barely begun to learn, this book is ideal for undergraduates and advanced scholars alike and makes a substantial contribution to the growing field of girls' studies. Even more intriguingly, it sheds light on the links between past and present, demonstrating that girls of the 1920s–1940s played a vital role in creating "the teenage girl," a figure whose social impact has steadily grown and continues to resonate. Schrum's savvy awareness of that continuity makes her book especially timely and welcome.

ILANA NASH

Western Michigan University

CHRISTOF MAUCH. *The Shadow War Against Hitler: The Covert Operations of America's Wartime Secret Intelligence Service*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 333. \$32.50.

"In an age of bullies we cannot afford to be a sissy," declared William Joseph Donovan, director of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), America's first national intelligence service dedicated to the principle of a centralized (as opposed to departmentalized) intelligence organization responsible to one command. Christof Mauch's book, elegantly translated from German into English by Jeremiah Riemer, is a brilliant volume that expertly chronicles the epic saga of the OSS's robust intelligence warfare against the Third Reich, with vivid narratives and critical analysis skillfully intermingled throughout the text.

Established just months before America's entrance into the war in December 1941, the OSS fought its way through the mind-boggling bureaucratic turfs of Washington's intelligence mandarins, revolutionized America's intelligence concept and practice, experimented with virtually all types of modern methods of espionage and special operations, from the ingenious to the absurd, until its sudden demise in September 1945 as ordered by President Harry S. Truman.

Unlike most other intelligence organizations in the world, the OSS is remarkable for its extraordinary amount of paper trail that contains both analytical reports and operational files. Unlike any other intelligence organizations in the world, the OSS is completely exposed to the outside world; starting from early 1980s, the CIA, the successor of the OSS and chief custodian of the OSS records, has begun to release all the OSS-related documents. Collectively known as Record Group 226 (RG226) at the U.S. National Archives and totaling a staggering 8,500 cubic feet, the OSS files are the primary sources for Mauch's book. Secondary in importance is the OSS

Oral History Project transcripts, which the author has used effectively. Curiously, this abundance of sources presents a difficulty for Mauch, who admits that "it is the wealth of classical evidence, not its paucity that makes things difficult for the researcher" (p. 3). One-third of this book consists of notes and bibliography that support Mauch's masterful narratives and analysis.

Thus far, scholars of World War II intelligence operations related to Nazi Germany have focused on three particular areas: the research and analysis of the OSS, the OSS-operated agent infiltration schemes into Germany, and the internal German resistance movement against Adolf Hitler's National Socialism. Mauch's book is the first attempt to bring a "wide-lens perspective" and provide panoramic, comprehensive coverage of all activities of American intelligence against the Third Reich, stressing the interconnectedness of all the operations that were mainly organized in Washington, London, and Bern.

The problem with Mauch's ambition is that, for all practical purposes, it is impossible to cover every operation because of the sheer mass of documents available. Consequently, the author resorts to selective coverage and thematic analysis. In choosing episodes and relevant cases, however, Mauch does an excellent job of assuring that the selected topics reflect a typical pattern and have ample OSS documentation. The result is a fascinating account of America's "shadow war against Hitler" with a comprehensive grasp of the entire scope of operations.

However, this is not just a mechanical recount of intelligence exploits for adventure-seeking spy buffs. It is also a serious intellectual probe about how a New World nation, growing up loathing the dirty trickery of the Old World, gradually came to terms with unpleasant, nasty, and even immoral ways of conducting warfare; and how the nation's leaders came to accept propaganda, sabotage, running Fifth Columns, and assassinations as legitimate ways of acting. With great intellectual sophistication, Mauch deftly discusses the ambivalence felt by many OSS agents with regard to these methods of shadow warfare, the ideological tension within the OSS analyst community, and FDR's penchant for handling private German agents, such as Ernst "Putzi" Hansftaengl, directly from the White House, thus subverting Donovan's authority.

This is a must read for anyone who studies America's war against Nazi Germany.

MAOCHUN YU
United States Naval Academy

MAX PAUL FRIEDMAN. *Nazis and Good Neighbors: The United States Campaign Against the Germans of Latin America in World War II*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 359. \$30.00.

In this book, Max Paul Friedman makes a significant contribution to twentieth-century history. Based on prodigious research conducted on three continents, it

provides a richly textured case study of a failed diplomatic and security program. The book is persuasively argued, lucidly written, and seasoned with black humor. Friedman's timely study merits an audience not only of historians and their students but also of policy makers and informed citizens.

Friedman explores the compelling story of the deportation of over 4,000 Germans from Latin America and their subsequent internment in the United States during World War II. In conjunction with the deportation program, Washington launched a systematic campaign of economic warfare against German business interests in the region. These measures alienated Latin American states by underscoring the United States's readiness to drop both "the letter and spirit of the Good Neighbor policy" (p. 3). Friedman holds that the "campaign against the region's Germans" effectively ended that policy "during the Second World War, not the Cold War" (p. 230).

Friedman argues that the United States founded its policies on faulty assumptions about the alleged menace posed by a Fifth Column threat, the level of Nazi interest in the Western Hemisphere, and Latin America's vulnerability to subversion. Even as Latin American states took measures to crack down on Nazi activity, Washington determined such efforts inadequate. U.S. policy makers bullied states into deporting perceived security threats and blacklisting German companies. Secretary of State Cordell Hull simplistically interpreted "any resistance by a Latin American government as de facto evidence of pro-Axis sympathy" (p. 84).

Friedman concludes that "Acceptance of the Nazis among the Germans of Latin America" was "broad, but not deep" (p. 42). Although Nazi Party membership among ethnic Germans ranged from three to nine percent in major Latin American nations, very few posed a security risk. Moreover, Adolf Hitler lacked interest in the region and largely neglected it. Drawing on State Department and Justice Department records, Friedman shows that only a tiny minority of those interned in the United States could have plausibly been deemed genuine threats. Indeed, the internees included eighty-one Jews, many of them refugees of Nazi oppression.

American journalists, military intelligence officers, and especially agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation helped to build and sustain the myth of a powerful German Fifth Column at work in the Western Hemisphere. Friedman observes that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) led the American intelligence effort and "was home to some of the most poorly informed U.S. officials working in Latin America" (p. 64). Agents rarely spoke either Spanish or German and acted as "instant experts" after receiving only several weeks' training. The FBI often paid informants on a commission basis, and, not surprisingly, entrepreneurial tipsters turned in Germans who posed no security threat.

Friedman's narrative dwells on ironies and unin-

tended consequences. A program designed to increase security actually diverted valuable resources and undermined American credibility in the region. The United States's policy helped authoritarian leaders, who used it as an opportunity to deport political foes and to steal the property of prosperous Germans. Conversely, the program harmed democratic statesmen in Latin America who protested the infringements on their sovereignty. In the U.S.-run internment camps, Friedman comments on the "kafkaesque" quality of daily life. In some instances, American camp commanders allowed hard-core Nazis to run newspapers and stage rallies. As a result, the large numbers of internees hostile or indifferent to the Nazi message found themselves intimidated by fascists in Texas and Oklahoma!

Friedman's evidence leads him to severe judgments regarding American policy. However, he does not tell a monochrome tale of bungling. Justice Department officials emerge as competent and fair-minded. A cadre of dedicated Latin American specialists, valiantly if futilely, sought to persuade the State Department to adopt a multilateral approach to security issues.

Friedman exposes to view Washington's reliance on unilateral diplomacy, dependence on bad intelligence, intellectual rigidity in the face of false assumptions, and failure to heed foreign service officers who best understood Latin America. An insufficiency of circumspection and humility and a surplus of certainty led Washington into a damaging and misguided foreign policy.

FRANCIS MACDONNELL
Southern Virginia University

ZI ZHONGYUN. *No Exit? The Origin and Evolution of U.S. Policy toward China, 1945–1950*. (A Study of the Maureen and Mike Mansfield Center.) Norwalk, Conn.: Eastbridge. 2004. Pp. xx, 334. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$24.95.

The author of this fine monograph, originally published in Chinese in 1987, is among the most well-known and well-respected Chinese scholars of American Studies and United States-China relations. Zi Zhongyun's book was one of the first historical studies based on extensive use of American archives to emerge in the early period of normalization and is based largely on research conducted in 1982–1983, when she was a visiting scholar at the Center of International Studies at Princeton University. Michael H. Hunt, in a helpful foreword to this volume, correctly calls Zi's book "a historical breakthrough," as it examines U.S. policy with a sensitivity absent from earlier work from the People's Republic of China (PRC). The Chinese edition won a 1993 prize as one of the most important works in the social sciences to be published in China in the previous fifteen years. The author describes her book as strictly a "work of history" in which she has

tried "to explore the historical facts and to present them as faithfully as possible" (p. xvi).

The book tackles one of the most complicated periods in modern U.S.-China relations. It begins in the last year of the war against Japan, with the United States deeply but uncomfortably involved in Chinese affairs and conflicted about its objectives. The book ends in the months after the founding of the PRC in 1949 and before the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. In between, Washington's decisions helped establish a relationship that led to twenty years of hostility. Zi sees American antipathy toward the Chinese communists as a result of American global ambitions, ideological anticommunism, and domestic politics, especially the influence of the "China Lobby."

But hers is not a simplistic story of American imperialist aggression against the Chinese people, the traditional interpretation advanced in virtually all previous Chinese left-wing historiography since the 1940s. Instead, Zi argues for a more complex and contingent understanding. She maintains, for example, that the United States was not initially fully committed to Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Party but only reluctantly increased its involvement in the Chinese civil war, something it wanted to avoid. Zi also concludes that Chiang was no easy puppet of Washington but was more independent of the United States than previous mainland accounts maintained.

Zi also takes issue with several American interpretations. For example, she concludes that the famous Marshall mission to China was simultaneously biased in favor of Chiang and genuinely interested in preventing civil war in China. The mission was therefore actually self-defeating for Washington. As for the case of a "missed chance" for a U.S.-PRC understanding in 1949, Zi finds little evidence to support such a view. The failure of the Marshall mission effort in 1947 completely disillusioned the Chinese Communist Party leaders with the United States, in her analysis, and by 1949, few Chinese, other than the Nationalists, believed that the United States could be a friend of China.

Zi does not argue that U.S.-China conflict was ordained. Rather, she tries to understand, in her words, "the different political forces that pulled American policies in different directions" and to show that the final result was the work of all the elements involved, including the "wisdom or lack of wisdom of the key decision makers" (pp. xvii-xviii). It is for this reason that the title of her study contains the ambiguity of a question mark; she leaves to others to debate whether this history was "contingent or inevitable" (p. 280).

The book is based largely on American documentation, although the author also draws from interviews with party leaders, published sources from the Chinese mainland, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, and limited access to Chinese archives. It is less than half the length of the Chinese version, as the author eliminated considerable narrative and direct quotation of documentary sources

familiar to American specialists. She has, however, added an engaging epilogue to the English version in which she reflects on parallels between the history of the 1940s and U.S.-China relations in the late 1990s.

GORDON H. CHANG
Stanford University

SALIM YAQUB. *Containing Arab Nationalism: The Eisenhower Doctrine and the Middle East*. (The New Cold War History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. x, 377. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

Apart from a brief historical introduction that narrates the relations between the United States and the Arab countries between 1941 and 1956, this book is a detailed political history of U.S. foreign policy in the Arab Middle East between 1956 and 1958. Thwarting "the Soviet threat" in the Arab Middle East was the overarching goal of the Eisenhower doctrine. This doctrine most often manifested itself in attempts to coopt the Arab states against the perceived threat to U.S. interests posed by Gamal Abdel Nasser's brand of Arab nationalism. Salim Yaqub offers an account of this attempted cooptation and provides an analysis of the series of crises that ensued in Jordan, Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon (in April-July 1958). The Lebanese crisis marked the beginning of the end of the Eisenhower Doctrine.

The period from 1956 to 1958 was crucial in the history of U.S. relations with the Arab Middle East because during this time the United States succeeded in squandering the good will that it had earned in the 1956 Suez Crisis. Dwight D. Eisenhower had, after all, put a stop to the British-French-Israeli conspiracy to seize the Suez Canal and thereby undermine Nasser's authority. Paradoxically, Eisenhower's anticolonialist move eventually resulted in the Americans becoming the new colonial power in the region, at least in the eyes of the people living there. Because this period is often seen as marking the beginning of America's imperial moment in the Arab Middle East, it might be tempting to analyze U.S. intentions in 1956-1958 as deriving only from an old-fashioned, European-style pursuit of power. Such an analysis would involve mining the sources for signs of this and then presenting them as precursors of what was to come in U.S. policy in the Middle East. Yaqub firmly rejects this approach. He also resists appealing to a reductive "clash of civilizations" premise that holds U.S.-Arab relations to be governed ultimately by irreconcilable cultural differences. Instead he shows how the diplomatic failures of this period had much more to do with prosaic misalignments of national needs and interests than with cultural tensions: "Leaders on both sides were rational, resourceful, and selectively principled men, moved less by the need for cultural vindication than by a common desire for justice and advantage. Theirs was a clash of interests and priorities, not of civilizations" (p. 22).

Yaqub draws on an impressive array of sources from

the U.S., British, and Egyptian archives. He also relies on memoirs in both Arabic and English. It is important that a political and diplomatic history such as this takes the available Arabic source material seriously and incorporates it fluidly into the narrative. Yaqub's book succeeds in doing this to a much greater extent than comparable histories of the period. Nevertheless most of his narrative (over seventy percent) is driven by U.S. and British sources, and it would have been helpful if, in his introduction, Yaqub had provided us with a discussion of the problems arising from this imbalance of source materials. But this is a minor criticism of a book that illuminates this crucial period in U.S.-Arab Middle East relations in a nuanced and precise way.

LAILA PARSONS
McGill University

ROBERT RODGERS KORSTAD. *Civil Rights Unionism: Tobacco Workers and the Struggle for Democracy in the Mid-Twentieth-Century South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 556. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

Southern states tend to rank high in national surveys of good business climate and correspondingly low in worker protection, wages, and benefits. As Robert Rodgers Korstad relates in this clear, sometimes moving, and always intelligent narrative, there are good historic reasons for this situation. The author's focus on organizing efforts at the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company (RJR) in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, between 1942 and 1950 complements related works on civil rights unionism, especially Timothy J. Minchin's *The Color of Work: The Struggle for Civil Rights in the Southern Paper Industry, 1945-1980* (2001) and *Hiring the Black Worker: The Racial Integration of the Southern Textile Industry, 1960-1980* (1999). Like Minchin, Korstad argues that the southern labor movement is inseparable from the struggle for civil rights.

In June 1943, the mostly black and female work force in the stemming department of RJR struck over wages and working conditions. The action represented both a culmination and a beginning. Worker activism had accelerated during the 1930s, facilitated by the Wagner Act of 1935 and increased organizing activity by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). During World War II, the protection of federal labor legislation and the establishment of the National War Labor Board provided workers indispensable tools to challenge management.

For the black women and men of RJR, that support was absolutely necessary. Although Winston-Salem was not a company town, it was a place where family-owned companies, such as Reynolds and the textile-owning Hanes family, held inordinate power over the urban economy, law enforcement, and the political process. Workers battled not only a company but a community and, in the process, created a community of and for themselves.

The Communist Party also played a significant role

in this process. While the American Federation of Labor (AFL) dithered, the Communist-infused Food, Tobacco, Agricultural, and Allied Workers (FTA) of the CIO jumped into the organizing fray during the early war years. The leadership envisioned more than a union: they worked for an interracial labor organization, political power for workers, and, especially for African Americans in Winston-Salem, worker education and civil rights. Their campaign exemplified civil rights unionism.

The party did not convert Winston-Salem's working class population into ardent Reds. The mostly black union, Local 22, remained more committed to the principles of Christian justice and equality than to Communist dogma. Rallies, often held in black churches, opened with prayers and hymns, and even the protest songs carried a spiritual strain.

Initial results were impressive: the workers brought the mighty Reynolds to the bargaining table and secured better wages, a modicum of job security, collective bargaining rights, and more autonomy on the shop floor. Equally important, Local 22 was instrumental in securing the election of Winston-Salem's first black alderman, the Reverend Kenneth R. Williams, in 1947.

The postwar era, however, was not kind to leftist unions, especially in the South. Federal support of organized labor not only wilted but reversed after World War II. The Taft-Hartley Act was the strongest manifestation of that trend. Also, left-leaning unions came under increasing fire during the Red Scare that exploded after 1947. The combination, along with RJR's commitment to mechanization, wrecked Local 22.

Korstad does not exaggerate the legacy of Local 22. His measured tone and modest assertions are all the more impressive because his parents participated in the Local 22 movement (a fact he readily acknowledges). RJR responded with a version of welfare capitalism, and Winston-Salem's white power structure established an interracial organization to address a variety of issues (though not Jim Crow). But, while the movement gave voice, courage, and dignity to its mostly black participants, their ascendancy was short lived. The demise of civil rights unionism marginalized economic concerns in the struggle for black equality in the South during the 1950s and 1960s. The workers' organizations did not survive the Red Scare and had little or no connection to the New Left of the late 1960s.

This book is labor history at its best: aware of the broader historical context, well-grounded in the community of which it was a part, and thoroughly researched. Korstad has rescued African-American workers such as Robert Black, Velma Hopkins, and Theodosia Simpson from obscurity and placed them in the forefront of the struggle for racial and economic justice. The relatively few white workers who joined Local 22 are less articulate in Korstad's presentation, and sometimes the contextual material on unionization

is so dense that it submerges the narrative. But these are minor concerns in a book that any historian interested in race relations in the South since 1940 should read. It is a tale often told in the South, of what might have been.

DAVID GOLDFIELD
University of North Carolina,
Charlotte

JENNIFER KLEIN. *For All these Rights: Business, Labor, and the Shaping of America's Public-Private Welfare State*. Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 354. \$35.00.

In this groundbreaking book, Jennifer Klein sheds light on a deeply complex, profoundly important problem that lies at the heart of the modern American political economy. More so than citizens of other economically advanced nations, Americans depend heavily on private health insurance and pension benefits. Over the past two decades, the problems inherent in that dependency have begun to emerge with relentless ferocity. Manufacturing companies, airlines, and other major employers have begun to default on or to cut pension benefits for their retirees. Meanwhile, the costs of private workplace-based health insurance has skyrocketed, discouraging employers from hiring new full-time workers and forcing millions into the ranks of the uninsured.

The importance of Klein's book is twofold. On the one hand, she convincingly demonstrates that today's problems have a long history. On the other, she makes clear that today's problems were not inevitable. Rather, those problems are the product of political choices, power imbalances, and delivery models that were adopted decades ago.

Klein's story begins in the 1910s, when group insurance plans were pioneered by the Equitable Life Assurance Society and the Metropolitan Life Insurance company, who experimented with marketing life insurance policies to working-class people who had not previously been insured. Insuring working-class customers successfully required establishing large pools of risk, which in turn were most easily achieved by recruiting whole work forces through their employers. This effort appealed to employers as well in an era when they were constructing welfare capitalism to combat employee unrest and turnover. As such life insurance plans spread, they helped to spawn noncontributory industrial pensions, in which leading employers fully funded private retirement pensions as a way to further cement worker loyalty. Employers could terminate such arrangements at will, however, and they did so during the Great Depression. This nationwide wave of defaults in turn led to the rise of what Klein calls a national "ideology of security" (p. 78) that undergirded the enactment of a government-run Social Security system in 1935.

New Dealers envisioned that a national health in-

insurance component would soon be added to Social Security. But, as Klein shows, by the late 1920s the most influential policy makers in America's public health community had already concluded that workplace-based group health insurance plans would be the most economical model for health care delivery. They put in motion plans that ultimately subverted the drive for national health insurance. Over the course of the 1930s, a key actor in this arena, the American Hospital Association, set in place the outlines of what would become the Blue Cross model.

Private insurance plans like Blue Cross (and later Blue Shield) did not win out without resistance, Klein shows. Organized labor initially fought such plans with a range of alternatives from national health insurance proposals to community-based health clinics. Labor was outflanked, however, by employers' tenacious efforts to limit the federal government's role in providing either retirement income or health insurance by retaining influence over these key benefits.

Perhaps Klein's greatest contribution is to show how private insurers abetted employers' successful efforts to contain the welfare state. Such insurers helped employers set up health benefits and supplemental pension plans in postwar collective bargaining settlements. These plans in turn gave rise to a private welfare state in the American economy's core industries. This development was doubly advantageous to employers, simultaneously nurturing labor loyalty and sapping broad support for a government-administered social welfare state. In the end, employers and insurers—more than workers, unions, or even the federal government—established the outlines of the social welfare state that is currently in crisis.

What makes this splendid book so enlightening is Klein's ability to see multiple actors in motion and to grasp how several complex dynamics intersected in the crucial years between 1920 and 1950. Policy makers, political actors, union leaders, rank-and-file workers, associations, employers, insurers: all played a role in the path-determining decisions taken in these crucial years. Klein handles all of these actors with a sure hand. Yet she is also appropriately modest, for she does not presume to offer easy answers to the tangle of problems that are currently eroding the security of American workers. By brilliantly illuminating the historical roots of today's growing crisis, she makes an enormous contribution. Her book provides a starting place for understanding our present health and retirement security crisis.

JOSEPH A. MCCARTIN
Georgetown University

EDWARD D. BERKOWITZ. *Robert Ball and the Politics of Social Security*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2003. Pp. xx, 455. \$45.00.

Edward D. Berkowitz, the preeminent historian of the U.S. welfare state, picked a propitious moment to publish his latest book, the story of Robert Ball, the

individual most responsible for creating Social Security as we know it today. In this finely detailed history, Berkowitz portrays Ball as the consummate civil servant. Based on wide and deep research, this book advances substantially our knowledge of Social Security. It also serves as a timely reminder about precisely how radical is President George W. Bush's plan to privatize Social Security. Unfortunately, few general readers will pick up this dry-as-dust book, few journalists are likely to read it to inform themselves better about the subject, and many historians may also turn away from an old-fashioned form of administrative history.

Berkowitz narrates a simple story. A program that at its birth excluded a majority of citizen-workers, that drew money from workers and the economy, and that provided general welfare rather than social insurance for the elderly grew into a system that included the vast majority of working people, that pumped money into the economy, and that subordinated welfare to social insurance (old age, survivors, and disability benefits). Ball and the civil servants responsible for implementing Social Security early on sought to improve and expand the original program. Berkowitz emphasizes that Ball planned to extend Social Security to nonwhite and women workers and to treat them equitably. Thus the first set of amendments to the original legislation, passed in 1939, added family benefits, a reform that provided women, mostly spouses and widows to be sure, with broadened coverage. As the system grew steadily in the 1950s, with a larger proportion of workers participating as contributors and beneficiaries, lower-wage, nonwhite workers benefited from the income redistributive aspects of Social Security, and the system provided benefits to more women than men. As Berkowitz explains, the expansion of Social Security in the 1950s and later was largely a result of economic growth. Ball found it easy to work with a Republican administration (Eisenhower) and Republican congress people to expand Social Security. The election of John F. Kennedy in 1960 made it easier for Ball and his associates to transform Social Security into a broader form of social insurance as the bulwark of a real welfare state. In 1962, Kennedy named Ball as commissioner of Social Security, a position he held during the next eleven years as the program enjoyed its greatest expansion. During his tenure as commissioner, Ball succeeded in implementing Medicare as an enormously successful part of Social Security, increased the monthly old-age stipend so substantially that poverty disappeared from the lives of the elderly, and convinced Congress to replace legislatively initiated increases in benefit levels with increases linked automatically to the cost of living. By 1973, with retirement benefits established on the basis of overall growth in wage rates and subsequently protected against inflation, the retired elderly and their survivors had attained a true measure of social insurance.

Ball's resignation as commissioner coincided with a fiscal crisis for Social Security. Just as economic

growth had fueled the expansion of social insurance, the post-1973 economic contraction that led to stagflation threatened the program's fiscal stability. Ball remained a vital player in efforts to stabilize Social Security. However much he linked himself to Democratic politicians and candidates, Ball retained respect and influence among Republicans. Thus even during the Reagan administration, the first time in fifty years that any party in power sought to modify Social Security's fundamental purposes, Ball dominated a special advisory commission that preserved a fiscally sound system for the foreseeable future. In Berkowitz's words, "Social Security escaped the Reagan revolution largely unscathed . . . The basic structure of Social Security, which [David] Stockman had termed the inner fortress of the welfare state, remained unchanged and as a consequence strengthened" (p. 322).

Today, however, Social Security faces a challenge to its continued existence. Not only does an administration and its spokespeople cry wolf loudly, they disparage the principle of social insurance, shared contribution, shared risk, and shared benefit. Berkowitz's history of Ball and the politics of Social Security provides more than adequate scholarly warning of the dangers implicit in private accounts and an "ownership society."

MELVYN DUBOFSKY
Binghamton University,
State University of New York

JOHN HOUCHIN. *Censorship of the American Theatre in the Twentieth Century*. (Cambridge Studies in American Theatre and Drama, number 16.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 332. \$60.00.

American theater history, traditionally written, has followed a standard Whig interpretation: formulaic melodrama of the nineteenth century gave way to the mature theatrical literature of Eugene O'Neill, Arthur Miller, and David Mamet in the twentieth, while the contrived acting styles of earlier days likewise surrendered to a nuanced realistic style of performance. John Houchin tells a different story. His is not a story of progress but of ever-present threat. The theater, as it fulfills its duty to challenge the certitudes of American culture, has met with persistent hostility. Despite what would seem to be considerable cultural latitude in contemporary America, Houchin sees no sign of a permanent truce. "Defenders of the moral and cultural status quo . . . will arrest actors, enact legislation, boycott sponsors, or initiate any other action that will silence the voices of transgressive artists" (p. 267).

If Houchin tells a doleful tale, he nonetheless tells it very well. He sets up his twentieth-century focus with a helpful overview of colonial and nineteenth-century censorship. Early censors reflected traditional religious animosities toward the stage. Victorian moralists were incensed by the appearance of burlesque, and Comstockian censors continued to be influential into the twentieth century. The more frank drama of the

Progressive era, dealing with such issues as venereal disease or prostitution, earned rebuke, as did ethnic dramas with potentially inflammatory portraits, such as J. M. Synge's *Playboy of the Western World*.

But American audiences had not before known the stage nudity occasionally glimpsed in Broadway's elegant revues of the 1920s. The decade seemed more permissive, but when Mae West mounted such shows as *Pleasure Man* and *Sex and the Virgin Man* she discovered the limits of permissiveness. Modern readers might be surprised at the discretion then left to police forces in judging obscenity, closing down shows, and arresting performers, something West experienced first hand. Predictably, Boston's censorship was even stricter. O'Neill's *Strange Interlude* was deemed morally heterodox and consequently "banned in Boston" in 1929.

Houchin's detailing of the furor over the leftist politics of the New Deal's Federal Theater Project and of the postwar loyalty crusade's impact on the performing arts are thoughtful but less original, as a sizable literature on both episodes exists. Censorship battles from the 1960s into the 1990s have earned a sizable commentary of their own (frequently by participants, who carry ideological bias into their accounts), but Houchin provides the first comprehensive synthesis of the struggles.

The Federal Theater Project of the 1930s and the Aquarian Age/New Left productions of the 1960s provide Houchin the clearest examples for his thesis: namely, that at its heart theater, rather than being a conforming institution, is to hold up a disturbing mirror to society, and that this task of cultural prodding generally evokes a repressive censorial backlash. Houchin believes theater has a particularly critical role during times of social conflict, which the 1930s and the 1960s certainly were. The Federal Theater Project's sympathetic portrayals of the labor movement were bound to stir up Republican congressmen, and the theater of the 1960s could provoke a clutch of contested cultural issues. *Hair, Oh! Calcutta!*, *Dionysus in 69*, and Judith and Julian Beck's improvisational revelleries intentionally tested the limits of outrage.

Houchin necessarily devotes most of his attention to the battles over the New York stage. Through at least the 1930s censorship on Broadway seemed nearly as stringent as in other major cities. But by the 1960s, Gotham authorities were clearly more tolerant toward stage nudity and other forms of cultural transgression than cities elsewhere, a divergence Houchin does not explain. Still, Houchin is to be commended for casting about the nation for other examples of theater censorship. Of particular interest are his accounts of community battles over university theater productions at places as diverse as Kilgore College in Texas and Southwest Missouri State University. He carries his story well into the 1990s, when the New Right flexed a new censorial muscle. Houchin places his story within the larger political context of the nation as well as

offering useful summations of court rulings pertaining to free speech.

Houchin is clearly a defender of the theater's right to stand undisturbed as social troubler. He does less well in clarifying the principles by which society can address stage productions that are merely salacious in distinction to those possessing artistic merit and consequently deserve protection. But then, no one else has accomplished that either.

BENJAMIN MCARTHUR
Southern Adventist University

THOMAS DOHERTY. *Cold War, Cool Medium: Television, McCarthyism, and American Culture*. (Film and Culture.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 305. \$27.95.

The prevailing stereotypes of 1950s America invariably include television, McCarthyism, and the suburban American family, each of them symbolic of conformity and constraint, if not repression. Although historical scholarship has complicated the last of these three stereotypes, treatment of the first two continues to follow a pattern established in the 1960s, portraying McCarthyism as a singular, menacing force that emerged out of the Midwest to exploit the power of television in its obsessive crusade against a communist menace. Consequently, suspicion of television and paranoid politics have gone hand in hand, no doubt encouraged by the common perception that television institutions crumbled in the face of McCarthy's onslaught. Allegedly, they not only crumbled, they were complicit with the senator from Wisconsin, providing him airtime, doing his dirty work via the blacklist, and refusing to stand up to McCarthy's ranting until one brave combat reporter, Edward R. Murrow, took it upon himself to bring the senator down. In most historical accounts, television and McCarthyism are therefore emblematic of the repressive apparatus of 1950s America.

The self-reflexive turn in historical and media scholarship cautions that one should, of course, complicate and deconstruct such stereotypes, but few have taken up the challenge as persuasively as Thomas Doherty's thoroughly researched and elegantly written book. Doherty's work returns us to the dawn of television, capturing the excitement and possibility of the era, showing how this new living room appliance opened America to an expanding world of entertainment and enlightenment. Television was not only a purveyor of *Lucy*, *The Goldbergs*, and Faye Emerson's plunging neckline; it also broadcast talk shows, political conventions, and government hearings. Indeed, politicians and journalists rushed to embrace what was rapidly becoming the most pervasive medium in mid-century America. Dwight D. Eisenhower was at the time considered a master of television, bringing TV cameras into his weekly press conferences on the advice of his press secretary, James Hagerty (who would later become president of ABC). Moreover, Doherty demon-

strates that although the medium has throughout its history bowed to pressure groups, programs of the era featured a greater range of experimentation, controversy, and opinion than is commonly recalled.

Perhaps the primary reason that repressive stereotypes persist is that we lack access to programming from that era, since most shows during the early 1950s were produced live so as to distinguish the new medium from cinema. Only toward the end of the decade, after television had triumphed over film and radio as the leading conduit of entertainment and information, did the medium begin to migrate to telefilm production of entertainment, preserving on celluloid those evergreen icons of the era: Beaver, Donna, and the denizens of mythical Springfield. Therefore archival collections from the first half of the decade offer only a spotty patchwork of kinescope recordings that were derived from film cameras trained on television tubes, capturing blurry images of live broadcasts. In the course of his research, Doherty consulted the extant recordings, but more importantly, he complemented the kinescopes with careful consideration of scripts, production notes, and television reviews from the era. What emerges is a more robust and complex account of television during the McCarthy era, showing how political and cultural struggles manifested themselves in and on the new medium. Although McCarthy seized the possibilities of TV, Doherty reveals that the medium also seized him, holding him up to criticism and even ridicule from journalists who denounced his tactics from the very outset. Despite its institutional timidity, television was, as it remains today, a site of cultural and political contest. Its avaricious appetite for novel content means that for every constraint imposed, dozens of unruly challenges to prevailing social hierarchies emerge. Indeed, McCarthy himself was an unruly manifestation of the medium, and Doherty delivers an enlightening and critical reassessment of television, culture, and politics in the early 1950s.

MICHAEL CURTIN
University of Wisconsin,
Madison

DAVID M. LUBIN. *Shooting Kennedy: JFK and the Culture of Images*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 341. \$24.95.

DAVID GREENBERG. *Nixon's Shadow: The History of an Image*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2003. Pp. xxxii, 460. \$26.95.

Two new books by David M. Lubin and David Greenberg examine how images have influenced public perceptions of two former U.S. presidents, and both contribute significantly to our overall understanding of how imagery affects politics. Richard M. Nixon himself recognized that because there is no assurance in the television age that good people and good programs

will succeed, "concern for image must rank with concern for substance."

Lubin and Greenberg take different approaches to analyzing presidential imagery. Lubin, whose earlier work includes *Picturing a Nation: Art and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century America* (1994), writes from the perspective of art history. Why, he asks, did President John F. Kennedy and the rest of the Kennedy family, who were wealthy, educated, and part of a "rarefied elite" (p. 157), achieve such popularity among ordinary Americans? The answer, he contends, lies in images of the Kennedys that derive "their power in good measure from their ability to activate latent memories of other powerful images in the histories of art and popular culture" (p. xii), imagery that in the modern information age is "endlessly replicated" (p. xiii). The title of his book, which refers to both the photographing of the Kennedys and the assassination of the president, reflects Lubin's thesis that images have multiple layers of meaning. Greenberg writes from the perspective of political history, examining the many images of Nixon, some crafted by Nixon himself, others by a variety of "cultural" constituencies. More than Lubin, he draws on print sources, but he also makes ample use of documents from popular culture, including films, cartoons, and memorials.

Although many historians may find Lubin's approach unorthodox, and even though some of his examples work better than others, his book gives readers a good sense of American visual culture during the early 1960s and of how the Kennedys fit into it. In considering "the impact of images on images," Lubin takes a "nonlinear approach," ranging freely "backward and forward in time nonsequentially" (p. xii). His thesis seems plausible when he juxtaposes pictures of JFK and Jacqueline Kennedy against photos of the film stars Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton, a photograph of the young Jackie against a picture of the young Taylor in the movie *National Velvet* (pp. 12–13), a picture of a youthful Jack sailing against Winslow Homer's painting *Breezing Up (A Fair Wind)* (pp. 40, 42), and shows the perverse way in which a snapshot of Lee Harvey Oswald holding a rifle resembles Daniel Chester French's 1875 statue *The Minute Man* (pp. 228–229).

Several of Lubin's insights deserve further elaboration. He devotes considerable attention to Abraham Zapruder's 8mm home movie of the assassination, which he believes laid a foundation for a "new realism" in moviemaking and journalism during the 1960s (p. 31). Although the film was not seen in its entirety on television until 1975, color frames from it appeared in *Life* in the months following the assassination. These photos "had a more visceral impact" (p. 164) on viewers, Lubin asserts, than did black-and-white pictures. Many people had portable cameras like Zapruder's in 1963, but such cameras were only one of many communication innovations of the time, and their impact has generally been underestimated. The increasing use of color in mass media deserves more

attention. Relatively little research exists on what effects color has on audiences. Color images, not just of violence but of beautiful people and places, appeared more frequently during the 1950s and after. Photographs in such publications as *Life*, *Look*, and *Playboy* helped to make life "highly sexualized . . . for vast numbers of Americans," Lubin writes, and intensified the glamour surrounding the nation's first family (p. 50).

JFK became "the great modern master of the art (or pseudo-art) of making and selling an image" (p. 139), according to Lubin, who argues that Kennedy viewed "the nation's aesthetic style not as something frivolous and inconsequential but as integral to its cold war initiative" (p. 133). He turned to the industrial designer Raymond Loewy, for example, to make Air Force One a medium through which to project a "sleek and beautiful American modernity" (p. 136).

One theme that runs through both books is the power of modern public relations. Clearly, Kennedy benefited from shrewd work in public relations by others. His image as part "genuine hero, part 007, part Lawrence of Arabia, part Tom Jones" (p. 141) and yet someone who retained his "ordinary humanity" and embraced common values (p. 157) owed much to his father's exploitation of Hollywood connections and photojournalism. He was aided, too, by a wife who had a keen sense of style and by talented photographers.

Image was no less important to Nixon, who first ran for Congress in 1946 as a champion of "the forgotten man," a theme that later reemerged as the Silent Majority (p. 17). Long before Ronald Reagan became president, Greenberg writes, Nixon "pioneered the use of populist language and imagery in the service of free-market economics" (p. 7). By the early 1950s, though, Nixon came to symbolize for liberals much that was wrong with politics in an age of public relations and television. For this constituency, Nixon was a "dangerous manipulator" (p. 69), a political opportunist, an "anti-Semite" (p. 47), a "slick . . . Madison Avenue" pitchman (p. 65), a "corrupt stooge of big business" (p. 49), or simply Tricky Dick. Despite efforts to create a "new Nixon" after the 1960 election, his image turned even darker during his presidency as New Left radicals labeled him a "shadowy conspirator" (p. 76), a "moral monster" (p. 76) who slaughtered innocents in Vietnam, and someone who would subvert the political process. The Washington press corps came to see him as a "news manager" (p. 126) with a malicious public relations machine (p. 143). Psychobiographers such as Fawn Brodie and James Barber encouraged the belief that Nixon was "abnormal or deviant" (p. 266). After Watergate, it was left to a dwindling number of die-hard Nixon loyalists to defend him as a "victim" of vicious political foes and a left-leaning media.

But Nixon's image was complex and by no means entirely negative, as Greenberg shows in his well-researched and well-written book. Writers and officials who were part of the nation's foreign policy establish-

ment considered him a statesman, most notably because of his reopening of relations with China, the *détente* with the Soviet Union, and the winding down of the Vietnam War. Conservative pundits, former cabinet members such as Daniel Patrick Moynihan, and historians such as Joan Hoff argued that Nixon was a "liberal." By the late 1980s, Nixon's "rehabilitation" became a prominent theme, and such historians as Stephen Ambrose and Herbert Parmet believed that his historical reputation was on the rise (p. 292).

There is both truth and irony in the image of the former president as "a minister to the poor, a proponent of racial justice, a Keynesian, a watchdog against predatory capitalism, a patriot of the arts." This, Greenberg says wryly, "truly was a new Nixon" (p. 307). It remains important for scholars to continue separating reality from images.

STEPHEN VAUGHN
University of Wisconsin,
Madison

GERALD L. FETNER. *Immersed in Great Affairs: Allan Nevins and the Heroic Age of American History*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 243. \$45.00.

Why is this the first biography of Allan Nevins, who was born in 1890 and died in 1971? I ask because Nevins was a towering figure in the history profession from the 1930s to the 1960s. He was the author of thirty-three books, two of which were awarded Pulitzer Prizes. He was the coauthor of six books and edited seventeen books. He was the editor of the "American Political Leaders" series. He wrote countless editorials for newspapers and was the founder of *American Heritage* magazine. Why, then, has he been so ignored by professional historians since his death? The major answer provided by Gerald L. Fetner is that the history profession turned, in the 1950s, away from Nevins's commitment to narrative history. He uses Richard Hofstadter, a young colleague of Nevins at Columbia University in the 1950s, as an exemplar of a generational revolution. The younger generation, according to Fetner, looked to the social sciences for inspiration in the analysis of social and cultural patterns, as in Hofstadter's use of the concept of status revolution in *The Age of Reform* (1955).

But in that book, Hofstadter emphasized the discontinuities between the Progressive movement and the New Deal. He argued that Progressivism was dominated by Anglo-Saxons while the New Deal was inclusive of Catholics and Jews. Fetner frequently calls Nevins a Victorian and a Progressive whose first political hero was Woodrow Wilson, and he notes that Nevins imagined America was populated primarily by Anglo-Saxons. Perhaps Hofstadter, as the first Jew to teach American history at Columbia, is a more important symbol of the way in which the profession of history became pluralistic after World War II. The concerns of historians who were women, Jews, Catho-

lics, Mexican Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and African Americans would not necessarily be the same as those of Nevins.

It is probable, then, that the generation of historians who followed Nevins and ignored him did so more because of their multicultural outlook than their commitment to scientific analysis and rejection of dramatic narrative. Indeed, it was this generation that first began seriously to question the possibility of objective history. Nevins, as Fetner points out, never questioned his objectivity as a historian. He was certain that he was reporting the facts. He believed that his narratives dramatized the facts.

Fetner presents Nevins as a middle-class Anglo Protestant from a small town in Illinois. At the University of Illinois, he attracted the attention of literature professors who admired his ability to write. One of these, Stuart Sherman, worried that Nevins was such a workaholic that he would not develop a private life. Indeed, Fetner has written an intellectual biography of Nevins because he could find not evidence of a private life. Nevins had an unshakeable faith in progress and the nation. Fetner does not ask the question that many current historians are asking: how does one negotiate one's belief in a timeless nation with the belief that the nation is changing as it makes progress? Fetner's Nevins also was a Progressive who wanted to limit the power of corporations through government regulation but who coauthored books that celebrated the constructive roles of John D. Rockefeller and the Ford Motor Company. Nevins expected progress to remove small farmers and small businesses from the landscape but believed individualism was an eternal American characteristic. The major contradiction in Nevins that Fetner focuses on has to do with Vietnam. From World War I to World War II, Nevins was an ardent internationalist who did not ask how the United States could keep its timeless identity if it shared sovereignty in a world government. After World War II he had written that major foreign policy decisions must always be made in collaboration with world neighbors. But, Fetner points out, Nevins defended the unilateral decisions made by Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson in Vietnam.

This book begins to suggest some of the major complexities and contradictions in this once influential and powerful historian. One hopes that future scholars will explore the relationship of these complexities and contradictions to the particular middle-class culture in which Nevins was a participant.

DAVID W. NOBLE
University of Minnesota

PETER C. MURRAY. *Methodists and the Crucible of Race 1930-1975*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2004. Pp. xix, 266. \$44.95.

In 1961, a Commission of Thirty-Six (C36) representing the Methodist Church's governing body announced a plan to end segregation in the denomination by

abolishing the Jim Crow Central Jurisdiction (CJ). The latter in its quadrennial conference responded by appointing a Committee of Five to explain to C36 how African Americans thought desegregation should proceed. Regional jurisdictional conferences, except those including most white southern Methodists, immediately joined the CJ in planning an end to segregation although the latter was always more insistent and specific than other bodies in attacking white Methodist racialism. These committees and commissions and jurisdictions and regions reflect the political and bureaucratic structure of an American religious denomination that probably represents a cross section of middle-class America better than any other. With their groups and plans and meetings and pronouncements and caucuses, their rhetoric, pragmatism and occasional idealism Methodists struggled with what Peter C. Murray calls "the Crucible of Race." Eventually, white southern jurisdictions, too, found ways to change by rearranging regional structures above the local level—always after the larger society, though civil law and social movement had already legitimized change. That is, the "church" followed; it did not lead—and this is a source of disappointment for the author and probably for progressive and conservative Methodists as well, if for differing reasons.

One of the important revelations of Murray's study is the ways in which nongovernmental organizations can effect social change beyond speciously concrete civil law and speciously effective social movements neither of which is the daily locus of life for most Americans. That is, flawed as Methodists' achievements were, their actions together with those in other conflicted churches and voluntary societies were important engines in social transformation beyond law and movement. The mundane but passionate conflicts between elites who tried to work out details of organizational change and the different parties who resisted, prodded, denounced, and then settled rather than achieve all that they "wanted" brought social change "home" to Methodists in ways that appeals to their better selves could never have accomplished. Ecclesiastical politics trumped Christian ethics and pushed Christians toward "Christian" goals, all by a process of voluntarism that felt coercive to some, inadequate to others, and clumsy to all. There was unhappiness enough for everyone.

Murray's stories of ecclesiastical pressures, glitches, failings, and partial successes reveal that there was never one struggle for desegregation or racial equity—and there was no clear, final resolution of all the different struggles about "race" among Methodists in all their different jurisdictions any more than within U.S. society generally. As Murray points out (p. 232) "by the early 1970s, Methodists had only cleaned up the mess they had created during the Jim Crow period; the goal of racial inclusiveness remained elusive, especially on the local church level, where it mattered most." On this issue as well as those matters touching gender, sex, peace, tradition, and public life the de-

nomination is still afflicted by a commitment to diversity, inclusiveness, and openness that demands it try to sustain a membership that includes people who lovingly embrace as well as angrily despise these three characteristics. This catholicity is sustained by compromise, forbearance, and ambiguity and may break down soon as secular society fumbles toward its own inclusiveness. But it is not as clear from this book as it should be why Methodists have been so committed to this ideal, or why black Methodists compromised their own position and roles when electing to remain bonded with whites by entering the Central Jurisdiction in the first place. African-American Methodists have been essential to keeping the church as catholic as it is and in providing a radical critique of American society. Methodists, as Murray knows, have always attracted radicals and harbored conservatives for reasons that are not altogether clear in his book. There is a Wesleyan catholicity of devotion and discipleship valued by those who feel indebted to the enigmatic autocrat who founded a popular movement, and this needs teasing out if we are to understand the inner dynamics of a church that many conservatives clearly want to fail. This is a good book about a significant institution and a continuing American agony.

DONALD G. MATHEWS

*University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill*

JOY ANN WILLIAMSON. *Black Power on Campus: The University of Illinois 1965–75*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 192. \$34.95.

Joy Ann Williamson tells the story of the black student movement of the 1960s at the University of Illinois. Her primary focus is the impact of that movement on the university, and the relation of students, and their ideas, to educational reform. Williamson also presents the complexity of student activism in a period of protest that embodied local and national issues. Touching on the complications of class and gender within the movement, the author deals directly with the problems, and pain, students encountered in defining "Blackness." The role of students in the black power movement deserves more study, and this work sets a good example. With an evenhanded discussion of the contradictions within the movement, Williamson argues that the students, through the Black Student Association (BSA), were successful in changing the university's culture and structure.

The University of Illinois had been the site of earlier student protest on issues including racial discrimination. As other historians have noted, World War II and its aftermath encouraged veterans and other progressive students to challenge the conservative mores of the community and the university. Then, as later, student housing was a crucial issue. Students were subject to landlords' discrimination against blacks, Jews, and women (Jewish women in particular). Williamson notes that in the 1960s the issue of housing

sparked a major protest: the arrest in September 1968 of nearly 250 newly recruited black students in the Illini Union. That event and the hostile and often racist press response increased solidarity among students and strengthened black power organization and ideology on campus.

The BSA becomes the center of the black student organization and power. The successor to a Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) group, the BSA created an organizational structure and newspaper that, while sometimes engaging in internal conflict, did succeed in pushing the university to increase recruitment of black students and to create a black cultural center and, to an extent, a Black Studies program. The successes coincided with the height of the black power movement (and, I would note, student activism in general). Its decline came with the decline of those movements in the 1970s. Williamson argues that the university's ability to coopt some of the program through educational reforms was a measure of the movement's achievement as well as a reason for its demise.

This is an important contribution to a more in-depth study of student movements, one that includes a wider variety of campuses and student groups. Studies of student activism in the 1960s often focus on the civil rights movement and antiwar activity and groups like the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and ignore less dramatic campus organizations. Studies of black power sometimes ignore black college students. That bias comes in part from the quasi-autobiographical nature of movement historiography. It is helpful to have a newer generation of historians who can view a heated time more dispassionately. The downside, however, is that accounts based on written documents and selective interviews may miss important aspects of a movement. Williamson interviewed thirty-one individuals (including seven or eight women) who were active then. It would be helpful to know how they were selected. Missing from this account is any substantial discussion of left-wing groups on campus that may have included black as well as white students. Since the university had a history of Marxist groups, it seems unlikely that in the period here, there were no, or even few, black students involved in such activity. Williamson does suggest some class issues among the black students in general. Was there no open division or debate between supporters of black power and supporters of power for the working class? Likewise, the impact of the demonstrations and violence at the university following the murders at Jackson State and Kent State, and the response of black students and the BSA to trials of the Black Panthers and of Angela Davis, also deserve attention.

Still, Williamson offers an institutional and cultural analysis of a significant movement and presents the

history of an important part of the struggle for academic democracy and real education.

EILEEN EAGAN

University of Southern Maine

PAUL LYONS. *The People of this Generation: The Rise and Fall of the New Left in Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. 279. \$39.95.

In recent years, a number of local studies of 1960s-era activism have been published. Several of them have sought to render a comprehensive picture of the wide-ranging tumult that swept across communities throughout the United States during that period, using local histories to take cross-sections of American society in the 1960s. The authors of these studies (such as Rusty Monhollan and Mary Ann Wynkoop), following the examples set by William Rorabaugh in *Berkeley at War: The 1960s* (1989) and, to some extent, by David Farber in *Chicago '68* (1988), have included separate chapters dealing with a now-familiar series of 1960s movements. Other local 1960s studies (by authors such as Beth Bailey, Kenneth Heineman, and this reviewer) have sought to record more detailed histories of individual political movements in specific places. Paul Lyons now adds his study of radicalism in Philadelphia to the second of these types of studies.

Lyons is well situated to accomplish this task. He is the author of *Philadelphia Communists: 1936-1956* (1982), focusing on the same urban environment that he studies here, and *New Left, New Right, and the Legacy of the Sixties* (1996). Clearly, Lyons knows the history of the Philadelphia area and the history of the twentieth-century left, both locally and nationally, quite well. He displays this knowledge in his new book and shows considerable interpretive sensitivity, particularly when discussing the interplay of old left veterans and newcomers in areas of activity such as the Philadelphia peace movement during the 1960s.

The peculiarities of the Philadelphia metropolitan area, most prominently the importance of Quaker-run and influenced organizations and schools, including Swarthmore College (particularly important in the early new left) and the active Peace Committee of the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, receive ample attention. Lyons does a good job of explaining the distinctive influence of the Quaker factor in this local setting while not making Philadelphia seem utterly peculiar.

Instead of focusing on a single institution of higher education, Lyons surveys activism at a wide range of colleges and universities, including the University of Pennsylvania, Temple University, the Quaker colleges, and Catholic schools such as LaSalle College; this last category is entirely neglected in other studies. While his wide coverage of student activism means that some schools get too-brief treatment, this multi-school account makes Lyons's study different than other local histories of this era.

In most respects, Lyons does not revise the familiar interpretations of the new left substantially. He makes his views on various issues clear enough, but typically he seems to cut his own interpretive discussions short. Perhaps his most original contribution to our knowledge of the new left's history comes in his chapter on "The Politics of White Antiracism," in which Lyons briefly recounts the career of local organizations called People Against Racism (PAR) and People for Human Rights (PHR) between 1966 and 1971. The complexity of the American left in the 1960s comes through in the story of people like David Gracie, an Episcopal priest from a white, working-class family whose growing radicalism led him to spearhead PAR and PHR in Philadelphia. Gracie and his fellow white activists interacted with numerous black and white radicals throughout the 1960s, but they followed their own path. They were never part of any bigger organization, certainly not Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). They had sympathetic relations with other groups, such as the Black Economic Development Conference (remembered today by few), but they always maintained their independence. Their ideological location is quite debatable.

In the years after 1965, all over the country, groups of white Americans made concerted efforts to act on their feelings of solidarity with the African-American struggle. In many cases, these white antiracist efforts were clearer about their radicalism than PAR and PHR were; some claimed John Brown as their hero. Lyons's story, therefore, is a warning against easy generalizations. Overlapping generations of activists, self-starting radicals, a lack of interest in ideology, and once notorious but now forgotten local initiatives: this describes much of the world of the 1960s left, and most of it has never gotten into the history books.

DOUG ROSSINOW

Metropolitan State University

JULIE BYRNE. *O God of Players: The Story of the Immaculata Mighty Macs*. (Religion and American Culture.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 291. Cloth \$59.50, paper \$22.50.

Religious displays have become a staple of American sports. Fans carry signs adorned with scriptural references to evangelize the unconverted. Athletes make the sign of the cross in the batter's box, pound their chests and point heavenward, and fall to their knees in prayer following a touchdown. Fans and commentators alike pay little attention to these rituals, typically dismissing them as exhibitions of a superficial religious life. Julie Byrne's book, however, suggests that the connection between religion and sports is meaningful and needs to be understood if we are to apprehend how ordinary Americans live their religions.

Byrne analyzes the connections between religion and sport by examining the ultra-successful women's basketball program at tiny Immaculata College in the middle decades of the twentieth century. The Mighty

Mac cagers dominated local play in the Philadelphia area and became a national powerhouse in the 1970s, winning the first three women's national basketball championships. Although the team's achievements are remarkable, Byrne focuses tightly on the meaning of basketball to Immaculata's players. She has unearthed a world where basketball offered women the opportunity to define their identities as Catholics, women, athletes, and students. Generally traditional in their views, these women used their experiences to both accommodate and resist Catholic doctrines.

The book is organized around the physical, spiritual, and spatial "pleasures" of Catholic women's basketball. By playing the game and competing against others, Immaculata's players found joy in the strength of their bodies and in their contact with other female players. Spiritually, basketball became "religiously infused" to the point where "a game wasn't just a game but a divine lesson, even a cosmic event" (p. 113). Playing at Immaculata also introduced the wider world to many of the players who had spent their entire lives bound up in the local Catholic-dominated culture of Philadelphia.

Based on 130 interviews with former players, administrators, and students at Immaculata from 1939 to 1975, the book provides a glimpse—typically in the words of participants—into how basketball influenced every phase of a player's life and defined the Immaculata College community as well. The school's basketball courts witnessed the creation of player's personal and religious identities, the temporary amelioration of class differences on the team, the exploration of lived religiosity, and the creation of new secular and religious communities centered around Mighty Mac basketball.

Byrne hits her stride in chapter four, "Praying for the Team," where she analyzes the spiritual dimensions of playing basketball for Immaculata College. Team members believed that "God was somehow present in the game" and they "prayed for basketball and believed God answered" (p. 115). Drawing from the Thomistic tradition that encouraged physical education for girls, basketball played a part in the divine plan by creating a sound body to protect a young woman's soul. At Immaculata, however, basketball did more than train bodies. The players reported that their prayers regarding basketball were deeper and more intense and that God was using them as a tool to spread joy and teach divine lessons. The wins, especially in the national tournaments, provided a proof-text for the superiority of Catholic culture, education, and morality. A typical explanation for the college's winning ways came from one former player who told a reporter, "God must have wanted it that way" (p. 176).

This book is an important contribution to the history of American religion and American sport. For those interested in the nexus between religion and sport, this represents a signal achievement.

In the end, I was left with some lingering questions. What did playing basketball mean to Immaculata

students who failed to make the varsity squad? Was the Immaculata experience an anomaly due to the basketball-centric culture of Catholic Philadelphia? Notwithstanding these minor concerns, Byrne's study gives us a deeper understanding of how American Catholic women used sports to maintain and sharpen their religious and social identities, both within and outside of the institutional church. If God moves in mysterious ways, we clearly need more local studies like this to understand how people live out those mysteries in everyday life.

RICHARD IAN KIMBALL
Brigham Young University

THOMAS R. DUNLAP. *Faith in Nature: Environmentalism as Religious Quest*. Foreword by WILLIAM CRONON. (Weyerhaeuser Environmental Books.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 206. \$24.95.

You had to have been there. At the 1995 annual meeting of the American Society of Environmental History, William B. Cronon let loose a shot heard round the academy. His now much-anthologized talk, "The Trouble with Wilderness," challenged environmental scholars' and activists' assumptions about the definition of the wild as the absence of the human. Deconstructing the notion that "nature is where we are not," and tracing this claim back to medieval musings and later European Romanticism, he argued that we imperil our planet by the very notion that many believe is its only hope. "Our challenge," he concluded, "is to stop thinking . . . according to a set of bipolar moral scales in which the human and the nonhuman, the unnatural and natural, the fallen and the unfallen serve as our conceptual map for understanding and valuing the world" (*Environmental History* [January 1996]: 29–46).

The uproar was instant; the heated debate at the conference intensified in rebuttals published in *Environmental History*, and spun out of control when *Wild Earth* (Winter 1996–1997) denounced Cronon for giving aid and comfort to the enemies of wilderness preservation. More restrained was Thomas R. Dunlap. He defended Cronon in the pages of *Environmental History*, and in his new book asserts that Cronon's critics, like "fundamentalist Christians refusing to see the Bible as a collection of texts produced at different times and within particular cultures . . . put wilderness outside historical and cultural context, believing it could not be analyzed but had to be experienced" (p. 89).

Sacred texts and secular quests operate in time and space, Dunlap affirms, and thus must be contextualized if we are to comprehend their significance. So it is with environmentalism, whose roots draw on two central sources: "the Enlightenment's rational approach to nature and Romanticism's concerns with our emotional ties to it" (p. 11). Although these appear contradictory in impulse—science's rationality seemingly at odds with poetic intuition—Dunlap argues

they have been grafted successfully on to the idea of wilderness, giving this new holy land tremendous popular appeal.

Among "Newton's Disciples" and "Emerson's Children" are John Muir, Aldo Leopold, and Rachel Carson, whose scientific investigations into nature's mysteries and communion with wildness have led to their elevation as patron saints of an ecological liturgy that grants believers the capacity to see "the world as webs of relationships rather than as separate things" (p. 95). To testify to their commitment to an environmental perspective that binds humanity to the biotic world, its proponents have adopted a series of strategies. For some, acting on a modern-day catechism like *50 Simple Things You Can Do to Save the Earth* (1989) helped pave the way for a more responsible and eco-friendly life. Others, hungering for radical authenticity, found in bioregionalism the possibility of an intense, organic integrity. Poet Gary Snyder is among those who have offered a sharp-edged critique of an industrial culture that privileged place over profit, local needs over national ambitions, human sensibilities over technological solutions. "The essential business of life" for devotees of this deep ecology, cultural critic Theodore Roszak affirmed, "is to work out one's salvation with diligence" (p. 116).

Yet how to get to the promised land and "bring others to turn from the mall to the maple"? (p. 149). That path has been stony, Dunlap makes clear in his mapping of the environmental movement's ideological twists and turns, because environmentalists have failed to develop "a description of the world's realities and a life lived with nature compelling enough to hold people to the cause through a lifetime of effort" (p. 158). Perhaps "conventional faiths" can offer a much-needed ray of hope: Dunlap, a committed Catholic, suggests that Judaism and Christianity "share with environmentalism the belief that humans are limited creatures, living in a world that was not made for their convenience," and thereby offer enduring testimony of the power of confronting the human condition while staring "in the face of defeat" (p. 170). No panacea, such a perspective nevertheless might help environmentalists "sort out arguments, beliefs, and action, clear away mental underbrush, and allow people to explore issues now hidden because not seen" (p. 171). Accepting our manifold limitations may be the first step to bringing the Earth into balance.

CHAR MILLER
Trinity University,
San Antonio, Texas

DAVID M. O'BRIEN. *Animal Sacrifice and Religious Freedom: Church of Lukumi Babalu Aye v. City of Hialeah*. (Landmark Law Cases & American Society.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. xii, 196. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$12.95.

Any observer of the United States in the late twentieth century and the early twenty-first could not but be

impressed by the pervasiveness of religion as well as the complexity and religious diversity of the American scene. In a society that enjoins cultural assimilation and appreciation of cultural diversity at the same time and where religious freedom intersects multiculturalism, one may be prompted to ask where the boundaries are. What are the cultural and religious limits beyond which we cannot go? David M. O'Brien's book is a deft study of animal sacrifice, Santeria, and religious freedom as exemplified in the case, *Church of Lukumi Babalu Aye v. City of Hialeah Florida* (1993).

O'Brien starts by giving the reader background on the Pichardo family, the founders of the Church of Lukumi Babalu Aye, their involvement with Santeria, their aspirations for the church and the problems of their church in the Cuban community in Florida. The background information the author provides on Santeria in Cuba makes it easy to ascertain how marginal the Church of Babalu Aye was, not only in relation to the majority of the Cuban exile community but even in relation to the mainstream of Santeria. The Church of Lukumi Babalu Aye broke with traditional practices of secrecy and was clearly in favor of a hierarchical organization among formerly independent groups of believers as well as a standardization of doctrine. The Pichardos' church stressed the African rather than Cuban origins of Santeria and rejected the Catholic imagery and concepts that many Santeria priests viewed as essential to the religion.

As it turned out the Church of Lukumi Babalu Aye's marginal position within the Santeria community was actually the least of its problems. Once the church was on the verge of acquiring a physical location and edifice, it became a focus of intra-ethnic, racial, and class divisions within the Cuban community of south Florida. O'Brien provides riveting descriptions of community meetings in Hialeah and documents the ethnocentrism and religious prejudice that surfaced, to which local politicians submitted in passing city ordinances that explicitly discriminated against Santeria and the Church of Lukumi Babalu Aye. He expertly describes the numerous twists and turns of passion, reason, self-interest, and personal pique that occurred as the case wound its way through the hierarchy of courts until it came before the nine justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, who unanimously recognized a case of religious discrimination when they saw one (unlike the lower courts, which had upheld the Hialeah city ordinances, contending that religious animal sacrifice is "inconsistent with public morals, peace or safety" and that "religious freedom shall not justify practices inconsistent with public morals, peace and safety").

The Supreme Court justices were united in holding that the Hialeah city ordinances were overtly discriminatory against the Church of Lukumi Babalu Aye, although they divided on the underlying legal reasoning and precedents for holding this to be so. The ordinances were found to be overly broad, underinclusive, and they specifically targeted a religious institu-

tion and a religious ritual for discriminatory treatment without providing a compelling governmental interest for doing so. Aside from the decimation of the ordinances, the legal process also recognized Santeria as a religion subject to the constitutional protections provided to other religions, and recognized animal sacrifice as a religious practice within it.

O'Brien's study is well written and provides ample background on the significance and history of the interpretations of the first amendment's clauses dealing with religion, as well as an even-handed, balanced presentation of arguments on both sides of the case. The study is enhanced by O'Brien's characterizations of key scenes and blow-by-blow descriptions of court arguments, amicus briefs, and the mobilization of the various interest groups ultimately involved in the case. The details of judicial appointments, careers, backgrounds of key figures (lawyers, judges) bring to life people who, in another author's hands, might have been reduced to ciphers or mere social functions rather than living human beings. The mechanics of the judicial process at different levels of the court system are succinctly explained and portrayed organically as the narrative unfolds.

This is a work that should interest students of the Supreme Court, constitutional law, and the sociology of religion, especially those interested in the history and sociology of "new religions." It should certainly give pause to those who view the modern era solely in terms of progressive secularization and the Weberian "disenchantment of the world" expected invariably to accompany it. The book will also provide food for thought for cultural activists and political scientists concerned with navigating the complex, contradictory, and shifting sands of racial and ethnic identity and alliance, in-group politics, and the state. O'Brien's study is written so as to engage the general, nonacademic reader interested in the topic of freedom of religion, American pluralism, and a story of the underdog against the state. It will be the definitive study of this landmark Supreme Court case for a long time to come.

GEORGE BRANDON
City University of New York

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

RUGGIERO ROMANO. *Mecanismo y elementos del sistema económico colonial americano. Siglos XVI-XVIII*. (Serie Ensayos.) México City: Colegio de México. México City: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 2004. Pp. 480.

This is Ruggiero Romano's posthumous book. He passed away in 2002, after a long and prestigious career spent mostly at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. Romano is as provocative and iconoclastic in this book as he was in his previous ones. He departs from current historiographical trends by putting into question commonly held views on colonial Latin American economic history. One may

disagree with him on many grounds, but his ideas and his vigorous writing style are stimulating and thought provoking. Romano's main argument revolves around the existence of two different but interconnected economic spheres in colonial Latin America: a "market" economy and a "natural" economy. This concept, borrowed from German economist Alphonso Dopsch, leads Romano to reject the latest trends in Latin American economic history that place market relations at the core of economic life.

Romano contends that in the colonial setting market economy was second to "natural" economy in demographic terms, as the majority of the population (Indian villages, rural and urban populations of diverse ethnic backgrounds) practiced self-sufficiency, thus participating very little in market transactions. But market economy prevailed over the natural sphere as it was the realm of powerful sectors such as state officials, merchants, miners, and landowners who monopolized the circulation and accumulation of silver.

The scarcity of circulating currency and the lack of low-denomination (copper) coins are the cornerstone of Romano's thesis. These two factors combined account for the exclusion of the majority from commercial transactions and wealth accumulation. Colonial domination is the first but not the only factor that explains this phenomenon. It was in the best interest of colonial powers to extract as much wealth (silver, gold) as possible from their colonies. So Romano agrees with most of the students of Latin America that there was a true "coin fight" from Latin America to the metropolis by means of taxes and trade, both legal and illegal.

Romano also factors in internal traits of the colonial economy to advance his thesis. He believes that most monetary transactions involving elite and popular sectors hid the true "natural" aspect of them. Recorded in pesos in accounting books but actually done in kind, these transactions served as mechanisms to create debt among the poor that allowed the concentration of silver in elites' hands. On top of these elite strategies, the political apparatus of the Spanish colonial state and the Catholic Church imposed taxes and duties over the populace that also helped divert silver from their hands to the states' coffers.

Currency scarcity makes Romano cast doubt on the existence of a true market in Latin America before the end of the nineteenth century. He concludes that what was in place in colonial times was an "aggregate of several regional markets . . . but not a unified one." Romano also presents controversial views on many other issues. A couple of examples will suffice. First, he argues against the centrality of mining to the colonial economy, a thesis largely accepted by most scholars. Romano's gross calculations of GDP and labor employed per sector grant preeminence to agriculture and livestock raising over mining as promoters of economic growth. Even more controversial are his remarks on the aftermath of European conquest of America. Romano contends that the demographic

destruction of indigenous populations was mitigated from an economic point of view by the energy replacement generated by more efficient technology unknown to Amerindian societies. Mules, oxen, wheels, and mills helped Europeans consolidate the colonial economic system despite demographic collapse.

There are some unsolved contradictions in Romano's arguments. First, his dismissal of the importance of market economy in colonial Latin America stems from too narrow a definition. Against his own caveat about the risks of applying modern concepts to earlier realities, Romano calls for the presence of price homogeneity and dense commercial networks as requisites for a market economy's existence. A more flexible conception could possibly have led him to incorporate parts of the "natural" economy to the market. Romano also discards accumulated knowledge on popular participation in the market. Historians of Mexico and the Andes have shown that popular sectors learned very quickly how to approach the market to sell both goods and labor, and how they eventually retreated from it. This approach gives popular sectors some agency in shaping the colonial economy. In Romano's version such peoples are kept in the realm of "nature."

GUSTAVO L. PAZ

University of Buenos Aires

TREVOR BURNARD. *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 320. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.

Scholars of colonial Jamaica, and of American slavery, know Thomas Thistlewood as a notoriously cruel slave master. The diaries that Thistlewood kept throughout his thirty-six years on the island are some of the most important documents for plantation life in Jamaica in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Thistlewood carefully recorded his daily exercise of power over slaves with methods that often employed extreme force. Using Thistlewood's diary as his chief source, Trevor Burnard has written a careful study of the social, intellectual, and cultural worlds of a "brutal slave owner, an occasional rapist, and torturer" (p. 7). But the resulting book is far more important than that. With Thistlewood as his prism, Burnard has also drawn a vivid and penetrating portrait of late eighteenth-century Jamaica. In his examination of Thistlewood, Burnard also raises larger, troubling questions about the link between modernity and moral progress.

Thistlewood's life was a success story. The second son of an English tenant farmer, he had few prospects at home. Like others of his class, Thistlewood looked to the empire to make his fortune. After a voyage to India on a merchant ship proved disappointing, Thistlewood (then twenty-nine years old) sailed to Jamaica in 1750. A free white man in a society comprised overwhelmingly of black slaves, Thistlewood, despite his humble background, was a welcome

guest in planters' homes. He was offered employment as an overseer on several plantations. Accepting one such job, Thistlewood became a member of the island's master class, a position he maintained for the rest of his life. At his death in 1786, Thistlewood owned thirty-four people. His entire estate was assessed at twenty-four hundred pounds, which while only slightly above average for white Jamaicans, exceeded the typical Englishman's estate by more than fifty fold.

In his diaries, Thistlewood kept a laconic notation of his activities: his slaves' tasks, transgressions, and punishments; his purchases and sales; his social and intellectual life (white visitors and outings, books bought or borrowed); and his sex life (partners, positions, and payment—if any—all noted in a schoolboy Latin). Thistlewood did not record his private thoughts and feelings. Unlike Samuel Pepys (or to choose more contemporaneous diarists) James Boswell, or Landon Carter, Thistlewood's diary was wholly unreflective. To reconstruct a life from such a dry chronicle, Burnard embeds Thistlewood in the historic and historiographic context of eighteenth-century Jamaica. He achieves this difficult task by dividing the book into thematic chapters. Separate chapters are devoted to examinations of Thistlewood's economic, political, and intellectual worlds. Although the history of the past century, and the example of Thomas Jefferson, have made the link between barbarism and civility obvious, it is nonetheless disheartening to discover that even a man as barbarous as Thistlewood participated in the Enlightenment's republic of letters. Thistlewood's personal library grew to over a thousand volumes, and his garden became a showpiece of tropical botany. Nowhere is the divide between ideals and realities, words and deeds, more starkly drawn than in the image of Thistlewood commanding his slaves from the piazza of his house while reading Adams Smith's newly published *Wealth of Nations*.

Half the book is focused on Thistlewood's interactions with his slaves. This reflects not only the fact that Thistlewood's chief significance to history is as a slave master, but also the weight he gave slaves in his diary, and by extension the enormous role they played in his life. Burnard's discussion of slavery and slave life in these chapters is insightful and provocative. He draws on Thistlewood not only to detail the brutal realities of slavery in colonial Jamaica but to suggest the demoralizing effects that such a bleak regime may have had on slaves. Burnard's depiction of Thistlewood's relationship with his slave concubine, Phibbah, as based on mutual affection and benefit is also likely to stir debate. But the most interesting and lasting insight Burnard offers is that eighteenth-century Jamaica might best be understood as a "tribal" society, with whites merely the dominant "tribe." As Thistlewood knew, white Jamaicans maintained their tenuous con-

trol only by a violent and unremitting application of the law of divide and conquer.

ROBERT OLWELL
University of Texas,
Austin

GABRIEL VILLARONGA. *Toward a Discourse of Consent: Mass Mobilization and Colonial Politics in Puerto Rico, 1932–1948*. (Contributions in Latin American Studies, number 23.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2004. Pp. xx, 273. \$64.95.

The dawn of American rule inaugurated a phase in Puerto Rican political history renowned for its array of elite-oriented parties, legislative coalitions, and fierce loyalty to political personalities. Mass mobilization did not become an integral part of most parties' electoral strategies until the advent of Luis Muñoz Marín's *Partido Popular Democrático* (Popular Democratic Party or PPD). Gabriel Villaronga's book focuses on the years preceding the PPD's foundation and its early tenure in office. The PPD's elite-mass "discourse of consent" proved so effective that Muñoz Marín's party dominated Puerto Rican politics from the 1940s to the end of the 1960s.

As Villaronga noted, what distinguished Muñoz Marín from his competitors was his determined effort to galvanize the politically inert rural masses. Such an undertaking was filled with many contradictions. Farmers' issues were high on the PPD's agenda, yet the party relentlessly promoted industrialization, even at the cost of Puerto Rico's agricultural sector. The intensely secular party liberally laced its rhetoric with impassioned religious overtones. The PPD claimed to represent the aspirations of moderate nationalists seeking autonomy, but this position was not reconciled with the objectives of more ardent nationalists within the party demanding outright independence.

The author resisted the temptation to rationalize these inconsistencies. Indeed, one of the most laudable aspects of Villaronga's work is his focus on the adjustable nature of the elite-mass dialogue. Discrepancies resulted from a dynamic exchange between the party and its prospective followers. Standing quietly in the shadows of this process was the U.S. government. The PPD sought to establish itself as the sole intermediary linking insular and federal interests. To bolster his credentials among nationalists Muñoz Marín adopted the lone star banner as Puerto Rico's official flag. When politically expedient, he expelled separatist leaders from his party and adopted a culturally nationalistic policy nested in an economically and politically dependent relationship with the United States.

Villaronga's work also makes a significant contribution to the study of Puerto Rican political history by underscoring the PPD's character as an office-seeking political party. Many histories of the PPD and its founder buy into the party's myth of munificence. Unlike others, this party mobilized a previously inert citizenry and successfully infused its own myth (albeit

negotiated) into mainstream Puerto Rican political discourse. Yet Villaronga highlights the fact that behind the collaborative discourse there remained an unquenchable drive to augment electoral support. Although the author stresses the neo-Gramscian foundations of his work, it is clear that this book is also grounded in vote-maximizing utilitarianism found in classic works such as Jeremy Bentham's *An Introduction to the Principles and Morals of Legislation* (1789) and Anthony Downs's *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957).

One criticism of this work is not a matter of error or omission but of emphasis. As the author aptly points out, the PPD carefully crafted a discourse designed to entrench itself as the essential link joining Puerto Rico and the United States. While the book centers on the dynamics of elite-mass discourse it does not sufficiently accentuate the groundwork laid by the U.S. government and American commercial interests. Standard Gramscian analyses of hegemonic discourse underscore the roles played by elites in myth making. Having said that, how could these local elites institutionalize their discourse—even a negotiated one—when they lacked either economic or political preeminence? The PPD's meteoric rise and quarter-century dominance of the local polity could not have been possible without Washington's blessings.

PPD claims that cultural autonomy did not necessitate political sovereignty were more credible after the federal government weakened the enforcement of, and subsequently abandoned, its Americanization policy. Cultural engineering coupled with economic misery only fueled nationalism. Federal policy makers concluded over time that governing this territory was less burdensome when nationalist passions subsided. As Villaronga points out, Washington's apprehensions increased significantly with the advent of World War II. Furthermore, Muñoz Marín founded the PPD after federal authorities imprisoned Nationalist Party leader Pedro Albizu Campos, producing a vacuum within nationalist ranks that the PPD quickly exploited.

Of course, the PPD's rhetoric would have remained hollow were it not able to deliver on promises of economic reform. The late Roosevelt and Truman administrations facilitated these changes. Congress and the White House agreed to surrender to modest autonomist demands in order to secure this strategically vital dependency. American industries helped by employing tens of thousands. Muñoz Marín's discursive negotiations with the peasantry could not have succeeded without the support of government and business leaders on the U.S. mainland.

Villaronga's book makes a substantial contribution to our understanding of twentieth-century Puerto Rican political history. Students of contemporary island party politics and political socialization will also find this work quite enlightening.

AMÍLCAR ANTONIO BARRETO
Northeastern University

EMILIO KOURÍ. *A Pueblo Divided: Business, Property, and Community in Papanila, Mexico*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 389. \$60.00.

More than three decades have past since Luis González y González issued his clarion call to Mexican historians, in *Invitación a la microhistoria* (1973), to root their investigations at the local and regional levels, breaking from the "centralist" emphasis that had long dominated the historiography. Traditionally, scholars had viewed events from Mexico's regions reluctantly and with a jaundiced eye—and then only in relation to their importance to Mexico City. Although many sought to emulate González y González's unconventional, evocative account of his hometown in *Pueblo en vilo: Microhistoria de San José de Gracia* (1968), where snowstorms and comets ominously prefigured the impact of modernity on a hamlet in rural Michoacán, few have written local history or *historia matría*, as it affectionately came to be called, with as much grace and verve as Emilio Kourí's study of how Totonac and non-indigenous residents of Papanila, Veracruz, grappled with a late nineteenth-century vanilla boom that transformed their way of life.

For students of tropical commodities during Latin America's export boom (1850–1930), Kourí's fine-grained monograph of vanilla's meteoric rise in Veracruz's steamy Tecolutla River basin covers familiar ground. But the devil is in vanilla's idiosyncrasies and how the spice's increasingly segmented market dovetailed with the prevailing subsistence sector to disrupt communal solidarity. Up until 1850 Mexico enjoyed a monopoly on the indigenous orchid that blooms only once a year but has the highest value-to-weight ratio of any tropical commodity. For centuries, Totonac Indians had harvested the vines that grew wild in the forest by searching for ripe fruits to pick. But vanilla was never a means to an end, although it proved a lucrative complement to indigenous corn production. If vanilla's cultivation remained in the hands of the indigenous, the curing—a meticulously monitored sweating and drying process that induced the orchid's withering pods to ferment, turning dark brown or black and ultimately morphing into dry but aromatic sticks—was the province of local *mestizo*, creoles, or European artisans. Not surprisingly, the lion's share of the profits was in the fragrant sticks' curing and marketing. Although Indians knew perfectly well how to cure the orchid, Kourí contends they preferred to devote themselves to a subsistence regimen. Even as the boom intensified and peasants cultivated the vines more systematically, they did so on their played-out corn plots. Totonac farmers made "vanilla an integral part of their agricultural cycle—to render them more reliable, secure, and productive, and thereby to increase their general welfare" (p. 101).

Increased competition from the French colonies of Reunion Island and Madagascar and the growth of an expansive North American market transformed vanilla from a luxury item used solely in the making of

chocolate beverages to a commodity that increasingly found its way into processed foods like ice cream and chocolate. As productivity increased, as Papantla ineluctably became more tied to an unstable world market, competition intensified locally for resources and commercial relations between local merchants and cultivators turned nasty. Land for the first time became, in Kourí's words, "a bone of contention."

If the commodification of land is not in and of itself a new story, what is striking about the Papantla case study is how aggrandizing Totonac notables, curers-cum-merchants, and political officials threw themselves headlong into the expanding vanilla economy, alienating indigenous peasants from their corn plots. Kourí's study complicates our understanding of how indigenous communities functioned (or in this case did not), how land disputes often pitted Totonacs against themselves as local leaders fostered alliances with opportunistic non-Indians at the expense of their brethren; "the struggles were intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic . . . These Totonac *rancheros*, *indios ladinos* and non-Indian merchants formed the new ruling elite" (p. 166).

The vehicle that Totonac bosses employed to expand production and preserve autonomy was unusual and especially revealing of their intentions. The *condueñazgo*, a private landholding association in which members owned a share of the lands, was employed initially because notables were wary of the Porfirian state's efforts to privatize communal lands. Shares in the *condueñazgo* did not give peasants the right to a specific piece of land, instead internal allocations were decided by indigenous leaders. Notables, often working in cahoots with local merchants, sought to control and hoard production at the expense of younger cohorts of Totonac peasants who were turned into little more than rent-paying tenants. Although the *condueñazgos* eventually "crumbled from within," they fostered a culture of resistance that turned increasingly violent during the 1890s and eventually led to land privatization and the breakdown of communal solidarity.

This brief overview of does not do justice to Kourí's prodigious research and elegant prose. It is rare (and a privilege) to learn so much about how a nineteenth-century indigenous community responded to the export boom. Two concerns deserve mention. So true to the local is the author's gaze that it is unfortunate that there is little effort to place this significant study in a larger context. How similar was Papantla to other indigenous communities in Mexico or elsewhere who struggled with similar incursions and transformations? Secondly, Kourí, as an article of faith, unceremoniously terminates his epilogue in 1900, refusing to let Mexican revolutionary teleology corrupt his protagonists and the history they so contentiously made during the Porfiriato. In his words, "By the time Mexico had a Revolution, Papantla had already finished one of its own" (p. 283). That may be true, but the revolution and what came after it, whether it disrupted the lives of

Totonac vanilla producers and ladino merchants or not, is as inescapable a part of their history as what came before. How did the Totonacs' Porfirian struggles shape their revolutionary future? Perhaps Kourí will have reason to return to Papantla again in future writings and complete this impressive *historia patria*.

ALLEN WELLS
Bowdoin College

JÜRGEN BUCHENAU. *Tools of Progress: A German Merchant Family in Mexico City, 1865-Present*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 267. \$27.95.

Historians concerned with the role of foreign entrepreneurs in Latin America's economic history have pored over the records of European and American mercantile ventures such as Antony Gibbs and Sons and W. R. Grace and Company. Such attention is justified by the profound influence these merchant houses had on the history of countries such as Chile and Peru. Jürgen Buchenau's study of Casa Boker takes on an enterprise considerably smaller in dimensions and impact than these powerful British and American houses. The German firm played an important but not a pivotal role in Mexico's history. However, the author provides a study of considerable significance by examining the family firm from the combined perspectives of business and cultural history. In addition to tracing the rise and decline of Casa Boker in Mexico City, he examines the process by which the Bokers gradually became acculturated and eventually assimilated within Mexican society.

When Robert Boker arrived in Veracruz in 1865 to collect a debt owed to his father's hardware manufacturing business, he could hardly have imagined that he was about to establish what would become one of the leading German enterprises in Mexico during the Porfiriato. Building on its family-owned cutlery products, combined with judicious balancing of imports from both Germany and the United States, Casa Boker emerged as a leading German merchant house in the Mexican capital. Confirmation of the prominent position the family had achieved came in 1900 when President Porfirio Díaz inaugurated Edificio Boker, an elaborate three-story department store that heralded the Bokers' attempt to exploit the emerging consumer market of Mexico. Yet the opening of the department store, while it marked the heights to which the Bokers had risen, also proved to be a cause of their decline.

The enormous cost of the new building strained the finances of the company for decades to come, depriving it of resources that could have been reinvested in the firm. Furthermore, despite this extraordinarily expensive plunge into the consumer market, the Bokers never did embrace the modern consumer world of department stores with glittering display cases and advertising that translated the dreams of customers into consumer products. Franz Boker, who guided the family's fortunes through the early decades of the

twentieth century, proved overly conservative, avoiding investments in domestic manufacturing and clinging to safer, low-return real estate assets. The business weathered both the Mexican Revolution and the Great Depression. But it was a substantially diminished Casa Boker in whose affairs the Mexican government intervened in 1942, in order to satisfy U.S. demands to seize German enterprises. Six years later, the Bokers regained control of a company that had been further devalued by state mismanagement. But as the Bokers' business fortunes declined, their ties to Mexican society intensified.

Like most European merchants, Robert Boker and his immediate successors saw themselves as temporary residents in Latin America, whose German economic links and citizenship gave them important advantages in Mexico. The Bokers made little effort to integrate themselves into their host society. Their most significant cultural endeavors involved the creation of clubs, associations, and schools that would celebrate and preserve their German heritage. But that position began subtly changing for the Bokers when Franz built the Casa Amarilla, a Spanish-style home on the outskirts of Mexico City, in 1919. Although Franz was hardly about to embrace Mexican culture, his long residence in the country insured that he would begin integrating elements of that culture into his family's life. Germany's defeat in World War II, the growing importance of a Mexican national identity as the binding force in its modern society, and the rise of a Mexican bourgeoisie that rivaled the Bokers' economic and social status provided multiple reasons for the German merchant family to assimilate into Mexican society. While members of the contemporary generation of Bokers retain ties to Germany and their German heritage, they have exhibited language and marriage patterns that point more than ever toward a family future that will be Mexican.

The author's family ties to the Bokers have given him a unique opportunity to carry out research in the Boker archive and to conduct oral interviews with family members. That access has allowed him to craft a creative study that traces an economic history of a German merchant family, while it illuminates the linkages between economic relations and the processes of acculturation and assimilation. As with any innovative work, one always wishes for more. Some comparative analysis of the Bokers and other German business families, and other European merchants in Latin America, would further illuminate the factors that impeded or enhanced the assimilation of these foreign business elites.

THOMAS O'BRIEN
University of Houston

ALEXANDER S. DAWSON. *Indian and Nation in Revolutionary Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2004. Pp. xxvi, 222. \$45.00.

Alexander S. Dawson's book is a timely contribution to the understanding of *indigenismo* in postrevolutionary Mexico. According to Dawson, "Indigenismo acted as a medium through which a series of actors, including social scientists, bureaucrats, intellectuals, teachers, and Indian themselves negotiated a new place for indigenous peoples in Mexico" (p. xv). The book's main objective is to provide an alternative interpretation of the role played by *indigenistas* in the making of modern Mexico. Dawson undertakes this task by closely examining the different institutional policies followed by the Mexican state from the 1920s through the 1940s. Mainstream accounts of *indigenismo* contend that most *indigenistas* believed that indigenous peoples should be assimilated into the Mexican nation. They considered that the Indians, while embodying the true nationality, were also deeply backward and atavistic. Their conception of indigenous peoples was in the end negative, and their program for regeneration for them was assimilation and modernization. Dawson provides a more positive account of *indigenistas*. He argues that the value that they placed in native cultures should not be underestimated. Even the father of modern *indigenismo*, Manuel Gamio, claimed that the "organic resistance of the Indian" was superior to that of whites and mestizos (p. 15). Early *indigenistas* actively fought racial theories that considered the Indians as inferiors. They contended that education and enhanced opportunities would redeem the Indian race. Thus the first experiments in Indian policy were the Casa del Estudiante Indígena in the mid-1920s and the Internados Indígenas in the 1930s. Dawson carefully mined the archives of the different bureaucratic agencies that implemented Indian policy in order to provide a vivid and well-documented account of the occasional successes and many failures of these institutions. However, according to Dawson, if we only examine these failures we miss the larger impact of *indigenista* enterprises. The very promises the revolutionary state made "afforded local residents opportunities they had not seen before, and they would push them to their limits" (p. 66).

Dawson shows that the history of *indigenismo* is more complicated than it was previously thought. While most *indigenistas* favored assimilation, at least some of them believed that Indians needed a gradual "program of social, spiritual and economic emancipation." As part of this gradual approach *indigenistas*, such as Moisés Sáenz, "called for a program that respected many aspects of the lives of indigenous communities." Dawson documents a brief but intense moment of pluralist *indigenismo* in Mexico. As it turns out, modern Indian rights activists have forgotten forerunners in the 1930s, when for a short time pluralist *indigenistas* conducted the Indian policy of the Mexican state. Some of them went as far as calling for the right to self-determination for Mexico's indigenous peoples. In so doing they challenged the main tenets of Mexican nationalism. Their position elicited a nationalist reaction from the Cárdenas government, and the

experiment was soon ended. As a leftist, President Lázaro Cárdenas believed that the Indians, along with the rest of the rural and urban poor, were members of a single proletariat. As Dawson shows, many Mexican intellectuals also rejected the ideas that cultural pluralists articulated in the 1930s, accusing them of "isolating Indians from the benefits of civilization and denying the nation the unity it needed."

After the 1940s, *indigenismo* lost its impetus. Budgets were cut and many programs reduced or terminated. Overall, this book provides a well-balanced and detailed account of a complex history. *Indigenismo* has been treated mainly from the perspective of intellectual history. Dawson relies also on political and bureaucratic records, which enabled him to provide a unique perspective on the phenomenon. Yet, there are two minor weaknesses in this account. The author is overly sympathetic toward the *indigenistas*, particularly the cultural pluralists. Since he is attempting to cast them in a more favorable light, this is understandable. The second mistake is one of proportion. While the *indigenas capacitados* (those trained at the schools and institutions of the *indigenistas*) became agents of the state, Dawson exaggerates their significance as builders of postrevolutionary hegemony. In the end, however, this book not only analyzes the mixed record of postrevolutionary *indigenismo* in Mexico but also provides some clues to understand modern-day neo-*indigenistas*.

JOSÉ ANTONIO AGUILAR RIVERA

*Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas,
Mexico City*

MATTHEW BUTLER. *Popular Piety and Political Identity in Mexico's Cristero Rebellion: Michoacán, 1927–29*. (A British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship Monograph.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 251. \$74.00.

This painstakingly researched volume by Matthew Butler provides unparalleled insights into the origins and course of the 1926–1929 Catholic-inspired uprising known as the Cristero revolt. The conflict involved the hierarchy of the Mexican church as well as urban Catholics, of course, but as Jean Meyer argued three decades ago in his magisterial *La Cristiada* (1974), the Cristero revolt was above all a rural rebellion against Mexico's modernizing and anticlerical postrevolutionary government. Cristero rebels not only clashed with the federal army, they also fought peasants (*agraristas*) who supported land reform and government initiatives such as the expansion of secular education. Like most historians of the past decade or so, it is the internecine aspect of the conflict—the question of why some peasants became Cristeros and others *agraristas*—that Butler seeks to explain. But whereas nearly all previous analysts (including those who claim to take an identity-based approach) have relied on material explanations focusing on questions of land tenure and subtle class differences among peasants to explain

rural people's partisanship, Butler takes a fresh approach. As he ably demonstrates, we must look as well at local differences in popular religious belief and practice.

Trying to get at peasant religiosity is a notoriously difficult proposition, yet Butler succeeds admirably. Based in large part on difficult-to-access ecclesiastical archives, the book provides a close reading of religiously tinted community tugs of war over participation in worship, land reform, public education, and eventually the Cristero revolt itself. Butler focuses on a relatively compact area comprising four middle-sized townships and a number of smaller communities in the eastern part of the state of Michoacán. The book opens with a broad historical overview of this area, followed by a detailed analysis of the period between 1915 and 1929. Butler shows that—despite a feminization of religious observance in some instances—religious practices in the three northernmost townships and communities (Zinapécuaro, Maravatío, and Ciudad Hidalgo) were deeply entwined with their political cultures, not least because the area's agricultural and mineral wealth had allowed for the emergence of a vigorous network of Catholic parishes. When the conflict between church and state broke out in the mid 1920s, therefore, most people of the region rose to "the defense of an identity rooted in orthodox religious practice" (p. 208), and an unusually high number of them eventually shouldered arms as Cristero rebels.

One township in the region did not conform to this pattern, however. The city of Zitácuaro and its outlying communities emerged as a center of liberalism in the early nineteenth century. By the early twentieth century, the city and its environs had far fewer Catholic churches, and more Protestant ones, than the region's other townships. Butler shows that the church's relatively weak institutional presence meant that people in the Zitácuaro area adopted a less sacramental form of religion that paved the way for the emergence of an unusually anticlerical local elite, all of which made the rural people of the area relatively more open to agrarianism, secular education, and the other desiderata of allegiance to the postrevolutionary state. This, coupled with a somewhat different pattern of land tenure, turned the area into a hotbed of pro-government *agrarista* militancy in the years following the revolution.

The book's geographic scope does impose some limitations on its findings' applicability to other parts of Mexico. For example, the large number of educators and political leaders in eastern Michoacán who were Protestants (or at least people whom Butler's sources called Protestants) does not have clear parallels elsewhere in Michoacán or most other parts of Mexico. Likewise, indigenous people in eastern Michoacán were unusually inclined to join the *agrarista* cause, whereas indigenous people in other parts of the state became ardent Cristero fighters. Nor do we learn much about how partisanship in the Cristero revolt arose

from longstanding rivalries between communities, which was clearly the case for at least some communities covered in this study.

Nevertheless, the book's overall insistence that "religion mattered as peasants negotiated a path between the conflicting agendas of Church and state" (p. 3) is an analytical point as compelling as it is straightforward. Butler does not ignore questions of economy, land tenure, and political clientelism, of course; rather, he seeks to complicate our understanding of these factors by showing their linkages to popular religious observance and ultimately to partisanship in the uprising. His book therefore merits the close attention of scholars interested in the Cristero revolt, in Mexican social history of the early twentieth century, and in popular religion generally.

CHRISTOPHER R. BOYER
University of Illinois,
Chicago

GREG GRANDIN. *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 311. Cloth \$57.00, paper \$22.00.

This book by Greg Grandin covers an important history. It also provides an important position on that history, addressing several different audiences and providing new information to each in riveting prose. It combines many specialists' knowledge about how the Cold War played out in different parts of Latin America with new and previously unknown material about how Cold War tactics unfolded in Guatemala because of its attempted democratic reforms. Most significant is its portrayal of who participated in those reforms, and what Guatemala lost when that possibility was extinguished by the colossus of the North.

About one third of the book describes how the United States expanded its power and partial hegemony over the rest of Latin America based on techniques it pioneered in Guatemala. In 1950, long before the Cuban Revolution, members of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and State Department worked to destroy Guatemala's reformist democracy out of concern that it might have links to Moscow via the Guatemala Worker's Party (PGT). No evidence for such links existed before (or after) the United States supported a military coup against Jacobo Arbenz, who had been democratically elected and whose programs for expanding citizenship rights and agrarian reform were supported by most Guatemalans. (The CIA discovered this to be true right after the coup, but revealed what it found only in 1997.) U.S. actions established military-controlled regimes in Guatemala, with which the United States maintained close links, for more than forty years as the level of violence ebbed and flowed but never stopped. In some periods, political activists disappeared and particular non-oligarchic sectors of Guatemala were heavily repressed; in others, selected civilian populations were massacred after

Guatemala's first (and possibly last) real democracies were violently overthrown. Grandin shows how the same methods were replicated in different parts of Latin America wherever the social circumstances seemed ripe for the masses to support "radical" social democracy, imposing governments congenial to U.S. interests, whether military, "democratic," or neoliberal. Most Latin Americanists know about this part of Grandin's story, but not the details of U.S. involvement that Grandin provides using the newly released CIA archives. Nor do they know how widely popular the social and economic reforms designed during ten years of democracy were among all Guatemalans, not just urban students or plantation workers.

Two thirds of the story is new and known to very few specialists or even Guatemalans. It is based on local archives and dozens of interviews with survivors of Guatemala's long period of violence under the military dictatorships that replaced Guatemala's nascent democracy. Going beyond the local, Grandin tacks back and forth between the province of Alta Verapaz, where coffee plantations had dispossessed many indigenous campesinos and where struggles over land and citizenship rights were continuous throughout the twentieth century, and Guatemala City, where political power had always been concentrated. Use of both resources allows Grandin to people the story of Guatemala's democratic period (1944–1954)—how it was established (1920–1944) and later crushed by use of selective violence over a long period of time (1954–1978)—with individuals whose leadership positions in modern Guatemalan history have never before been recorded. In the pre-reform period, an important figure in Alta Verapaz was José Angel Icó, who spent more than two decades challenging the evictions of campesinos by the massive coffee plantations of Alta Verapaz, which had dispossessed thousands of Q'eqchi' landowners only one or two generations earlier. A cosmopolitan and literate Q'eqchi', Icó used the weak legal means later strengthened by the 1952 land reform program, which provided a much broader charter for such challenges. Icó worked both locally and nationally with non-indigenous (*ladino*) leaders struggling for justice and democratic reform in Guatemala. Most of the *ladinos* have had a place in Guatemala's history; before this book, Icó did not.

In the period after democracy was established, other indigenous labor organizers (e.g. Alfredo Cucul, Efraín Reyes Maaz) worked with *ladinos* in the PGT organizations of Alta Verapaz before, during, and after the very brief period of actual land redistribution (1952–1954). Cucul and Reyes, like Icó, were literate, well read, and very articulate labor organizers whose sophisticated understanding of how power worked in Guatemala will surprise many. Both men survived the long period of PGT and labor repression that followed the 1954 coup, so Grandin could interview them. Cooperation between *indígenas* and *ladinos* on economic projects like those of the reform period had never before occurred in Guatemala, nor have many

historians covered this aspect of the land reform program.

The final chapter on Alta Verapaz describes what led up to and brought on what Grandin terms the “last colonial massacre,” which took place in Panzós, Alta Verapaz, in 1978. (He labels this the last colonial massacre because indigenous protest and state response in Guatemala were profoundly transformed after the event.) Many local views of the massacre are provided, together with the life story of a primary protest leader, Adelina Caal (“Mamá Maquin”), a Q’eqchi’ who had long worked with the PGT and who directly confronted the army detachment invited to the small *ladino* town of Panzós to “defend” landlord rights. Members of the army shot into a crowd of Q’eqchi’s, armed only with machetes, who had come to present their land titles to municipal authorities, killing dozens of children, women, and men. The massacre at Panzós, according to most scholars of Guatemala as well as Grandin, led campesinos throughout western Guatemala (which is mostly indigenous) to abandon peaceful petitions for land and strikes against plantations for higher pay in order to join armed revolutionary groups in the mountains. After Panzós, a new kind of counterrevolutionary terror began in Guatemala, during which the army carried out hundreds of massacres, killing and disappearing nearly 100,000 indigenous villagers. This genocidal bloodbath was not repudiated by the United States, which continued to support Guatemala’s military governments.

Grandin’s depiction of Guatemala’s struggles for democracy during the Cold War period differs in two important respects from other accounts. First, he argues against the way many scholars have “naturalized” Guatemalan state violence over time. He wants, instead, to “provide a more grounded view of how ideological hardening and polarization unfold [in particular ways]” (p. 173), so that outcomes are never structurally foretold but affected by human agents. His broader point is that scholars who do not historicize the particulars of Cold War repression in Guatemala evoke an image of Guatemala as “naturally” violent. If anything, the story of the multiple massacres and political murders directed primarily at Guatemala’s indigenous population (its majority population) in the post-Panzós period of civil war only confirms a general belief by scholars of Latin American and Latin Americans that those countries unable to bring their indigenous people to accept the false promise of the *mestizaje* ideology are doomed to reactionary backwardness and violence. Grandin’s book redresses this lack of “historical” understanding of violence in Guatemala by addressing a second major failure in the historical record as well: the degree of indigenous involvement in creating and supporting Guatemala’s ten years of democracy.

In what is essentially a historical “ethnography,” Grandin situates, both socially and historically, particular complex individuals in the long struggle: indigenous activists, their *ladino* supporters, and their vari-

ous enemies in both Alta Verapaz and the national capital. The actors in this long struggle over democracy in Guatemala turn out to be much more diverse in economic, political, social, and cultural terms from what most Guatemala specialists (and Guatemalans) have realized. By providing a fuller range of voices and individuals, Grandin produces an unusually deep picture of a profound democratic social movement in Latin America (when democracy was barely on the horizon anywhere else) in the most racist of Latin American societies.

Grandin’s revisionist depiction of Guatemala’s political past—especially the overriding belief in democracy and plurality among PGT rural organizers, leading them to be indifferent to all but the class of those with whom they worked in Alta Verapaz—raises important issues for those concerned about the political future of Guatemala. Many Guatemalans and Guatemala specialists, like myself, have long held a jaundiced picture of the PGT leadership because of their reluctance to address the special issue of racism in Guatemala, their willingness to compromise with murderously repressive military regimes long after the overthrow of Arbenz, and their fear of supplying arms to indigenous campesinos after they reluctantly joined the armed struggle. The PGT described by Grandin does not resemble the PGT described by many others. But this is not to say that Grandin is wrong, only that few have examined how the PGT worked in rural indigenous areas. Grandin’s depiction of the PGT, reviled after many came to support armed struggle, calls for further research. Grandin suggests that the PGT organizers who worked with and inspired rural campesinos in Alta Verapaz believed (as did their urban leaders) that democratic compromise rather than armed struggle was the only path to political modernity in Guatemala. Now that the romance of armed struggle appeals to few, we would all have to agree with that assessment.

If Grandin’s history of *indígenas* and *ladinos*, men and women working together turns out to be a common, if not universal, memory among indigenous survivors from that period, it is very important for Guatemalans to know that history. And should Grandin’s vision of Guatemala’s political past be widely accepted in Guatemala, it might help heal the enormous current division between *ladinos* and *indígenas* that has only become wider and stronger in the wake of the armed struggle and the “new” indigenous (Maya) movement, which emphasizes cultural over economic rights at the same time the “new” neoliberal government recognizes multiculturalism while pursuing policies that exacerbate indigenous poverty.

CAROL A. SMITH
University of California,
Davis

PATRICIA VEGA JIMÉNEZ. *Con sabor a tertulia: Historia del consumo del café en Costa Rica (1840–1940)*. San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica. San

José: Instituto del Café de Costa Rica. 2004. Pp. xlviii, 285.

Coffee was virtually unknown in Costa Rica at the start of the nineteenth century; by 1940, it had become an indispensable part of everyday life. Indeed, that nation is now the second largest per capita consumer of coffee in Latin America after Brazil. The spread of coffee production depended largely on international markets, but as this elegant and innovative book shows, local consumption did not simply percolate down from foreign elites. Patricia Vega Jiménez demonstrates that Costa Rica developed a unique coffee culture, one that also provides invaluable comparative perspective on consumption patterns in Europe and the United States.

The author meticulously documents the spread of coffee to provide a basis for periodizing social change. First imported in the 1780s from colonial plantations in Saint-Domingue and Jamaica, coffee initially had a patina of European luxury and modernity. Nevertheless, when small farmers began cultivating beans in the vicinity of San José around 1830, home-grown coffee quickly lost that exotic quality. Foreign travelers introduced many Costa Ricans to the beverage, but these outsiders were not all elites. Italian and Chinese railroad construction workers demanded coffee rations as they extended the Atlantic Railroad out of the Valle Central. Although production remained limited to highland regions, consumption had spread throughout the country by the end of the nineteenth century.

Vega Jiménez also charts the expansion of coffee through the social geography of Costa Rican everyday life. Two other hot beverages, chocolate and *aguadulce* (sweetened water), typically consumed on festive occasions, provided an entry point for the new drink. More reliable production and perhaps greater stimulating effects allowed coffee largely to replace the patrician chocolate, while the plebeian sugar water was simply subsumed into coffee consumption. Within a few decades, coffee became synonymous with breakfast and later the afternoon snack as well. Henceforth, the quality of the coffee and the setting of its consumption, rather than the actual beverage, denoted social class.

The diffusion of coffee from domestic to public consumption contrasted with the situation in Europe and the United States, where coffeehouses helped define an emerging public sphere. Starting in the 1840s, Costa Rican women, who already rose before dawn to cook the morning tortillas, spent an additional hour roasting coffee beans over an earthenware gridle to prepare breakfast. Coffee was not served in public until the 1880s, when *pulperías* (general stores) began serving cups over the counter. Dedicated coffeehouses proliferated only at the end of the nineteenth century. In these shops, as in elite clubs and hotels, thick coffee syrup was served out of recycled Worcestershire sauce bottles, then mixed with hot water or milk for an *Americano* or *café con leche*.

Industrial roasting and milling for national markets did not gain prominence until the twentieth century, after coffee had spread throughout Costa Rican society. As elsewhere, the replacement of domestic production encouraged widespread adulteration, yet health officials had to balance concerns for pure food with the limited resources of poor consumers; after all, beans rejected by exporters constituted the bulk of national consumption.

Coffee even had a formative role in the development of Costa Rican national identity. Liberal intellectuals, recognizing the potential for coffee to support an export-oriented economy, had already incorporated the plant into coins and the national seal by the 1840s. The caffeinated drink also contributed to national unification by providing a common article of consumption that cut across class boundaries, although the rituals of coffee consumption differed between the fine porcelain and sweet pastries served on elite tables and the earthenware mugs and humble tortillas of peasant homes. Nevertheless, Vega Jiménez also recognizes the limits of coffee in differentiating Costa Rican nationalism from neighboring republics whose citizens also drank copious amounts of the steamy brew.

Vega Jiménez offers an exemplary study of consumer culture, blending meticulous documentation and local nuance with broad comparative perspective and theoretical sophistication. The attention given to the material nature of the commodity—the stimulating effects of coffee on the body—comes as a welcome complement to the analysis of social distinction. Anyone wishing to understand the globalization of consumerism should read this book.

Unfortunately, those who lament the decline of academic publishing in the United States will notice that this attractive volume, complete with color illustrations, was issued in an edition of fifty copies. Small-batch printing has been a godsend for beleaguered editors, but one can only hope that the University of Costa Rica Press makes many such runs and also contracts for an English translation. Until then, scarcity and not just quality will make this book a truly precious gem.

JEFFREY M. PILCHER
University of Minnesota

CAROLINE A. WILLIAMS. *Between Resistance and Adaptation: Indigenous Peoples and the Colonisation of the Chocó, 1510–1753*. (Liverpool Latin American Studies, New Series, number 5.) Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 254. £40.00.

This engaging book is an important addition to the study of European and Indian relations in Spain's New World empire. Caroline A. Williams contributes to our understanding of the encounter between native peoples and Spaniards in a heavily forested region of New Granada (in present-day Colombia) that attracted large numbers of Spaniards because of its extensive gold deposits. There was a multiplicity of indigenous

groups in the Chocó frontier. Williams analyzes their intricate patterns of resistance, accommodation, negotiation, collaboration, flight, and rebellion between the years 1510 and 1753. She carefully defines the evolution of Spain's colonial policies that were intended to subdue, control, and convert the indigenous peoples to Catholicism. These policies often resulted in violence and enabled Spain to extract precious metals from northwestern South America.

The violent nature of the encounter in the Chocó region is familiar: the drastic decline of the native population followed by a series of armed military expeditions, all-out war (*guerra a sangre y fuego*), Indian enslavement, and attempts by missionaries to convert the natives by relocating them to permanent village settlements. Williams's central thesis is that the indigenous peoples of the Chocó, particularly the Citará, did not go along with the Spanish program to reorganize their political, economic, and social structures and replace their native beliefs and rituals with Catholicism. They refused to alter their traditional marriage and burial practices, despite the efforts of Catholic missionaries. The native peoples, however, readily appropriated elements of Spanish material culture that they found useful, such as metal tools. They also manipulated Spain's legal system and took advantage of divisions among groups of Spaniards to further their own goals and interests. In 1684, the indigenous peoples rebelled against the Spanish intruders and killed 126 peoples, including Franciscan priests, women, and slaves in a mass rebellion similar to the 1680 Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico.

Williams concludes that the Franciscans had no long-lasting impact on the lives of the indigenous peoples of the Chocó. The Order of St. Francis, argues Williams, fell short in its duty to evangelize, learn native languages, and record the subtle ways in which the Indians incorporated and reinterpreted elements of Catholicism for their own purposes. Williams's analysis of the religious adaptation of the indigenous peoples of the Chocó is oversimplistic. She insists that there were no religious conversions to Christianity. In the absence of native sources and detailed missionary accounts, her statement, however, cannot be verified with any amount of certainty. Every indigenous group in the Americas had its belief systems altered by the Europeans, at least to some degree. But what degree, of course, is difficult to assess. According to Williams, the Jesuits' decision to withdraw from the Chocó also meant the frontier lacked the "funding, manpower, and experience that enabled the order to establish successful missions among such diverse peoples as the Guaraní, Guaycuruans, and the Moxos" (p. 86). But what does the term "successful" mean in this historical context? "Success" for whom? Certainly the indigenous peoples were better off prior to the arrival of the Europeans. Even had the Jesuits remained, moreover, it is unlikely that they could have achieved different results from the Franciscans because the Jesuits could not have pursued a policy of segregation in a gold-

mining area heavily visited by Spaniards. The Chocó frontier was quite distinct from the remote areas of the upper region of the Río de la Plata and Alto Perú where the Jesuits interacted with the Guaraní, Guaycuruans, and the Moxos and established significant mission settlements. The Society of Jesus perhaps had more brainpower or more university-trained priests than the other Catholic religious orders in the New World, but manpower was not really the issue. The number of clerics in missions in the New World was small.

The only other minor shortcoming of the work is Williams's decision to end her analysis a bit abruptly in 1753. Although she justifies her action, it would have been better to provide the reader with some general idea of the challenges that indigenous peoples faced during the late eighteenth century and in more contemporary times. To have to wait for another scholar to pick up the story after 1753 is not satisfying for the reader. These points aside, Williams has produced a highly valuable book that will appeal to specialists on the Andean region, colonial Latin America, and Spanish borderlands.

BARBARA GANSON

Florida Atlantic University

JAMES E. SANDERS. *Contentious Republicans: Popular Politics, Race, and Class in Nineteenth-Century Colombia*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 258. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

In this book, James E. Sanders makes an important contribution to the growing literature on the role of subalterns, alternatively designated as plebeians, in the political evolution of nineteenth-century Colombia. He refutes the once conventional view that subalterns were merely the unthinking pawns of elite patrons and emphasizes instead their agency: their awareness of their self-interest and their ability to bargain with political leaders in a new republican style.

Despite the book's subtitle, Sanders focuses on the Cauca Valley of western Colombia in the years 1848–1886. During most of this turbulent period, the region was part of the state of Cauca, the largest in a federation of "sovereign" states overseen by a weak central government. The state stagnated economically, a condition that elites attributed to the near-permanent disorder engendered by unruly subalterns.

The Cauca Valley subalterns whom Sanders examines fell into one of three groups: Indians, *Antioqueño* migrants, and Afro-Colombians. The Indians retained communal landholdings or *resguardos* in the northern part of the valley and also worked as day laborers on adjacent estates. Starting in the 1850s, migrants from the neighboring state of Antioquia began to move into the Quindío section of the valley in search of homesteads. In the southern reaches of the Cauca Valley, Afro-Colombians, many of them enslaved until abolition in 1852, could find no unclaimed land and were forced to seek employment as day laborers or tenants

on large haciendas or to move to Cali or other towns. Sanders offers little quantitative data on any of these groups, however; nor is it clear whether they encompassed all of the valley's subalterns.

Sanders's main interest is the subalterns' discourse, the theme of his second chapter. Through examination of the petitions they sent to local, regional, and national authorities, he is able to identify three types of political discourse, each generally corresponding to one of the aforementioned subaltern groups. The discourse of *Antioqueño* migrants, which Sanders calls popular smallholder republicanism, emphasized liberty and independence. By contrast, popular indigenous conservatism, while republican, placed more emphasis on community and fraternity. Popular liberalism, articulated mainly but not exclusively by Afro-Colombians, was based on notions of equality and on the right of all to enjoy land and liberty.

In four subsequent chapters Sanders traces the interaction between the subaltern groups and elites in the dominant Liberal and Conservative parties as the Cauca Valley was roiled by continual conflict and civil war. He concentrates on Afro-Colombian popular liberals, who emerged in the late 1840s as loyal allies of middling and elite Liberals. In the process that Sanders describes as bargaining, these popular liberals expected that their political support—at the polls and on the battlefield—would be rewarded by redress of their grievances, initially an end to slavery and colonial-era monopolies. The interests of the Indians and the *Antioqueño* migrants usually placed them in the Conservative camp.

The bargaining power of popular liberals appears to have foundered on the question of land reform, especially after the unsuccessful Conservative revolt of 1876–1877. Liberals of the Radical faction who controlled the state government tried to appease the demands of popular liberals for land at the expense of defeated Conservatives, but elite Liberals of all kinds and Conservatives were appalled by the confiscations and disorder that followed the war. The result was the collapse of the Radicals in 1879 and Cauca's "Regeneration." Like the national Regeneration that followed, it curtailed but did not eliminate the political activities of subalterns. Sanders indicates in his conclusion that when "the Regeneration closed down many ways in which subalterns practiced politics, it forced them to adopt new, and increasingly violent and extralegal, methods" (p. 197).

Sanders's account is clearly written and based primarily on documents from archives in Popayán, Cali, and Bogotá. He has undoubtedly succeeded in bringing subalterns to the center of nineteenth-century Cauca's political stage and in identifying salient themes in their discourse and in explaining their association with the two parties. There are a few weaknesses. Some of the author's categories—elite and middling Liberals, for example—lack precision, and he fails to demonstrate that subalterns did in fact make "important gains" (p. 194). That slavery was

abolished is of course true, but the fate of the *resguardos* remains unclear, as does the disposition of public land in the valley. These flaws stem in part from the absence of quantitative data noted earlier. Overall, however, Sanders is to be congratulated for producing a provocative work that will surely challenge historians to undertake similar studies for other regions of Colombia.

HELEN DELPAR

University of Alabama

IÑIGO GARCÍA-BRYCE. *Crafting the Republic: Lima's Artisans and Nation Building in Peru, 1821–1879*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 220. \$39.95.

Iñigo García-Bryce has examined Lima's artisans during the years between José de San Martín's declaration of Peruvian independence and the outbreak of warfare with Chile in 1879. Over that period the number of artisans in Peru's capital multiplied, until by 1876 they made up five percent of the city's 100,000 inhabitants. Simultaneously their influence grew, indicated by the widening range of their activities and by the attention that they attracted from various sectors, including the emerging political parties that sought their support. Their recognition as an influential and productive sector of society was tied to their gradual acceptance of the liberal program that came to dominate Peru during these years. In the author's words, they embraced the "language of liberal republicanism" (p. 5), which opened doors as they assisted in building the new nation.

The artisans' route to acceptance and respectability was a rocky one that involved several changes in direction over the years. García-Bryce traces their history, beginning in the colonial period when their interests were defended by guilds and religious brotherhoods. That privileged position came under attack in the eighteenth century as the Bourbon reformers sought to impose centralization. Nevertheless, their organizations managed to survive both this and the subsequent disruptions of the independence struggles, after which they sought to maintain their position by establishing ties with the new nation's ruling strongmen or *caudillos*. In return for legislation that protected them from foreign competition, they provided military recruits and taxes. That protectionism, however, disappeared with the end of *caudillismo* at mid-century, forcing the artisans to adopt new strategies, such as switching from guild-based pressure to a broader group pressure, and even taking matters into their own hands. In 1858, carpenters resorted to public demonstrations to protest against the importation of foreign construction materials. Actions such as these indicated a residual commitment to colonial exclusivity, but a shift in thinking was becoming increasingly apparent as the artisans realized that they needed to move with the times and adapt to new ideas if they were to have any real influence. Their acceptance of

liberal goals was evident in the artisan schools that were set up to assist in the creation of a moral and productive citizenry. The growing "importance of labor as a central value in the liberal nation" (p. 94) was also evident in the Expositions of 1869 and 1872 that lauded the productivity and accomplishments of local artisans. The appearance of mutual aid societies in the 1860s gave further proof of artisans' adoption of the liberal program, although not in its entirety, for in establishing such societies they rejected the strict liberal picture of the individual as the basis of society. These societies also provided a route to political activity, even if formal political involvement was prohibited. The publication in the 1870s of two short-lived newspapers, *El Artesano* and *El Obrero*, gave further evidence of artisans' desire to participate, as well as indicating some of the contradictions within the group. They used the papers to claim leadership of the working class and in doing so even adopted the language of class; yet, they avoided radicalism of any sort in order to maintain the positive impression that they were trying to create.

Explaining artisans in any preindustrial society is a tricky proposition, and the picture presented here is not entirely convincing. Where should Lima's artisans lie in the social spectrum? As was true later in the century, they may have made gestures to the lower classes, but their hearts were elsewhere. García-Bryce would like them to be the initiators of the subsequent labor movement, but his evidence seems to tie them more to the elites than to the workers. He defines them at one point as an emerging middle sector, distinguishing them from the urban workers and even more from the Indian masses, who were also workers but whom they consistently reviled. The author similarly leaves doubts about the group's real importance. More information about the political context, in particular about the operation of the electoral system and specific elections, would have helped to clarify the artisans' role in the nation's political life. And for a social history, this work is rather faceless and bloodless. There are more references to modern historians than to specific artisans, leaving the impression that this is largely a synthetic work, much of which can be found elsewhere. A firmer editorial hand would also have not gone amiss. It might have pointed out that President Felipe Santiago de Salaverry is described as a "liberal" on one page and then (correctly) as a "conservative" three pages later; that abolition occurred in 1855, not 1854; and that Sarah Chambers's book on Arequipa is about honor and not "humor."

PETER BLANCHARD
University of Toronto

CLÁUDIA DAMASCENO FONSECA. *Des terres aux villes de l'or: Pouvoirs et territoires urbains au Minas Gerais (Brésil, XVIII^e siècle)*. (Publications du Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian.) Lisbon and Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian. 2003. Pp. 606.

There is a "black legend" that urban nuclei in Portugal and its overseas empire came into being *malgré soi* and with a minimum of crown involvement in their planning and subsequent development. In her meticulous study of Minas Gerais in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Cláudia Damasceno Fonseca has convincingly slain this dragon and produced an exemplary work of scholarship that is rigorously grounded in exhaustive research, demonstrates critical reading of sources, and balances analysis with interpretation. This elegantly written and cogently argued history challenges the reader by its breadth of vision, its sophisticated level of conceptualization, and its originality of interpretation. Fonseca has drawn on literature in the humanities and social sciences to write what is not only a seminal study of Minas Gerais in an extended colonial period, but one whose methodology and interpretations are transportable to European settlements overseas in the early modern period.

Fonseca poses two key questions. What was the process whereby Portuguese initiated the occupation and appropriation of space in the *sertão* in central-southern Brazil in the early eighteenth century? What were the preconditions conducive to the process of urbanization, and what did they imply in terms of political, economic, social, and religious considerations, the creation of institutions, and power relationships? Her search for answers leads her to use distinctive methodologies. For the first, she adopts the strategy of moving from the macro to the micro, as reflected in demarcation of territory into ever smaller areas. For the latter, she uses much the same data but this time to approach the problem at different levels and in varying degrees (*échelles*) in an exercise of parallax. Taken in tandem, these strategies reveal clues that have hitherto been ignored and enable Fonseca to pursue novel lines of inquiry and to create a multilayered and comprehensive study of Minas Gerais.

The book is divided into three parts, each of which covers the period from about 1695 to about 1830. The first initiates the reader into the vastnesses of the Brazilian *sertão*. The human presence is explored: autochthonous peoples and intruders drawn to the region by priorities at odds with those of its previous inhabitants. Miners, farmers, and adventurers settled. Fonseca underlines the importance of religion in this venture, ranging from the building of private chapels to the creation of parishes and gradual institutionalization of religion and the role of the crown in this process. Conflicting interests, the volatile nature of mining communities, and divergence between crown priorities and settler aspirations led to disorder and violence. Townships were created. A fiscal and judicial apparatus was established. Fonseca discusses such crown initiatives and motivations for the creation of new towns, or elevation of *arraiais* (encampments dependent on towns) to *vila* (town) status in the broader context of Portuguese crown policies and administrative reforms.

Whereas the first part of the book is painted on a

captaincy-wide canvas, the second examines processes by which urban limits were set and municipal jurisdiction over territory was established. Fonseca examines the often tense relationship between *arraiais* and *vilas*, and controversies over the former's aspiration to town status. Particularly revealing is her investigation into contemporary criteria for evaluating claims or aspirations to appropriating or annexing land or for assessing the merits of municipal claims for greater recognition or the extension of royal privileges to a town and its elected officers. Quantifiable (economic, demographic, occupational) and qualitative (past glories, urban elites, the "quality" and "capacity" of the white population, health, and "nobility" of buildings) factors were invoked when assessing the worthiness of a town or whether it merited elevation to city status.

The third part of the book looks at urban landscapes and the use of space. Case studies illuminate conflicts of interest: how construction of a rural church stimulated unwanted (from an owner's or local interest group's perspective) commerce, or how mining activity within a town was disruptive and incompatible with the "good order of the republic." The book concludes with a discussion of the diversity of persons who contributed toward urban life, the influence exerted by powerful residents, and conflicts between private and public interests. Fonseca discusses functionality vis-à-vis a sense of the aesthetic as evinced by locals, crown administrators, and European visitors. Here, as elsewhere, she is keen to give voice to the opinions of contemporaries on what they considered important or irrelevant.

Fonseca's use of church construction as an indicator of population movements and of the presence of nodes of settlement is resourceful given the proto-statistical nature of records for the early formative years in Minas Gerais. She cautions that, from the outset, many miners were also cultivators and that there was economic diversity prior to the creation of the captaincy of Minas Gerais in 1721. She rejects the "stagnation theory," which has distracted from our understanding of the *mineiro* economy. Whereas much scholarly attention has been paid to *vilas* in the first third of the eighteenth century, when gold extraction was still a driving force, by taking the long view and discussing the creation of *vilas* in the later eighteenth century, Fonseca breaks new ground. She demonstrates how urbanization is an integral part of the political history of Minas Gerais. Rising above local or provincial levels to examine metropolitan priorities, Fonseca shows how revolts in the early part of the century prompted the crown to adopt fiscal measures and how the creation of towns in the later eighteenth century was an official response to increasing local discontent. Far from being isolated, municipal councilors were constantly appealing to the crown and engaging with crown representatives.

This is an unhurried study but one written with great *élan*. The author is at pains to outline her strategy and her objectives. When her assertions are firmly

grounded in the documentary record, she makes her case strongly; where the evidence is lacking, she acknowledges that her suggestions are speculative. Fonseca is sensitive to nuances of language, and the lexicon of territorialization, urbanization, and institutions, is clearly explained. The glossary is invaluable. Maps, tables, and charts are also exemplary. The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation is to be congratulated on the high-quality production of this book.

A. J. R. RUSSELL-WOOD
Johns Hopkins University

FRANK D. McCANN. *Soldiers of the Pátria: A History of the Brazilian Army, 1889–1937*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xxvi, 593. \$75.00.

The army was the most important institutional actor on twentieth-century Brazil's political stage, and this book provides the most incisive and comprehensive analysis to date of how officers struggled among themselves and made key alliances with civilian leaders to become such an influential force. Even though some army officers directly held political offices during the Old Republic (1889–1930), including that of chief executive, many consistently felt that the army lacked appropriate influence with civilian politicians over military policy. Frank D. McCann's meticulous research highlights the frustrations officers brought home from the battlefield, giving us new insights into the bungled operations of the campaigns against millenarian communities in Canudos, Bahia (1896–1897) and Santa Catarina and Paraná's Contestado region (1912–1916). He also highlights officer and NCO involvement in seditious movements and traces some of the unwritten codes that guided how military men behaved toward one another with remarkable restraint and respect under treacherous circumstances. These dramatic events are juxtaposed to the more mundane campaigns reformist officers fought perennially to convince brother officers, Congress, and the broader society to support the reform of enlisted recruitment and training, the acquisition of modern arms and facilities, and officer education, training, and promotion.

The strength of McCann's narrative derives from its emphasis on the personal and cohort experiences of key officers in the command structure. He teases out how the decisions by officers to support military coup plots or institutional reforms often hinged on personal friendships or enmities, family ties, common geographic origins, educational experience, professional patronage, participation in key events, or political and military philosophy. He argues that those officers who favored modernizing the military ultimately won out over others who were tied to the status quo or who favored pushing for more profound social reforms. This goal led some officers who had eschewed political activism as "unprofessional" to support the conservative military interventionism that led to the Estado Novo (1937–1945) dictatorship.

McCann pointedly questions Alfred Stepan and Ronald M. Schneider's hypothesis that the army high command assumed a "moderating role" in politics. Allegedly the army inherited this role from Emperor Dom Pedro II, who had enjoyed sweeping constitutional powers to call for new parliamentary elections (the "moderating power") before an army-led coup promulgated a republic in 1889 (p. xvii, 437). McCann's analysis convincingly demonstrates that the army of the Old Republic lacked the strength and internal coherence to assume such a role. Only in the tumultuous 1930s did the army acquire the clout, public support, and more disciplined chain of command needed to play a moderating role in politics. The depression, communist and fascist intrigue, and the momentum to centralize power in the national government became the perfect storm that helped to give rise to the modern Brazilian army whose "conservative interventionism" became a hallmark of mid-twentieth-century politics. Successful coups, failed putsches, and outright skullduggery allowed elements in the army high command and its civilian allies to purge plotting officers on the right and left, and ultimately provided the justification for imposing an authoritarian regime.

McCann's research gives new salience to two officers as the principal architects of the new Brazilian army: Eurico Gaspar Dutra (later elected president 1946–1951) and Pedro Aurélio de Góes Monteiro. These two generals in alliance with President Getúlio Vargas organized the Estado Novo, and McCann contends that it was an alliance driven by defense policy. As the longest-serving minister of war (Dutra) and chief of staff (Góes Monteiro), these two generals had a freer hand to implement their reform policies under the Estado Novo. For example, they fortified discipline in the ranks by instituting indoctrination to inoculate enlisted men and officers from radical political philosophies, and by putting in place new educational, religious, political, racial, and familial qualifications for entrance to the military academy, virtually the only gateway to an officer's career. McCann cites Aspásia Camargo's insight that under Dutra and Góes Monteiro the army became "an autonomous and interventionist army, capable of acting with its own legitimacy" (p. 441). When Dutra and Góes Monteiro ousted their erstwhile civilian ally Vargas in 1945, they demonstrated their higher fealty to the army and its hierarchy. McCann's book does not illuminate exactly how the army won such political legitimacy in broader society, but it does lay the essential groundwork for future studies to explore this decisive yet underexplored element in Brazilian politics.

This elegantly written book's most important contribution is its marriage of institutional history to an analysis of formal and informal political processes. It brings important new insights into the institutional and networking channels through which power flowed dur-

ing a vital era in Brazilian history when the army became the vanguard of the state.

PETER M. BEATTIE
Michigan State University

JOHN D. FRENCH. *Drowning in Laws: Labor Law and Brazilian Political Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 233. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

In recent years, an email petition has circulated the Internet warning its readers that the Brazilian Congress was on the verge of passing legislation that would "reduce the Amazon forest to 50% of its size." On its merits, the message was bogus, warning readers of a bill that had been shelved years earlier. To Brazilian recipients, and even to those minimally familiar with Brazil, the message was also silly: legislation passed by the Brazilian Congress would be no more likely to destroy than to save the environment. At best, it would be a point of negotiation among competing interests. John D. French's insightful book examines just this paradox within the context of the labor code introduced in 1943 by President Getúlio Vargas in 1942, the 1943 Consolidation of Labor Laws (CLT).

This labor code, at once progressive and authoritarian, was the major legal feature governing labor relations in twentieth-century Brazil. It is also an example of the broader conception of formal social relations managed by the state that was shared by the regime and "a generation of lawyers that set out in the 1930s to 'correct Brazil' through law" (p. 22). French explains the paradox the CLT represents, declaring "in the eyes of apologists, the CLT and its predecessor legislation in the early 1930s, whatever their imperfections, were examples of enlightened and pioneering statesmanship that increased and broadened available freedoms. Critics and scholars, by contrast, have tended to see the CLT and its preceding jurisprudence as a corporatist monstrosity, a top-down imposition that limited workers' freedoms and damaged civil society by forcibly incorporating unions into the state apparatus" (p. 11).

Primarily analyzing the generations of Brazilian historiography on labor law and labor relations, French suggests that the CLT was deliberately developed and implemented to manipulate the "chasm between what was proclaimed on paper and the reality of what was practiced in the workplace and accepted in the labor courts" (p. 73). In other words, jurists, bureaucrats, and employers knew that workers would have more limited legal recourse to the CLT's pro-labor provisions than employers would have to its pro-business provisions. This study reminds readers that the law is an important site of state formation and social contestation and helps explain why workers have remained mistrustful of Brazil's ostensibly progressive labor legislation, even if they have idealized it rhetorically. As French explains, "condemned to act within the universe of fraud that was the CLT, which was

stacked against workers, working class activists and trade unionists after 1943 would in practice subvert the existing law through a fight to make the law, as imaginary ideal, real" (p. 152).

By treating Brazilian labor legislation as a site of negotiation between workers and the state, French has produced a monograph that will interest scholars of both labor and legal history in Brazil and Latin America more broadly. It is also an introduction to the Brazilian historiography of labor that will be useful to U.S. graduate students. This book offers an intriguing analysis of the irony that "if the universe of work did in fact operate according to the CLT, Brazil would be the world's best place to work" (p. 41).

JERRY DÁVILA
University of North Carolina,
Charlotte

BRYAN McCANN. *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 296. \$22.95.

As was the case throughout the hemisphere, the first decades of the twentieth century brought sweeping change in nearly all areas of Brazilian life as well as a renewed quest to define and promote national identity. When Getúlio Vargas assumed the presidency in 1930 and centralized political power under the Estado Novo, Brazil embarked on a number of modernization projects that stimulated not only industrial and urban growth but also the development of new mass communication technologies and a corresponding consumer market. With the passing of the Old Republic, a number of artists met with the new president and requested that radio and live music programmers give priority to Brazilian performers. Although Vargas did not pass legislation to this effect, he ostensibly saw to it that musicians, radio industry chiefs, and government officials formed an informal alliance dedicated to "a new Brazil."

In fact, the remaking of Brazilian national culture had begun a decade earlier as a growing number of artists from both high and popular culture realms exchanged ideas. Anthropologist Gilberto Freyre and historian Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, for example, associated with popular musicians including the famous Pixinguinha. Composers and poets such as Heitor Villa-Lobos, Oswald de Andrade, and Mário de Andrade immersed themselves in early samba and choro music, interpreting these expressions as essential in characterizing Brazilian culture. With the rise of the Estado Novo, centralizing efforts only accelerated the quest for national identity and the selection of Afro-Brazilian culture as a critical component.

Complementing the work of Brazilian anthropologist Hermano Vianna, Bryan McCann's impressive historical research reveals that it was through the parallel evolution of radio (particularly the powerful station Rádio Nacional) and samba during the 1930s and 1940s that Brazilians came to identify music as an

authentic culture and an effective symbol of their own national identity. Popularizers such as composer Ari Barroso and his patriotic "Aquarela do Brasil" (Watercolor of Brazil), written in 1939, took a samba beat from the poor urban neighborhoods, integrated it with a big band orchestra sound, and subsequently sought to elevate it as an example of "national art." The formula worked because it delivered a samba swing that the Rádio Nacional orchestra had been looking for as well as the nationalist image Estado Novo cultural engineers desired. It soon became "Brazil's unofficial national anthem, far more widely known and celebrated than the official anthem" (p. 70).

The success of "Aquarela do Brasil" and other examples of *samba exaltação* (samba exaltation) during the early 1940s eventually faded, however. Initially, the celebration of samba for some confirmed the rhetoric of Brazilian racial democracy as articulated by intellectuals such as Freyre. Rather than interpreting the selection of samba as sheer cooptation, however, McCann describes how by the late 1940s the collapse of the Estado Novo in combination with the continued popularity of the music afforded new opportunities for artists (such as Geraldo Pereira and Wilson Batista) to revive the "critical samba" genre to speak out against racism and the continued marginal status of Afro-Brazilians. As McCann writes, "the new critical samba explored the gap between samba exaltação's depiction of happy and productive Afro-Brazilians, rejoicing in their role as the nation's cultural stewards and the messy reality of the economically marginalized favelas" (p. 78). Once elevated to national cultural status, McCann relates how a variety of *sambistas* effectively made use of their "popular citizenship" to claim their own authenticity and chastise pretenders (i.e. calling women who donned the costume of those from the northeastern state of Bahia "false Bahianas"). In this debate, international star Carmen Miranda—despite her talent—suffered considerably from harsh judgments within Brazil.

Dealing with the reception and further dissemination of Brazil's new national music, McCann's later chapters discuss the rise of fan clubs, the changing character of live performances, and eventual market fragmentation. In his fascinating history of the fan clubs of the 1950s, he documents how various organizations rose up around stars such as Marlene (Vitória Bonaiuti) and Emilinha Borba among others. Interviewing a number of former members, McCann argues convincingly that these associations provided working-class women and gay men a relatively tolerant environment where they could be themselves. In a truly original combination of cultural and social history, McCann also documents how these groups offered not only contact with the singers themselves but also real opportunities for social mobility. These clubs, in other words, provided support and social networks to "individuals otherwise consigned to the margins of Brazilian public life" (p. 214).

Dealing with an impressive array of related topics,

This is an extremely well-conceived study that effectively considers the central yet complicated role of popular culture in the construction of modern Brazilian identity. It will appeal to a wide readership interested in radio, music, ethnic identity, and the myriad forms of "invented tradition."

ANDREW G. WOOD
University of Tulsa

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

ROBERT MORSTEIN-MARX. *Mass Oratory and Political Power in the Late Roman Republic*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 313. \$75.00.

The Latin phrase *senatus populusque Romanus* (abbreviated *SPQR*) elegantly encapsulates the balance of political power during the Roman Republic (ca. 509–31 B.C.E.), with the *auctoritas* (influence) of the senate on one side and the sovereignty of the Roman people on the other. For many years, scholars believed this balance of power to be more ideal than real, with the senate possessing the lion's share of political power and the people left largely to do its bidding. In recent years, scholars of the Roman Republic, especially the later period (ca. 133–31 B.C.E.), have come to question this view, focusing especially on the people's ability to effect change through its own political institutions: legislative and electoral assemblies (*comitia*) and public meetings (*contiones*). One important aspect of this debate concerns the nature of oratory before the people. In this book, Robert Morstein-Marx examines the relationship between public speech and political power by focusing on the economy of knowledge and information in the late Roman Republic. He concludes by connecting the political importance of public oratory, especially oratory that took place in public meetings (*contiones*) of Roman citizens, to some of the larger questions surrounding the history of the republic.

Morstein-Marx argues that the *contio*, a meeting of Roman citizens to hear speeches of members of the elite—some political officials, others distinguished private citizens—on all matters of public importance (such as the business that took place in a senate meeting or the merits of a pending piece of legislation), was not a revolutionary event; rather it was an instrument of political control and consensus that largely legitimized the power of the senatorial aristocracy and helped maintain the political status quo. The main reason for this was that senate and magistrates controlled knowledge and information, thus transforming the *contio* into a steeply hierarchical "communication-situation" in which the Roman people looked to the orators on the rostra for guidance. He comes to this conclusion despite the fact that he views the contional audience as being politically sophisticated and knowledgeable—not at all the *imperitissimi* (woefully ignorant) we find in Cicero's prose. Yet Morstein-Marx also claims that when Cicero disingenuously

misinterpreted complex legal aspects of the Rullan land bill (63 B.C.E.) to ensure its rejection by the people, he exploited the ignorance of his audience (p. 200).

Moreover, the *contio*, even though it was the locus of legislative decision making, provided little opportunity to debate issues. The rhetoric at public meetings was inevitably *popularis*, with an orator like Cicero claiming to be a friend of the people and disguising any hint that he in fact is an "optimate"—one who supports the supremacy of the senate in all political matters. This rhetorical tendency created an ideological monotony, which further demonstrates that popular rhetoric was never opposed to an optimate ideology but rather strove to build a broad consensus. Even the responses of the audience at a *contio* came to be regarded as the expressed will of the Roman people and allowed the orator thereby to stake a claim to legitimacy. It is best, then, to understand the *contio* as a political drama that was used by the elite to create and objectify a verdict of the people, thereby forming popular opinion. In this political drama the personal credibility of the orator was more vital to his ability to persuade his audience than his ideological preferences. Thus, the evidence of the *contio* confirms that in the late republic, the personalities of political operatives took precedence over issues or ideology.

For Morstein-Marx the crucial question we should ask about the Roman Republic is not "Why did it fail?" but rather "Why did it last so long?" He thinks he has hit on the answer: the *contio* enabled the Roman elite to build a broad consensus across all strata of Roman society and thus both reflected and legitimized the republican form of government. This view of the *contio* corroborates the thesis (posited by other scholars) that despite the fractures and fissures in Roman politics in the late republic, no attempt was made to overturn the republican form of government because Romans—both elite and nonelite—lacked an alternative.

GEOFF SUMI
Mount Holyoke College

ELIZABETH A. CASTELLI. *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making*. (Gender, Theory, and Religion.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 335. \$40.00.

From reminiscences about the place of martyrs in her Catholic youth, Elizabeth A. Castelli aims to understand the role that memory of martyrs had in the making of early Christian culture. Her investigation begins with a review of classical theories of historical memory, mainly the theory of "collective memory" developed by Maurice Halbwachs. The more recent work of Jan Assmann on cultural memory is mentioned; as seems to be Assmann's fate in English-language scholarship, however, he is forgotten in the rest of the text. Elsewhere in the book—for example with regard to theories of myth (p. 30–32) or theories

about the Roman arena (p. 108–11)—Castelli seems curiously uncritical of the different hypotheses on social memory (some of them mutually contradictory), summarizing them seriatim before moving on to her next chapter. She is aware, however, of the need to make an analytical distinction between “memory” and “history,” between the mental function of remembering the past and the practice of laying down a record of events that later becomes memory. The distinction is important because Castelli in fact works with an interpretive framework that has less to do with the processes of individual memory than it does with the deliberate construction of meanings and myths in the creation of martyr narratives.

The book’s second chapter, which seeks to furnish the historical background to martyrdom in the Roman empire, is, alas, sometimes unsure about fundamental concepts of Roman government and law: governors never worked with uniform law codes, courts did not possess *imperium*, rescripts were not edicts, and so on. But the author is surely on strong ground in advocating a position argued by G. W. Bowersock on the fundamental importance of Roman law and courts to the creation of Christian martyrs and their stories. Her claims, for example, about how Christian “laws,” the divine injunctions of God, were consciously set against secular Roman laws, are persuasive on the dialogue of power that was involved in the composition of martyr stories. The same is also true, though perhaps less persuasively, of her demonstration about how the common concept and practice of sacrifice was redeployed and reread by Christians.

Turning to the writings of the martyrs themselves, Castelli replays the first-person accounts of Ignatius, Perpetua, and Pionius. She shows that in their writings about themselves these martyrs were already conscious of, and playing to, future audiences. In all these cases, however, the texts that have survived were produced by later writers who framed the original speeches, letters, and diaries. This editing process probably deserves more attention than it gets. In the cases of Perpetua and Pionius, at least, the aims of the editors were actually at odds with the self-presentation of the martyr. The power here was more about social agenda than memory as a mental process: it was about who managed the presentation that went into the public sphere. This, rather than any supposed conflict with Michel Foucault’s ideas about the self and writing in this period—Castelli’s avowed aim in the chapter—is surely the more central problem.

That Christians appropriated the most powerful public means of communication of their own day (considered in chapter four), including the popular world of stage and spectacle, should not surprise. The study of Saint Euphemia, in which Castelli considers the vivid verbal and pictorial representations of a female martyrdom, does successfully draw together several of her main themes on gender and memory. The study of Euphemia leads to the case of Thecla, the Anatolian saint (never actually martyred), the chapter

that comes closest to fulfilling the purpose of the book. In it, Castelli analyzes a succession of Thecla texts created over time and the ways in which iconographic representations of the saint relate to written discourses about her. As Thecla’s story was elaborated for current concerns in the fourth and fifth centuries, Castelli demonstrates what was remembered and what was forgotten or deleted from the archive—most importantly, the dominant male figure of the apostle Paul. One wishes that the book had done more of this tracing of traditions as they developed over long periods of time. It could have been done, for example, with a martyr like Agnes, whose story was created *ex nihilo* and then went through ever more rococo variations over time. In this way, the author might have achieved one of her main aims more effectively: to get away from the severe “historical” constrictions of trying to specify “historically accurate” kernels of fact, and instead to show how these stories and pictures worked in their social contexts.

The final chapter (six), in many ways the most interesting, has nothing directly to do with ancient Christianity. It is a study of Cassie Bernall, murdered in the Columbine High School shootings of 1999, and about her creation as a modern Christian martyr. The Bernall case, one where we come as close to “the facts” as we are ever likely to come, sustains Castelli’s argument about the *ex post eventu* construction, indeed fictionalization of the martyr. The intensity of the popular mania, the kitschy schlock, the creative inventions, the outright lying and gross sentimentalizing, and the religious fervor would have given even Hippolyte Delehaye a moment’s pause.

BRENT D. SHAW
Princeton University

CHRIS WICKHAM. *Courts and Conflict in Twelfth-Century Tuscany*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xxi, 353.

This volume, dedicated to the memory of the much missed Tim Reuter, is a slightly updated English version of the author’s Italian publication, *Legge, pratiche e conflitti: Tribunali e risoluzione delle dispute nella Toscana del XII secolo* (2000). Few historians are as knowledgeable about medieval Italy—and the Toscana in particular—as Chris Wickham, and one is, therefore, most grateful for the translation of this important work. This is the case especially because much of the secondary literature cited in Wickham’s analysis of pertinent archival sources is in Italian, German, or French and thus not always accessible or familiar to English speakers who are nonspecialists.

The book basically deals with the evolution of Italian city states in the twelfth century. Wickham’s detailed studies focus on the emergence, the constitution, and the activities of commune and consular courts in the cities of Lucca, Pisa, and Florence and/or their respective territories. For the sake of comparisons, Wickham also draws on case materials from Pistoia, Arezzo, and

Siena and includes references to Genoa, Milan, and Bologna as well. Since Lucca, Pisa, and Florence alone preserved over 600 dispute documents for the twelfth century, the author argues, there was no need for systematic archival research elsewhere in order to arrive at a detailed and nuanced picture illustrating the very gradual formation of independent Italian communes in northern Italy and specifically Tuscany. As it turns out, these regions were fortunate choices because of wealth not only in numbers of case records that were preserved but also in content. Important background records also exist, something that is all too often missing. Wickham's approach is refreshingly different and enlightening: he focuses on the practice of law in the three towns and their territories. As he points out, justice "was also one of the two main components of medieval government in all periods, alongside the army" (p.19), and thus his analysis of the practice of disputing and dispute settlement—his contribution to legal anthropology—inevitably involves also sociological and marginally also political developments in Italy. The book concentrates on the twelfth century after the imperial traditions, inherited from the Carolingian period, had broken down. Mathilda of Tuscany held her last *placitum* in 1107, and Emperor Henry V left Italy for good not much later.

The book is divided into seven chapters. The very helpful introduction is followed by two chapters on Lucca, chapters on Pisa and dispute settlement in the territory of Florence, a chapter on Tuscan ecclesiastical disputes, and finally a chapter on rituals accompanying disputing in Tuscany, recapitulating highlights from the twenty-six cases discussed in the book. The rituals are compared to similar observations made for Rhodesia, Morocco, Iceland, and the United States in an effort to reveal the role and significance of ritual, even in the presence of ever more sophisticated legal theories and practices. Wickham's study is most impressive in its depiction of the interplay of the old *placitum* tradition, of arbitration, and of evolving consular courts in dispute resolution. The same should be said of his descriptive analysis of the mingling of customary and of Roman law as well as of the teachings disseminated from Bologna at these different types of courts. The offices of notaries, justices, and consular justices evolved and changed greatly over time. By the 1160s the officials had been transformed into a "set of regular office-holders . . . with their own organs of government and even, soon, the beginnings of a tax system" (p. 39). The slow assumption of public authority by the consular justices, argues Wickham in this very persuasive book, offers the best model for the establishment of the commune on all levels.

The maturity of the consular commune at Lucca was preceded by Pisa, Milan, and Genoa. But, developments in other Tuscan cities lagged behind for almost half a century (p. 40), and Lucca may be considered typical. Pisa, the archrival and at times bitter enemy of Lucca, is famed for the strong influence of Roman law on its twelfth-century statutes. Nevertheless, even in

this very consciously Roman city the practice of law shows many parallels to Lucchese dispute practice. This is also true for Florence, where evidence is very scanty. Wickham, therefore, had to focus on rural arbitration in the Florentine territories and the restriction of systematic violence in disputing by way of customary proofs. The resulting pattern is in this respect nonetheless very similar to that of Lucca. Wickham's study is unrivaled in English as a discussion of the evolution of the Italian communes as seen through their sets of courts as well as the practices of disputing.

UTA-RENAME BLUMENTHAL
Catholic University of America

STÉPHANE BOISSELLIER. *Le peuplement médiéval dans le sud du Portugal: Constitution et fonctionnement d'un réseau d'habitats et de territoires XII-XV siècles*. (Publications du Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian.) Lisbon and Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian. 2003. Pp. 673.

Stéphane Boissellier is a member of a new generation of scholars who wish to create an updated understanding of the workings of frontier land settlement in the Iberian Peninsula from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries. The author of *Naissance d'une identité portugaise: La vie rurale entre Tage et Guadiana de l'Islam à la reconquête (X^e-XIV^e siècles)* (1999) and of numerous articles, Boissellier here seeks to broaden our prior conceptions of the repopulation process that followed the Christian conquest of Muslim territories, along with its subsequent readjustments in the age leading up to the period of overseas exploration and empire building. His geographic concentration embraces central and southern Portugal, especially the two provinces north of the Tejo (Estremadura and Ribatejo) River and the two provinces south of it (Upper and Lower Alentejo). The areas north of the Tejo were absorbed by the conquests of Afonso I Henriques (1128–1185) prior to 1150; the territories south were more slowly accumulated by Afonso's successors down to 1255. Boissellier's field of inquiry embraces the nature of the peoples who migrated into these regions to settle alongside those Muslims who remained after conquest, examining the forms of their settlement, their economic and social interrelationship, and their land usage. These questions are not new, but the author has employed a broad base of methodologies to secure some new answers. He pays a brief homage to J. A. García de Cortázar, an early Spanish pioneer in these methods, at the end of his book.

The monarchical absorption of lands south of the Tejo River faced initial fierce resistance by the Muslim Almohad armies, but this resistance faded in the early thirteenth century. The kings and nobles, joined by the newly created military orders and their fortresses, sought to populate the territorial acquisition by bringing in settlers. However, as was the case in contempo-

rary Castile, the sources of repopulating settlers were growing thin, and the settlements tended to be concentrated in fortified quasi-independent towns (*concelhos*). The Castilian conquest of neighboring Andalusia eliminated the primary threat to the Alentejo and allowed the settlements to spread, but the land still required more people than were available to fully settle it. This has led prior historians to assume the creation of an economy based on low labor-intensive activities such as cattle grazing and olive raising in the newer regions. Boissellier demonstrates that this was not the case. While admitting a lack of formal training in the modern geographic techniques of aerial photography and GIS data, he focuses much of his effort on exploiting maps, documents, and archeology to establish the spatial layout of castles, towns, and smaller habitats in a remarkable survey of land dwelling and land use. Such data are presented in a large collection of maps, tables of coordinated references, parish layouts from ecclesiastical sources, and some photographs, resources that will enormously assist future scholars.

The author utilizes these resources to demonstrate that population centers were more numerous than heretofore perceived. Much settlement occurred in the later thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, despite the stagnation of population growth in the earlier years and the impact of the Black Death after 1350. Boissellier reveals a society competing for lands in a complex world of shifting authorities including the king, the territorial landlords, and the church. The settlement pattern was sometimes uneven as authorities pressed at the edges of their territorial limits to secure their frontiers and settlers sought to distance themselves from those in command by establishing villages at the periphery of centers of control. Thus spatial gaps opened in land occupation across the region. The overall picture is one of competition among landholders and an ambitious peasantry in a contest for land control and its use, made succinct by the many maps and layouts that Boissellier provides to establish his case. He does not include the southernmost part of the region (the bottom rim of Lower Alentejo and the Algarve) because that area is currently being studied by H. Fernandes and Maria de Fátima Botão. Nonetheless, Boissellier has authored a remarkable reconsideration of the contrast between the regions north and south of the Tejo River and the spatial layout of the newer colonized lands in an evolving society, growing out of some of the initial reinterpretations advanced by José Mattoso and Robert Durand.

Boissellier presents his arguments as conjectural, but his evidence goes well beyond simple conjecture. Moreover, the picture presented here provides an important context for the Portuguese experience just

prior to the colonial age soon to open in Portuguese Africa, Asia, and Brazil.

JAMES F. POWERS,
Emeritus

College of the Holy Cross

ELISHEVA BAUMGARTEN. *Mothers and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe*. (Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 275. \$39.50.

This thoroughly researched and lucidly written revision (and translation) of the author's doctoral dissertation makes a significant contribution to our understanding of Jewish life in northern France and Germany (Ashkenaz) during the High Middle Ages. Moving past studies published in the early 1990s by the late lamented Israel Ta-Shma (and by the present reviewer) on childhood in medieval Jewish society, Elisheva Baumgarten has sought, in her own words (p. 16), to provide a fuller picture of motherhood, fatherhood, and family life, as well as an understanding of various rituals associated with birth and an examination of daily contact between Jews and Christians in the realm of family life. All of this has most assuredly been achieved. Indeed, Baumgarten's book, together with Avraham Grossman's *Pious and Rebellious: Jewish Women in Medieval Europe* (2004), provide students of medieval Jewish social history with unprecedented new riches in terms of both sources and analysis. Interestingly, Baumgarten occasionally highlights (pp. 202, n. 78; 210, n. 59) meaningful differences in interpretation and approach between her work and that of Grossman.

Baumgarten has utilized and mastered a wide range of sources, including some fifty medieval Hebrew manuscripts that are listed at the beginning of the bibliography. She is as much at home with the vagaries of arcane medieval rabbinic texts as she is with the nuances of passages from canon law and from municipal records. Comparative dimensions and discussions can be found throughout the book. In chapter one, Jewish and Christian attitudes toward reproduction are compared, as are the nature of medical care and customs during and after birth. The second chapter is entitled "Circumcision and Baptism" and includes a section of direct comparative analysis. The third chapter deals with three birth ceremonies that were customary in the medieval Ashkenazic world: the *Hollekreisch*, the *Wachnact*, and the Sabbath when the new mother first left her house (*Shabbat Yezi'at ha-Yoledet*). It concludes with the (justified) observation that this study "demonstrates the benefits of studying Jewish and Christian rituals together." Baumgarten shows that both "the shared mentalities of Jews and their Christian neighbors" and the ever-present "religious and theological tensions" come together in informing us about these rituals in Jewish and Christian society.

Chapter four contains the most extensive and informative discussion to date on medieval Jewish nursing practices, including the use of Christian wet nurses. Baumgarten's use of medieval Ashkenazic rabbinic sources (in consonance with recent research in the field) is a model of scholarship. The final chapter, "Parents and Children," ranges from the nature of parental love and care to attitudes toward abandonment and infanticide. *Sefer Hasidim* (*The Book of the Pious*) plays a particularly large role in this chapter, to good effect. Baumgarten signals early on (p. 17) that while some scholars see the German Pietists "as a unique and separate group," others (with whom she agrees) "have suggested that many of the moral lessons recommended in the group pertained to all of Ashkenazic society." This is my own bias as well, and I believe that Baumgarten's work provides additional support for this position.

I found Baumgarten's arguments on women's participation and exclusion from certain ritual performances (in chapter two), however, to be somewhat less convincing. Baumgarten maintains that, by the end of the thirteenth century, a clear trend had emerged whereby Jewish legal decisors limited a woman's ability to participate in a number of (public) religious practices that had been permitted during the twelfth century. This pattern dovetails with developments in Christian society, where opportunities for women to participate in certain religious functions were also curbed as the thirteenth century unfolded. Concomitant changes in marriage agreements support Baumgarten's claim within Jewish society. None of the three ritual contexts that Baumgarten adduces, however, is so clear cut, and neither is the presence or weight of gender considerations in the rabbinic views. Two variant (but prominent) northern French Tosafist texts that can be dated to the last two decades of the twelfth century already prohibited a woman from serving as a circumciser, indicating that the issue was in flux in this region nearly a century before the restrictive opinion prevailed (p. 65).

The attempt by Meir of Rothenburg in the late thirteenth century to bar women from serving in the role of *ba'alat brit* (who brought the baby into the man's synagogue and held him on her lap during the circumcision) was already in vogue in at least one Rhineland community by the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Moreover, one of Meir's objections (p. 87), that women should not "snatch" this commandment from men, does have a specific medieval Ashkenazic analogue rooted in a ruling of the leading northern French Tosafist of the mid-twelfth century (Rabbenu Tam), concerning the permissibility of one male (circumciser) to "snatch" a precept (circumcision) from another. The contention that Meir of Rothenburg's comment was meant to suggest (more broadly) "that women are taking over an area that is not meant for them" has not been amply demonstrated. The position that permitted women to take on the performance of time-bound commandments, as

evidenced by Rabbenu Tam's allowing them to recite the blessings, had already been questioned, well before the thirteenth century (p. 88), by Ashkenazic rabbinic figures in the late eleventh century. Moreover, any gender considerations on the part of Rabbenu Tam in this matter would certainly have to be reconciled with his well-known, forceful objection to (and overturning of) the Geonic ordinance that compelled a husband to grant a divorce to his "rebellious wife" (*moredet*).

Nonetheless, Baumgarten has opened an erudite and well-constructed window into an area of Jewish life (with illuminating comparisons to Christian society and its practices) that has long eluded sustained, productive treatment by modern scholarship. She has advanced the field considerably in this estimable work.

EPHRAIM KANARFOGEL
Yeshiva University

J. S. BOTHWELL. *Edward III and the English Peerage: Royal Patronage, Social Mobility and Political Control in Fourteenth-Century England*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2004. Pp. x, 232. \$75.00.

King Edward III professed a sharp appreciation of the value to the English crown of the nobility's "wise counsels" and "the many powers of formidable men." The "ranks, dignities and offices" that he distributed were "the signs of royalty" whose deployment enabled the crown to enlist the nobility's support and at the same time create a substantial parliamentary peerage (p. 15, quoting charters of creation of earls in 1337). His grandson, Richard II, put it even more grandly: "the more we bestow honours on wise and honourable men, the more our crown is adorned with gems and precious stones." This was an idealized view of the relationship between crown and nobility that often, in practice, experienced stresses and severe strains. While historians are unanimous that Edward III forged an unusually stable relationship with his nobility, through decades of successful war and by means of good personal relations, J. S. Bothwell argues that the achievement was more complex than is commonly supposed.

One key to Edward's attitude lies in the circumstances of his father's deposition in 1327, and his own tutelage for three years thereafter, and Bothwell reasonably ascribes the nobility's "apex in self-assurance" (p. 4) to its growing wealth and role in politics and war. By 1330, Edward needed to replenish and enlist the nobility, and this book sets out to probe the king's motives and effectiveness in doing so. Whether the king formulated "a patronage programme" (pp. 8, 93) is an interesting question. Certainly Edward was able to reconcile many noble houses, and his promotions of new nobles were astute and generous. It is not quite right to say that "no one has previously attempted an in-depth analysis of the patronage practices of an English medieval monarch" (p. 9), certainly if the reigns of Edward's successors are taken into account; and the conclusion that Edward's was "the first coher-

ent acknowledgement by a monarch of the importance of continually influencing the composition and behaviour of the parliamentary peerage" (p. 145) is bold.

There were 243 individual summonses to parliament in Edward's long reign (1330–1377). Bothwell analyzes what he calls "the new nobility," whose families had not previously been summoned as lords, amounting to 68 of the 243 individuals. It is a reasonable choice to make, although the exclusion of non-English promotions and members of the royal family is more questionable. This limited range of promotions may be slender grounds for identifying "a policy [or "strategy"] of mass patronage" (p. 10).

The book falls into two parts: the longer, first part is an analysis of the "new men"; the second is a discussion of reactions to Edward's "endowment programme," with brief comparisons with treatment of the 175-strong "established peerage" created before 1330. Bothwell admits that caution is needed in distinguishing between old and new men, and that the statistical tables (pp. 170–208) on which the book's arguments rest may be used to establish trends rather than precise changes. One striking revelation from these tables is the king's high level of patronage activity during the two decades after 1330.

Individual chapters hold much of interest: for example, the mechanisms (chapter two) by which grants and gifts were made (a somewhat artificial distinction, perhaps). The longest chapter (three) deals with the feudal rights on which Edward could draw in dispensing largesse: escheats and forfeitures, wardships and marriages. Social connections were often made where none existed before, and attention was paid to the geographical appropriateness of grants: in short, a sophisticated combination of the interests of crown, family, and estates. Two chapters explore annuities from, and assignments on, royal revenues (four), and what Bothwell calls "routine patronage" (five), a miscellany of less predictable and purposeful grants of offices, custodies, and pardons. By such means, Edward achieved "the largest introduction of new families [to the nobility] since the Anarchy" of Stephen's reign (p. 108), with consequences for the "growing stratification and status-consciousness of society overall." These bold conclusions invite comparative study.

Comparisons are indeed made in the second, shorter part of the book. As relations between Edward II and Richard I and their nobilities show, royal patronage required delicacy to avoid individual disappointments, disputes, and resentments, and to avoid criticism in Parliament of frittering away the crown's resources. Bothwell notes "the only case of substantive criticism of Edward's new men" (p. 134), in the Parliament of 1341, but the whole subject of the response to royal patronage merits further consideration. Bothwell makes brief comparisons with Edward I (and he might have noted Henry VII, too): a similar need for service, and to strengthen the king's position and control the nobility. A comparison with Edward's less assured treatment of the "established peerage" enables Both-

well to express doubts about Edward's even handedness. And in Edward's development of a parliamentary peerage "as an integral part of his patronage programme" (p. 156), there are contrasts to be drawn with Henry IV and Henry VII, who created small numbers of new peers and were more cautious in seeking noble support. But then, as Bothwell avers, Edward had greater resources and learned lessons from his unfortunate father's experience.

RALPH A. GRIFFITHS
University of Wales,
Swansea

JOHN LANGDON. *Mills in the Medieval Economy: England 1300–1540*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 369.

Having its origins in a University of Birmingham research project of the mid-1980s that also generated Richard Holt's *The Mills of Medieval England* (1988), John Langdon's thought-provoking and authoritative monograph has been twenty years in the making. Whereas Holt's book concentrated on the pre-plague era, Langdon's work focuses on the later Middle Ages. Its coverage is comprehensive, dealing with water, wind, horse, and hand-powered mills, with mills in town and country, and with both grain and industrial milling. It establishes a national picture of milling in the later Middle Ages while always emphasizing the importance of variation by time and place.

The fact that everyone in England was a consumer of mill products allows Langdon to integrate the history of milling into broader economic developments. He estimates that there were around 10,000 wind and water mills in England in 1300. Despite its various industrial uses (in fulling, for powering bellows, etc.), milling was always dominated by grain, with only six percent of mills being industrial in 1300 and twenty-three percent in 1540. Water and windmills perhaps produced eighty percent of milled grain in 1300, with horse and hand mills providing the remainder. Many of Langdon's findings derive from a sample of over 440 mills (about five percent of the 1300 total) on 267 manors whose history can be traced over the period 1300 to 1540. He concludes that the total number of mills was, at best, static in the period 1300 to 1348. Then, as a result in a decline in the number of mills in the decade after the plague and again from the late 1380s to the early 1440s, mill numbers fell to a mid and late fifteenth-century nadir of perhaps a fifth fewer than in 1300. Wind mills, introduced to grind grain in the era of rising population, were particularly sensitive to the effects of demographic collapse and economic recession in the later Middle Ages. Nevertheless, even at its low point, this decline in the total number of mills (and even of grain mills) was far less than that for the national population, which perhaps indicates a shift away from hand milling. Moreover, mill numbers rose once more from around 1490, so that, by the end of the period, the total had almost returned to its original

level. Much of this recovery was due to the rise of industrial milling: whereas the numbers of grain mills had declined by a quarter by the mid-fifteenth century, industrial mills had actually doubled in number by this date. There was further growth, especially in industrial mills used for purposes other than fulling, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The southwest particularly benefited in this growth; other regions, such as the west Midlands, fared much worse.

Drawing on an impressive corpus of documentary evidence, Langdon provides equally detailed information about mill revenues (which generally fell over this period), technological change (which was incremental rather than radical), how milling functioned as a system (the sources of supply of millstones, the difficulties posed by the weather, etc.), milling entrepreneurship (which saw a shift from lords to lessees and the rise of more substantial lessees), workers (who tended to be hired hands rather than Geoffrey Chaucer's proprietor millers), and customers (who were less constrained by suit of mill than is traditionally thought). Yet this factual information is always related to wider questions and issues and is used to address broader historical debates, such as that about the nature of technological change.

Occasionally, the author's attempt to use milling to make broader points about the nature of medieval social and economic change does come to grief. This is particularly the case in the chapter on entrepreneurship, which begins by proclaiming its intention to test Marxist and Weberian theories of capital formation and investment (p. 177) without ever really specifying the nature of these theories and without, in the case of Max Weber, ever returning to them as a conclusion. In particular, the book tends to set up a Marxist interpretation of the later Middle Ages as a straw man to be knocked down, although even non-Marxists, such as myself, may well see this as a parody of what Marxists have actually claimed. However, such criticisms should by no means be allowed to over shadow the importance of Langdon's work. This book not only makes available a mass of empirical research and provides the best survey of its topic but also suggests a number of areas for future research by economic historians and those in the disciplines of archaeology, literary criticism, and art history. It will be essential reading for all historians of the medieval English economy and society.

S. H. RIGBY

University of Manchester

KIRSTEN A. SEAVER. *Maps, Myths, and Men: The Story of the Vinland Map*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xxi, 480. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

The authenticity of the Vinland Map has been a source for heated debate since the map was first made known to the world in 1965. The map shows a pre-Columbian view of the world, not unlike other Ptolemaic maps of the fifteenth century, with this exception: in the north-western corner of the map lies an island labeled

"Vinland," the first cartographic representation of the New World. As evidence for pre-Columbian contact with North America, the map is relatively insignificant. Saga evidence, subsequently confirmed by archeological discoveries, has long indicated that Icelanders were the first modern Europeans to reach North America. But images speak louder than words. As Kirsten A. Seaver shows, those who exploited the map manipulated a public eager to believe that it was the Norse, not the Italians, who discovered the New World. The Vinland map should never have been sold as a Norse-American fantasy on a par with the Kensington Rune Stone or the Newport Tower.

It is a sorry tale, even if the map were not a forgery. The evidence for forgery motivates many of the arguments in the first eight chapters about such things as uncertain provenance, misaligned wormholes, suspicious repairs, the chemistry of the ink, and evidence for erasure. These chapters draw together decades of scholarly reservations, providing more than enough evidence to quicken the pulse of those with a stake in the matter and glaze the eyes of just about everyone else. But of all the map's critics, Seaver may be the first to develop a sustained argument, presented in the ninth and final chapter, about the identity of the forger: a German Jesuit named Josef Fischer (d. 1944). Fischer had both the necessary skill as well as a plausible motive: a map illustrating the Catholic character of the Norse expansion would shame the anti-Catholic Nazi regime. It is a powerful and well-researched argument.

As this odd reversal of narrative priorities indicates, the identity of the forger is not essential to Seaver's agenda. What exercises her most is the sordid series of events that developed after 1957, when the map was "discovered" and subsequently exploited by people who should have known better. In the course of her exposure she condemns the elaborate secrecy in the years leading up to the publication of the 1965 volume, the eschewal of scholarly protocols, the slick marketing campaign, the subsequent failure to address the scientific, paleographical, and codicological concerns raised by the map's many detractors, and much else besides.

The book is written with a passion that descends, at times, into moral outrage. Perhaps this outrage is justified. But as her odd claims in chapter two regarding the end of the Greenland colony indicate, the author is susceptible to arguments of convenience. There is much here that is singularly irritating. An exposé of so nefarious a plot should proceed as a legal case: a charge, clearly laid out, and then the evidence. But Seaver chose to write this book as a mystery novel, packed with insinuations and winks where one expects honest accusations. The overall effect is demoralizing even for those who are predisposed toward the forgery thesis and willing to grant that the map has been over hyped. The main characters are sketched out according to an unrealistic moral simplicity. I do not trust the author's ability to discern between clever machinations and honest mistakes or errors of judgment.

These concerns with style and tone must be balanced by the book's encyclopedic quality. If a mystery novel, still it is one brimming with forensic evidence. The book raises issues that the map's supporters cannot so readily dismiss. Certainly this reviewer has no grounds for issuing judgment on the complex issues that Seaver addresses. One point is painfully clear. We have been made to care about a map that would scarcely deserve all the fuss even if it were real. If this is the book that will finally end decades of contention, then I, for one, am all for it.

DANIEL LORD SMAIL
Fordham University

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

YUVAL NOAH HARARI. *Renaissance Military Memoirs: War, History, and Identity, 1450–1600*. (Warfare in History, number 18.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2004. Pp. vii, 225. \$85.00.

If the past is a foreign country, is it peopled by alien psyches? Yuval Noah Harari's scrupulous and insightful survey of Renaissance military memoirs might support that conclusion were it not, as he points out, that evidence ancillary to the texts he considers shows otherwise.

For his inquiry Harari selects thirty-four Renaissance military memoirists of diverse European origins from among a much larger group studied less intensively. These are compared with five equivalent medieval texts, testing the contention by some that the Renaissance accounts signaled the emergence of a new sense of individual autonomy. Harari's comparison, however, discloses no obvious discontinuity in the view of the self between the two periods. He avoids the common failing of those who set out to investigate the past by making implicit comparisons with a present that is assumed to be known: he surveys sixteen twentieth-century military memoirs on the dimensions of subjectivity and views of contemporary history. Here Harari finds striking contrasts with his Renaissance authors: for modern military writers, the interior life is all-important.

The flatness of the Renaissance writings—ostensibly offered as first-hand accounts of military experience—has often puzzled readers. In most, descriptions of emotions that we associate with the human condition—love, suffering, fear, empathy, rage, exaltation, depression—are largely absent. Yet, on the basis of outside testimony about the authors, Harari affirms that these mid-level commander-warriors were humans that the twenty-first century would recognize as their kin. Those who argue that subjectivity itself is a phenomenon of more recent history, that Renaissance man lacked an “autonomous inner reality,” are mistaken. The memoirs of Blaise de Monluc, for example, are highly evocative of a distinctive personality. Yet he seems deliberately to have avoided reflecting on his inner life: “The memoirists simply did not care about

being unique . . . Which does not mean they were not ‘individuals.’ They just did not think it was important” (p. 56). Thus the explanation for the absence of subjective reports in this type of literature is that the reporters did not think that their inner lives deserved commemoration.

As autobiography, most of these memoirs are glaringly incomplete. Individual histories are recounted only as they relate to future deeds; hence the typical life story begins with the first mounting of a horse, or joining of a company. Off-stage family relations may be rich and meaningful, but in these writings relations with horses count for more. Nor were the memoirists interested in the larger picture of their times. The causes of wars or their justifications, even at the micro level of accounting for the purpose of battles fought, are of little concern. In fact, the outcome of the battle—or even the war itself—is not what counts. Nor does religion or national pride seem to play an important part.

Then what was important? Why were they writing these largely emotionless, episodic accounts of discrete battles, skirmishes, and brawls? What is thought worth commemorating, Harari concludes, are particular deeds by valiant noblemen—not even necessarily the authors themselves. Jean de Saulx-Tavannes, for example, seeks to rescue the record of his father's acts from the neglect of “their majesties, who were often asleep in their beds while the captains commanded their armies” (p. 166).

This book is not an archival study; most of its analysis is applied to printed versions of the memoirs, and these were often first published long after the death of their supposed authors. There is little discussion of the provenance of the manuscripts on which the selected texts are based, except in an appendix where the main memorialists considered are identified. Here questions over the authorship of *Le Jouvencel*, allegedly written by Jean de Bueil, are dealt with by saying that it is difficult to think that his servants, to whom some have attributed the work, could have written it since they had no experience of war command. Yet the very flatness of the military memoirs, and the vividness of this particular example, might tilt the attribution toward talented secretaries, while the less expressive, ordinary mid-level commander, with the rude education of the Renaissance *noblesse moyenne*, was indeed a man of deeds, not words.

Deeper understanding of this genre of writing may well lie in further study of the many exceptions Harari cites to his general findings. Some of these derive from the heterogeneity of the texts selected. For example, Emperor Charles V was no mid-level commander. *Le Jouvencel*, which seems to have a heuristic purpose, is avowedly fictional. Another work, by George Gascoigne, considers war in broader context—in poetic form. Philippe de Commynes, who appears in many comparisons, was more a transnational diplomat than a warrior. The Welsh soldier, Elis Gruffydd, whose descriptions are “particularly vivid,” seems to have

been exceptionally well educated (p. 200). And Monluc was a friend of Michel de Montaigne.

Another complex proposal of Harari's—that in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the sort of “die-hard warrior noblemen” he describes surrendered their identity as “independent historical agents” (p. 184) to the demand for royal-national history—calls for a newly focused inquiry into seventeenth-century royal policy and noble reaction that will surely be enlightened by this careful and stimulating book.

ELIZABETH WIRTH MARVICK
Los Angeles, California

HAROLD J. BERMAN. *Law and Revolution*. Volume 2, *The Impact of the Protestant Reformations on the Western Legal Tradition*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 522. \$49.95.

“Would it not be a good thing if the religious foundations of law were restored to the role they once had?” Harold J. Berman’s answer to this question, posed in the preface of his book, is emphatically affirmative. His conviction that religion in general, and the Ten Commandments in particular, should inform legal discourse is a consistent theme in this erudite sequel to *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition* (1980), published over twenty years ago.

It is not necessary to share Berman’s belief in order to appreciate much in this book. One can applaud the efforts to combine legal, intellectual, and economic history, to write a legal history from a transnational perspective and present it to the general reader. One can welcome the basic argument that the dualism of spiritual and secular jurisdictions created in the papal revolution ended in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One can value and perhaps even be persuaded by the argument that the acquisition by secular governments of powers once held by ecclesiastical courts was less the secularization of the spiritual and more the spiritualization of the secular.

But it is necessary to keep this belief in mind. The major thesis of the book is that the growth in power of secular governments at the expense of ecclesiastical ones was intimately related to the Lutheran Reformation of Germany in the early sixteenth century and the Calvinist Reformation of England in the later seventeenth century. These two Reformations were in reality Revolutions—“with a capital R” (p. 2)—as “total” (p. 53) as those of the late eighteenth century. The arguments supporting this thesis are shaped and informed by the author’s desire to return to a time when, as he regards it, religion played a dominant role in legal theory and practice.

The belief that legal developments were caused by Protestant beliefs explains much in the book. It explains why Berman, on two separate occasions, gratuitously states that the library of the American jurist Edward Storey contained a treatise written by Johann Oldendorp, a Lutheran jurist who based his beliefs on

the Ten Commandments. It explains why phrases of the English jurist Matthew Hale, which some might interpret as displaying conventional piety, lead Berman to conclude that “Justice Hale had a strong sense of the presence of God in his courtroom” (p. 250). It explains why the Protestant dimension of legal developments is sometimes argued quite successfully; the discussion of the Lutheran dimension of German jurisprudence departs from modern scholarship and is quite good. But the Protestant dimension is too often asserted without discussion; religion does not appear in a fine discussion of English contract law, but the author still concludes that contract law was influenced by “the Calvinist ethic” (p. 341). That Catholic, as well as Lutheran, principalities in Germany increased their power over spiritual matters is acknowledged parenthetically; but even this is seen, with some convoluted reasoning, as the result of Lutheran developments (p. 52). While the focus of the book is on Germany and England, we are told that “the German Revolution was a European Revolution” (p. 57) and it is asserted, though not argued, that German developments inspired jurists throughout Europe. Developments in other European countries receive little attention. Developments in France hardly appear, and no mention is made of the growth of royal control over a Gallican church in the fifteenth century. Spanish developments are discussed in passing and mention is made of the growth of a Spanish church under royal power in the late fifteenth century. This clearly cannot be regarded as a Protestant development; therefore these changes just “anticipated” (p. 32) later Lutheran ones.

Revolutions necessarily introduce much that is new, so the growth in secular power and the legal changes that accompanied that growth are seen not only as Protestant but as new. Combining Protestantism and novelty occasionally causes problems. For Germany, Berman needs to argue that, as opposed to the viewpoint of conventional scholarship, criminal law reform as exemplified in the *Carolina* was not just novel but revolutionary. But, as the treatise was written by a Catholic jurist and adopted by a Catholic emperor, he cannot argue that it is Protestant. Instead, it is initially described as “wholly consistent” (p. 150) with Protestantism and, by the conclusion, as a document that “embodied” (p. 374) the Protestant Reformation. For England, Berman needs to argue, again as opposed to the viewpoint of conventional scholarship, that constitutional monarchy is the result of events beginning in 1640. Thus Edward Coke, who died six years earlier, is seen, based on a problematic reading of *Caudrey’s Case* (1595), as one who “accepted without question the theory of absolute monarchy” (p. 238). As Coke’s career was devoted to limiting the royal prerogative by proclaiming common law supremacy, a paradox is created which Berman then resolves by resorting to the torturous distinction that while Coke had a “theory of English law,” he did not have a “theory of law” (p. 240).

If the efforts to see novelty and Protestantism are

excluded, the discussion of developments in German criminal law is quite good, and the treatment of Coke's methodology as historical jurisprudence is excellent. That this is the case reveals another paradox: even though the author regards himself as a "prophet" (p. 382) wanting to restore religion to law, his book is best when it does not deal with religion.

MICHAEL D. GORDON
Denison University

JAMES A. STEINTRAGER. *Cruel Delight: Enlightenment Culture and the Inhuman*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 208. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

This is an interesting and provocative book. James A. Steintrager, a scholar of comparative literature, attempts to define what he calls "moral monstrosity" in the eighteenth century, drawing from a multitude of examples in art, science, and literature. Eighteenth-century moral philosophy, by defining the human as naturally good and benevolent, left no room, he argues, for evil or cruel behavior. Cruelty was inhuman, and those who practiced it—or worse, enjoyed it—were "moral monsters," outside humanity. This created a paradox in which "inhuman" behavior had somehow to be normalized.

Steintrager begins the book with a competent survey of eighteenth-century moral philosophy, emphasizing the Scottish moralists but with brief forays into French and German thought. Pity, he concludes, is the basis of moral behavior in these philosophers. Steintrager engages with various eighteenth-century critiques of Aristotle's theory of tragedy (although he overlooks that of Anne Dacier) and concludes that tragedy leads to pleasure insofar as it engages our pity, but he omits the cathartic function of tragedy.

Was pity the operative sentiment in the eighteenth century? Francis Hutcheson emphasized compassion, which is not the same thing, and although Steintrager mentions "sympathy," he does not pursue the idea, emphasizing instead the subjectivity of emotion. Steintrager's assumption that pity is universally operative runs into difficulty when he reaches the topic of animals.

In the second section of his book, Steintrager offers an extended analysis of William Hogarth's engravings known as "The Four Stages of Cruelty" and offers new insights into this much-discussed (and much-reproduced) series, which shows the moral progression (or regression) of a young man from the torturing of animals to murder. In the final panel, the young man, executed for murder, is dissected at the College of Surgeons (not the College of Physicians, as Steintrager maintains) by a group of decidedly venal-looking men. Immanuel Kant referred to this series in his discussion of human obligations to animals and concluded (following Thomas Aquinas) that while cruelty to animals is not in itself wrong, since we have no obligations to animals, it is nonetheless not a moral act, because it

leads an individual to act cruelly toward other humans as well.

Steintrager wishes to make a much bigger argument about the changing relationships between humans and animals, defined in terms of the relative value of reason and sentiment. He assumes that the sentiment of pity inevitably included animals. But did it? Citing Alexander Pope and Samuel Johnson, Steintrager claims that a "movement" against cruelty to animals developed in the eighteenth century (p. 50), but this implies more organization than in fact existed. The looseness of Steintrager's chronology—Jeremy Bentham immediately follows Bernard Mandeville and Pope—and some curious errors and anachronisms about eighteenth-century science do not help to support his arguments; for example, the chain of being and teleological arguments certainly did not disappear in this era. Steintrager wants us to see the surgeons in Hogarth's final engraving as cruel and therefore inhuman, by his definition. But, even if one assumes that the surgeons vivisected animals in other contexts, in the engraving they are working on a dead human body, and the representative of the animal world exacts his revenge by eating the protagonist's heart. Steintrager ignores the heavy element of irony in all of Hogarth's work and makes of him instead a proto-animal liberationist. However, Steintrager's use of functional analysis to discuss the role of class in the engravings is illuminating.

Steintrager analyzes the work of the Marquis de Sade and some of his contemporaries in the final section of this book. While the parallels between Sade's work and contemporary experimental science have been noted before, Steintrager draws out these parallels with exceptional skill. If the sign of a "moral monster" was enjoying cruel spectacles, Sade was the exemplar of monstrosity, and Steintrager shows how his work subverted and indeed overthrew the carefully constructed edifice of eighteenth-century moral philosophy. Although some of the details of this account can be criticized—for example, it is not true that surgeons had no legal access to cadavers in eighteenth-century France—the argument as a whole is powerful.

This book is an important contribution to debates central to eighteenth-century studies. The clear and accessible style and copious use of illustrations will make this book of use to scholars in many fields apart from literary criticism.

ANITA GUERRINI
University of California,
Santa Barbara

DAVID M. POMFRET. *Young People and the European City: Age Relations in Nottingham and Saint-Etienne, 1890–1940*. (Historical Urban Studies.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate/Lund Humphries Publishing Company. 2004. Pp. xii, 315. \$84.95.

David M. Pomfret's book offers a richly documented comparative study of childhood and youth in the

provincial cities of Nottingham and Saint-Etienne. Pomfret aims to demonstrate how new understandings of childhood as a period of economic and emotional dependency were consolidated at the end of the nineteenth century, a development that, in turn, paved the way for the emergence of adolescence as a “literary, pedagogical, psychological and institutional category” (p. 3). He does this through an examination of children and young people’s working roles, the growing reach of primary education, the development of new forms of organized child and youth leisure (scouting, after-school clubs, summer camps), and the progressive enrollment, after 1900, of children and adolescents in youth divisions of political movements across the ideological spectrum. In both England and France, a redoubled concern for the health of the rising generation and its ability to assure a vigorous national future (through armed defense or prolific motherhood) formed the backdrop to the expansion of professional and voluntary activism around children and young people, who were increasingly cast as the nation’s best and most visible hope for the future.

While I am delighted with the wealth of detail mobilized by Pomfret in his engaging comparative study, the overall analytical framework that holds the study together is less satisfying. Particularly disturbing is the apparently British-driven nature of the author’s overarching framework, which obscures or bypasses altogether important features specific to the French case. I was thus surprised by the author’s failure to cite or discuss the far higher labor force participation rate of married women in France, where in the first half of the twentieth century, some thirty-five to forty percent of married women worked, as opposed to less than ten percent in Britain. This basic structural difference in the economies and cultures of the two nations had a profound impact on the raising and socialization of children. In Britain, children were far more likely to be raised by their own mothers, who had less systematic recourse to alternative parenting structures, while working and lower-middle-class families in France continued to use the services of rural wet-nurses well into the twentieth century. Pomfret also seems unaware of the notable preference for collective forms of education and socialization in France, where educators and municipal leaders alike vaunted the virtues of early schooling (the *école maternelle*), after-school care, and *colonies de vacances* as vital supplements to the family, which was understood to be insufficient on its own to meet the child’s educational needs. A final French particularity that is ironed over in Pomfret’s account is the strikingly unromantic vision of childhood that underlay social and educational policy on children in fin-de-siècle France. Here, Pomfret conflates the desire to remove children from the workforce with a vision of children as economically dependent, innocent and pure beings, citing child labor laws as evidence for the power of this romantic ideology. While British restrictions on child labor may have been inspired by such visions, French policy on child labor

was driven primarily by the desire to assure that in a republic based on universal manhood suffrage, all future citizens (and mothers of citizens) received an education that would enable them to use their vote wisely. It was not accompanied by any notable move toward an Anglo-American model of childhood as a time of happy innocence. Rather, childhood continued to be perceived as a condition that should be left behind as quickly as possible.

It would seem, then, that the *problématique* driving Pomfret’s comparative study is far more closely based on the British case than the French one. As a result, the France that readers encounter in this book ends up looking much more like Britain than it actually did, with important French specificities finding no place in the explanatory framework whatsoever.

The British-driven nature of the argumentative frame brings me to my final point: the author’s somewhat reflexive invocation of the “carceral” theory as a shorthand method of alluding to the multiple changes in the conditions of childhood across the long nineteenth century. In a significant turn of phrase, Pomfret repeatedly speaks of the modern “incarceration” of young people “in institutions such as schools, clinics and volunteer-organised societies” (p. 153); of the scramble to “colonise urban pre-adulthood” that entailed “incursions into young people’s lives that diluted their reliance upon and responsibility to the family” (p. 292). These Foucauldian references to a (significantly agent-less) conspiracy to incarcerate the young depends implicitly on a golden vision of what came before: the patriarchal family, in which children labored harmoniously alongside their parents under the benevolent aegis of parental, and especially paternal, authority. Had Pomfret been more alive to the larger parameters that shaped his French case study, he would have had a far harder time using carceral theory to characterize the expansion of educational and leisure organizations for children. This is because the ideological predicate on which this theory rests, namely, the deification of the biological family as the sole possible place for children—their implicit space of freedom—was the target of explicit critique by French educators throughout the early twentieth century. This does not imply that the carceral theory accurately describes British childhood. On the contrary: the lack of an explicit critique of family-centered education among British experts may make it easier for historians retrospectively to superimpose the carceral theory on the British evidence. But in performing the ideological work of casting the working-class family as the child’s ideal context, the carceral theory ill serves the history of childhood, whether in France, Britain, or elsewhere in the modern West.

LAURA LEE DOWNS

*École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales,
Paris*

ERIC IVES. *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn: "The Most Happy."* Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2004. Pp. xix, 458. \$29.95.

Although Eric Ives wrote his new biography of Anne Boleyn partly to denounce this reviewer's conclusions in *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* (1991), he refers only obliquely to me in the text under the phrase "some historians." Instead of utilizing the findings of numerous early modern scholars who have since the 1980s investigated women's history and gender relations, Ives relies for his conceptualization of this royal woman on the medieval courtly love theory, despite the denials of prominent literary critics today that it was ever an actual social practice. First theorized by C. S. Lewis in 1938, courtly love theory maintains that an older, usually married, woman (the mistress) manipulated the emotions of a younger man (her servant), who obsessed over his feelings for her. It is thus a male literary fantasy. Ives's references to the tradition are also questionable because he comprehends a wide range of flirtations within it, even identifying Henry VIII as a courtly lover, although omitting the name of the older woman who caused that mature monarch to obsess over his feelings for her.

Committed to a theory that demands an older woman, Ives sought the earliest possible date for Anne's birth: 1501 rather than the 1507 identified by William Camden. Ives includes a photograph of Anne's earliest letter, written in about 1514 from the court of the regent of the Netherlands, and concludes that it was penned by a mature hand, someone about thirteen. Scholars like Hugh Paget, who had great difficulty translating Anne's curious French, have never described it as a mature composition. In reducing the size of the handwriting, the photograph seems to have made it appear somewhat more legible than it actually is. A comparison of her script to that of the youthful Elizabeth's would be instructive.

Ives relied heavily on diplomatic evidence for his theory of factional politics, asserting that if scholars discarded the rumors circulated by individuals, such as Eustace Chapuys, the imperial ambassador, they would be left in an ignorant state about the royal court. Validating unconfirmed diplomatic gossip, however, leaves historians in a state worse than ignorance. Adopting this methodology requires us to violate accepted evidentiary standards. Diplomatic dispatches contain rumors and gossip often obtained through bribery; they do not provide valid insights into privy chamber or bedchamber happenings. Revealing information about those confidential matters to anyone, especially to diplomats widely denounced as spies, was a capital offense.

In evaluating these dispatches, furthermore, Ives adopted a questionable methodology. If the gossip supported his factional politics theory or seemed reasonable by his cultural yardstick, he validated it; if it seemed unreasonable by those standards, he dismissed it. This procedure left him with the awkward task, in

analyzing, for example, Thomas Cromwell's revelations to Chapuys during the spring 1536, of down playing Cromwell's lie that he opposed the monastic dissolution while accepting his assertion that he manipulated Anne's fall, dating its beginnings at Easter, three months after her miscarriage. By some other yardstick, it might seem reasonable to conclude that Cromwell was attempting to ingratiate himself with the diplomat to discover what rumors were circulating about the miscarriage.

Most political historians also understand that Henry could not begin legal proceedings against Anne until April, since following the ending of Hilary Term, the judiciary went to the provinces, not returning to Westminster until Easter Term. Moreover, shortly after Anne would have been churching in February, preparing to resume social relationships, the court began to observe Lent, the backdrop to Cromwell's conversations with Chapuys.

Ives's theory fails to explain why Henry had Anne accused publicly of committing adultery ten times only in the approximately two years before her January miscarriage. One obvious speculation is that Henry was making it impossible for observers to identify him as the fetus's father, perhaps because it had some physical disability, which contemporaries regularly claimed was God's way of punishing sinful parents. This view was rooted in Christian authority and tradition.

This biography is the kind of narrowly conceived political history that scholars in other areas of British studies have been abandoning. It is, however, based on solid archival research by a prominent historian.

RETHA M. WARNICKE
Arizona State University

J. P. D. COOPER. *Propaganda and the Tudor State: Political Culture in the Westcountry.* (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press Of Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 283. \$80.00.

Regional identity has been a controversial issue in Britain over the past twenty five years. Among its other consequences, Margaret Thatcher's new-style conservatism produced prosperity for a Tory heartland geographically centered in the southeast of England, and disaffection in the "peripheral" parts. Election maps showed the state of play with aesthetically pleasing starkness: blue for the home counties; red and yellow for an expanding periphery that included not only the so-called Celtic fringe of Scotland, Wales, and Cornwall but, also, increasingly, all parts north of Watford. Those areas remained politically impotent as the blue brigade forged ahead with its revolution in government. The resulting tensions found expression in many ways. These included a wave of arson attacks in Wales and Cornwall on vacation homes owned by Englishmen, bought with what appeared to many to be the proceeds of that divisive politics. The various exercises in devolution of the past ten years represent a response

to this legacy as much as they reflect the gradual unravelling of the British Empire that has been arguably the defining feature of twentieth-century British history.

Against this background, the thesis of J. P. D. Cooper's book is doubly provocative. On the one hand, he wants to turn conventional wisdom about the Tudor government's relationship with the "dangerous edges" of the kingdom on its head, using the "westcountry"—the counties of Devon and Cornwall—as his test case. Tudor peripheries were not axiomatically rebellious and hard to govern. In the case of Devon and Cornwall, Cooper finds that "a complex and mutually beneficial relationship existed" between this area and the crown, with the Tudor government actually able to "capitalize on structures and symbols of regional difference" (p. 2). On the other hand, and in pursuit of that thesis, he wants to revamp the traditional geopolitical map of this area of Britain by allocating Celtic Cornwall to the extreme periphery (the parishes south and west of Helston) and aligning the remainder, culturally and politically, with its eastern neighbor, Devon.

There is much to admire. The book is ambitious, well researched, and well written. Cooper presents us with a model of "state intensification," in place of Geoffrey Elton's model of centralization, and places at its heart central government's willingness to recognize, value, and work within the existing structures of various local cultures. He employs a range of sources, ranging from conventional local and central government records to architecture and drama. His recognition of the crucial role of propaganda provides a welcome rebuttal to Sidney Anglo's conclusion that there was not much of it, it was not widely deployed, and most people did not understand it even when they were exposed to it. He is surely right to highlight the significance of the prayer books and the books of homilies in inculcating royalist habits of mind to a socially and geographically diverse population. As Cooper speculates, this influence might have been especially marked in areas of the country like Cornwall—so poor and remote that they could not attract licensed preachers who would diverge from that officially approved and inspired line.

Cooper introduces the brief discussion of "Cornishness" in his conclusion by announcing that conjoining Cornwall and Devon as a distinct region of the Tudor state "requires a willing suspension of disbelief" (p. 252). Some might wonder whether it is possible to embrace this particular fiction, and what precisely we gain if we do so. Cooper himself provides contradictory evidence on this score, notably with reference to the persistence of the Cornish language. For the most part he is at pains to argue that the language was in terminal decline and had been since the late twelfth century. This underpins his assertion that the county "had more in common with Devon than with Penwith" (p. 258). But, as he acknowledges, the demand for a Cornish prayer book surfaced in the 1549 rebellion,

and as late as *ca.* 1584 the topographer John Norden commended Cornish men—of the eastern part of the county, not the southwestern periphery—for having recently "conformed themselves" to the use of English (p. 71). Language is not the only determinant of ethnic or regional identity, although it is an important one, and Norden's evidence may be unreliable or misleading. But some theoretically informed attention to issues of identity might have persuaded readers that Cooper is attuned, even sympathetic, to their possible impact on the region's politics and history, even at the risk of undermining his Anglocentric "westcountry" model.

ANNE McLAREN

University of Liverpool

PETER IVER KAUFMAN. *Thinking of the Laity in Late Tudor England*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004. Pp. xi, 175. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$20.00.

This book is a timely and refreshing contribution to our understanding of Elizabethan ecclesiastical politics and of an often neglected strand within the English reformed tradition. Presenting itself as "a study of sixteenth-century perception and prejudice" (p. 2), it seeks to trace the character, influence, and eventual eclipse of arguments for broad lay participation in the post-Reformation Church of England. A story of "false starts and foolhardy sentiments," of "what might have been" rather than "what was" (p. 2), it shows how idealistic calls for giving the laity a significant say in electing their own pastors and in disciplining local delinquents gradually gave way, by the final decades of the century, to greater suspicion and caution. Peter Iver Kaufman uncovers evidence of the "populist rhetoric" of Puritan clerics such as William Fulke, John Field, Thomas Lever, Dudley Fenner, Thomas Cartwright, and others in a variety of sources: he collects "shards" of clerical "expectations and regrets" about lay involvement in parish government from petitions, manuscript records of university debates and controversies, recollections of its advocates, and the fears and polemical constructions of its conformist critics. Reminding us that roads not taken are nevertheless "important parts of the historical landscape" (p. 2), he draws attention to elements within the Puritan outlook that were conducive to a kind of incipient Congregationalism—potentially radical and revolutionary elements that have perhaps been overshadowed in recent treatments of Puritanism as a largely moderate subset of mainstream Protestantism.

Against the emphasis on the social conservatism of Elizabethan Puritanism that has been one principal legacy of the seminal work of Patrick Collinson, Kaufman talks of its proponents' willingness to contemplate, if not actively call for, a degree of democratization and lay empowerment. He identifies precedents for this "lay assertiveness" in late medieval Lollard anticlericalism and precursors of Puritan confidence in

the capacity of the common man to play a role in shaping the ecclesiastical organization of the parish in the writings of biblical translator William Tyndale, although his book remains somewhat imprecise about the intellectual genealogy of and links between these ideas. Kaufman also detects influences upon and antecedents of Puritan "populism" in the underground congregations that defied the Marian Counter Reformation and the exile communities that gathered in continental European cities such as Emden and Frankfurt, initiatives that Protestantism's transition from persecution to official religion served partly to sideline in the 1560s, before their resurgence and revival in academic and parliamentary circles during the following decade. He then charts the process by which such arguments retreated once more against the backdrop of Elizabeth's insistence upon the suppression of the prophesying movement and the developing conformist critique of populist Puritanism mounted by John Whitgift, Matthew Sutcliffe, John Cosin, and Richard Bancroft.

If the individual components of this narrative are not in themselves new, Kaufman nevertheless provides an alternative and often revealing perspective on familiar episodes and well-traversed evidence. Prominent here are the late Tudor dialogues of George Gifford and William Perkins, in which the pelagian "atheist" is haplessly pitted against a zealous theologian, to whose persuasive exhortations he eventually gives way. As Kaufman reminds us, the latter figures are not clerics but energetic laymen, fictive embodiments and "emblems of lay intelligence and independence" (p. 13), in the tradition of the rustic heroes who outshine their learned Catholic enemies and persecutors in John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. If these tracts yield evidence of Puritan dismay at the limits of "country divinity," they also, he argues, tell us something about residual Puritan hopes that the common man could indeed be "a centre of right-thinking theological gravity" (p. 146) and a worthy participant in local ecclesiastical governance.

Kaufman's book, however, also contains some areas of ambiguity and leaves some key questions unanswered. It may first be remarked that the objects of the calls for expanding lay prerogative he analyzes remain somewhat obscure: his admission that "the people" whom his Puritan protagonists envisaged empowering were from the middling ranks of English society places some constraints on the concept of "popular" and "populist" Protestantism he seeks to underline. Second, Kaufman is perhaps better at describing the waxing and waning of this Puritan populism than he is at assessing why it occurred. The reasons for the demise of clerical enthusiasm for lay participation and increasing emphasis on personal piety and practical divinity are never fully examined or convincingly explored. He hints at the effects of growing Puritan recognition of "consumer resistance" (p. 167) to godly evangelism and the imperfections of popular religion and at the consequences of the increasingly oligarchic

character of local parish government, but there is no extended consideration of these suggestions. How far was the creeping neo-clericalism of both the Presbyterians and their conformist rivals in the late sixteenth century simply a function of a wider process of confessionalization, of the conservative tendency that habitually accompanies the transformation of movements of protest into embodiments and bastions of the establishment? Nor does Kaufman really assess how his findings might qualify existing assumptions about the origins of the Congregationalist tendencies that emerged into open view in the seventeenth century: should these be seen as new initiatives or as a continuation of a partly hidden tradition?

Notwithstanding these unresolved issues, Kaufman has written a thought-provoking book that will fuel the ongoing historiographical debate about the religious history of late Tudor England. By investigating how Elizabethan clerics constructed and imagined the English laity, he should help to reopen discussion about the potential popularity of the hotter sort of Protestantism.

ALEXANDRA WALSHAM
University of Exeter

PAUL RAFFIELD. *Images and Cultures of Law in Early Modern England: Justice and Political Power, 1558–1660*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 289. \$80.00.

According to his dust jacket blurb, Paul Raffield, a follower of the legal scholar Peter Goodrich, seeks in this book to unveil the "hidden culture of the early modern legal profession and its influence on the development of the English constitution." This purpose is advanced via broadly postmodern and interdisciplinary (primarily literary, linguistic, and philosophical) perspectives on the common life and institutional existence of the late Tudor and early Stuart inns of court.

The images referred to in Raffield's title are symbols or visual signs, by which the law's "social presence" was purportedly established, in the absence of a written national constitution. At the risk of oversimplifying a complex argument cast in occasionally esoteric prose, it can be said that Raffield depicts the post-Reformation inns as autonomous bodies of common lawyers intentionally exhibiting a distinctive humanistic Protestant culture, expressed through their dining arrangements, architecture, heraldry, sumptuary regulations and costume, and dramatic productions and revels (chapters one through three). These last, according to the book's central three chapters, were "rhetorical devices" (p. 99) reflecting "the classical and continental influences of the Renaissance" (p. 105). While presenting "a template for the ideal state" (p. 89), the "English Utopia" (p. 96), they were also "legal texts, embodying the content of the Ancient Constitution, as perceived and interpreted by common lawyers"

(p. 124). Under Charles I, however (chapter six), the inns lost their former independence and became “venal” bodies, flattering that monarch’s absolutist ambitions rather than warning of the dangers of unbridled prerogative power (unlike the common-lawyer MPs in the debate on the Petition of Right). Their irrelevance accelerated in the 1640s and 1650s (chapter seven), with the curtailment of traditional cultural and educational rituals and the dominance of political discourse by a new text-based positivism, despite the continued influence of the legal community apparent in attempts to formulate a lasting constitutional settlement for the English Commonwealth.

Symbolic of Raffield’s own enterprise is an eclectic bibliography lacking archival material or manuscripts—albeit the footnote references to William Dugdale’s *Origines Juridicales* (1666) mysteriously cite folio rather than page numbers—and indiscriminate as between primary and secondary printed sources. Indeed this book seems closer in spirit to literary criticism, or perhaps legal advocacy than to historical analysis, narrative, and explanation. Exposition typically proceeds by way of seemingly privileged assertion, analogy, and example rather than a survey of relevant evidence. Possible objections or alternative interpretations barely feature. Thus the self-governing autonomy of the Elizabethan and Jacobean inns—“Immune from interference by the state” (p. 161)—appears as a simple given, no mention being made of the numerous judges’ orders, privy council letters, and other means by which government actively interfered in the societies’ affairs long before Charles I’s accession. That participation in Christmas revels involved all members, practicing lawyers as well as students, is similarly stated as fact, without reference to possible contrary indicators. Again, the proposition that membership of the inns of court was coterminous with the early modern legal profession demands demonstration (and considerable qualification), not merely a declaration to that effect.

No doubt the methods and preoccupations of cultural history as practiced here may potentially lead to richer understandings of the early modern inns of court. Thus Raffield has interesting things to say about their masculine “homosociality,” while his general insistence on the need to take serious account of their overtly non-legal activities and broadly cultural manifestations is entirely admirable. Yet for all its determined singularity of utterance, stylistic idiosyncracies, and frequent far-fetched, if theoretically informed, speculation, his text embodies a curiously old-fashioned, pre-revisionist political history, and in other respects betrays a certain historiographical naïveté or thinness. Raffield has read widely but has not always sufficiently digested his fare. These pages consequently furnish much eyebrow-raising material, together with many possible examination questions such as: “The revels were as significant to the spiritual life of common lawyers as the religious act of dining in hall, at

which God and common law were symbolically unified and eaten” (p. 99): Discuss.

WILFRID PREST

University of Adelaide

ALEXANDRA SHEPARD. *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*. (Oxford Studies in Social History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 292. \$70.00.

Alexandra Shepard successfully seeks to complicate our understanding of manhood, at points conflated with masculinity, in early modern England, particularly the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In this thoroughly researched and well-written monograph, Shepard identifies those qualities expected of males to attain “manhood,” a status open only to certain men. To grasp the varied demands of manhood, one must focus on differences among males, not simply between men and women. This book is organized around the themes of modeling manhood and its social practice. Within these broad divisions, the author gives special attention to an individual’s youth, marital status, social reputation, credit worthiness, and ultimate decline into old age. She portrays the nature of manhood or manliness in a wide range of advice literature, medical treatises, court decisions, and household guides, as well as from family archival sources.

While acknowledging the insights gained from a binary distinction that has dominated gender scholarship, Shepard argues greater attention should be paid to the varieties of manhood. A gendered analysis, she claims, has led to an oversimplified, and unified, sense of manhood and masculine values. Yet, standards for manhood vary according to social standing and age. And just as women cannot aspire to be men, so many men do not meet the standards of reason, gravitas, economic status, and age tied to the competent, independent, adult male. It is thus not simply women who are left out of the equation of manliness, and this must be recognized if we are to gain an accurate view of the array of manhood found in early modern England.

To flesh out this thesis, Shepard looks at the requirements for marriage, property ownership, a sense of place, and a level of knowledge essential for full manhood. In a chapter on youthful excesses, she notes how young men (in particular students and residents of Cambridge) behaved in ways that represent the emotionalism and lack of control absent from true manliness. Medical treatises as well describe a range of qualities suggesting that some men, afflicted with the feminine failings of too much cold and moisture, lacked the necessary hairiness and strength found only in true men. There was thus a male norm that large numbers failed to obtain, either at one stage in their development or throughout their lives.

Shepard clearly and fully documents these diverse qualities. Yet her study is not without flaws, especially for those who have studied women’s history. Tradition-

ally, scholarship on early modern England stressed rank, religion, and ideology in characterizing its society. Only within the last decades has attention been given to gender as a significant and legitimate historical category. Returning to the divisions that have guided English social and political history, albeit under the rubric of manhood, seems to displace these insights. This is not to claim that gender includes only the experiences or characterization of women, but gender scholarship has invoked a power analysis, created a separate and complex understanding of women, and questioned assumptions that contrasted complicated males to a uniform and secondary female. Yet here one feels that women are left in an uncomplicated mass, while men must now be understood through more sophisticated variations.

For example, in chapter four, when discussing youthful deviation from the male norm, Shepard references Lionel Tiger's *Men in Groups* (1989), without noting the longstanding feminist critique of his theory that human society progressed through the social and competitive qualities adapted to early hunting societies (p. 93). In addition, the evidence from medical literature that focuses on the differences in male temperament fails to note similar analyses of women. In addition, distinctions of manhood based on social rank do not sufficiently take into consideration guides to apprentices. While works addressed to elite men made disparaging remarks about the unmanly acts of apprentices, still those establishing apprentice behavior differed little from works directed to their betters as to what constituted responsible manhood.

In her conclusion, Shepard terms manhood an "estate," which set it off from any comparable position for women; it was characterized by adulthood, "householding status," and, to a lesser extent, social standing (p. 246). In addition, contradictions clearly existed in manhood itself because even those holding patriarchal roles in early modern England did not always live according to the elevated qualities expected of them. Our understanding of the concept thus needs to be complicated in terms of its varied components, by those who could not embrace those components, and finally by those in positions to encompass them but unwilling or unable to do so.

This book tells us much about what was expected of men at different stages of life and from differing ranks. But this enhanced complexity needs to be linked more securely to the knowledge we have gained from feminist scholarship. Certainly using gender as the sole filter to distinguish qualities required of a diverse group of men is unacceptable. Moreover, it is essential to realize that men were required to live up to standards that were strongly associated with being male. Yet surely those qualities were essentially human rather than masculine. It is thus important to assess texts of "manhood" within a context that assumed male superiority and downplayed the nature

and complexity of real women, while requiring men to live by standards that most could not meet.

HILDA L. SMITH

University of Cincinnati

ANDREW MCRÆ. *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 250. \$65.00.

Andrew McRae and Alastair Bellany have been jointly collecting the verse and prose libels and satires that swirled around the courts of James I and Charles I, with a view to publishing as well as studying them. Bellany's historical study, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603–1660* (2002), has already appeared. McRae's literary analysis may also be of interest to historians and is preoccupied with the most recent historiographical trends.

The general topic is an important one, revealing the condition of political culture between a heavy-handed Tudor monarchy and the emergence of a more open public sphere. Satire and libels appear to have marked a period of uncertainty, when authors and other elites gingerly tested boundaries of liberty that were still heavily patrolled. McRae takes as his larger theme how satire changed the political atmosphere from a fixation on consensus into something more suitable to rebellion and a culture of contestation. In short, he wants to show how a half-century of unrelenting satire and libel made political opposition thinkable. Why that half century began in the 1590s is not sufficiently explored.

McRae has good company in this enterprise, including Kevin Sharpe, Thomas Cogswell, Pauline Croft, Adam Fox, Lindsay Kaplan, and Cyndia Susan Clegg. Unfortunately he allows them and others to distract him from what could be a simpler and more exciting story. For it would all make perfect sense in the terms Thomas Babington Macaulay used (no bad thing), since little depends on analysis of genres. But in the first half of the book, the life is drained out of his sources in an effort to objectify the analysis. When McRae allows the satires their own voice he makes better sense of his story. What he might have stressed more was the sheer volume of the output, in print and manuscript, as listed in his bibliography. For too long, the author keeps glancing back at recent critical treatments to make sure he is engaging all of them.

McRae's computer has an annoying "search and replace" feature that constantly substitutes "figured" for described, "informed" for caused or affected, and "transgressive" for radical or just plain rude. His subjects "interrogate" things like "political subjectivity," which may keep tripping up the general reader. Matters improve toward the end, where he gets down to simpler description. A chapter on Richard Corbett serves as a counter-example of contemporary panegyric, which threw satire itself into relief, as well as of Corbett's conservative satire of Puritan radicalism.

McRae concludes with William Prynne's trial for seditious libel, and with the increasingly public nature of the threat facing Charles. For while Parliament may have been preserving the appearances of consensus, the public attacks on Archbishop William Laud and the Earl of Strafford were more pointed than anything directed at Buckingham or Robert Cecil.

For the social aspects of the story, or the publishing history of what was printed, one may look elsewhere. Bellamy has more to say of the use of libel by courtly or parliamentary elites, and by the public at large. There is still more to do, but McRae earns our thanks for his efforts to uncover this evidence and to introduce us to it.

C. JOHN SOMMERVILLE
University of Florida

RUTH E. MAYERS. *1659: The Crisis of the Commonwealth*. (Studies in History New Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell for the Royal Historical Society. 2004. Pp. xii, 306. \$75.00.

Ruth E. Mayers' book is a vindication of the restored Commonwealth regime that ruled the British Isles between May and October 1659. Hitherto this has been seen as an unpopular and insecure government, brought back to power by a revolutionary army that had ejected it six years before and doomed to exist for only a few months before it fell out with the soldiers all over again and was thrust out a second time. This second expulsion precipitated the rapid sequence of events that culminated, after seven more months, in the fall of Britain's only republic to date and the restoration of the English monarchy and the House of Lords. Power in this short-lived regime was vested in the remnant of the House of Commons created by the purge carried out by the army in 1648, and the low respect of historians for it has been signaled by the tendency of many until recently to adopt for it the insulting term coined by its contemporary enemies: "the Rump."

Mayers contends that this image is grossly unjust, and she certainly documents in greater detail than before the manner in which the restored Commonwealth established an energetic and efficient administration in all parts of the British Isles and in all areas of government. She also brings a new depth of material to demonstrate that it found support in both the capital and the provinces, sufficient to provide an infrastructure for its activities, and that under its rule republican theorists produced a remarkable diversity of models for possible English constitutions. In this sense her book represents a further contribution to a spate of recent work designed to attract new attention and admiration to Britain's single experience of a republic, at a time when the monarchical and aristocratic institutions restored in 1660 have been submitted to a fresh process of criticism and challenge. The contribution is the more striking in her case in that she tends to focus on secular attitudes to government and

plays down the vehement religiosity of many seventeenth-century republicans that differentiates them sharply from much of the present age.

Mayers sets about this work with a certain lack of generosity to colleagues, signaled by the page of acknowledgements at the opening of the book. In most works, authors express gratitude to a string of mentors, companions, librarians, and archivists; she sees fit to thank only her supervisor and her parents. What she does instead is point out what she takes to be the shortcomings of previous scholars who have worked on the period, including the present reviewer. When dealing with points of detail, this certainly has value, and for my own part I am happy to agree that she has caught me out in one error of fact—concerning the exact number of members in the restored Parliament—and that I may possibly have understated the energy that the regime brought to debating solutions to its problems and that radical theoreticians brought to proposing them. Mayers is not, however, content with catching out her predecessors on specific matters of information or interpretation but alleges that what she takes to be their shortcomings have been the result of prejudice: of siding instinctually with the conservatives of the period against the republicans. Here it is difficult not to think of well-worn proverbs about pots and kettles, or glass houses and stones, for my contention is that her own prejudices are strong enough to blind her to major aspects of her subject.

Two in particular are important: the popularity of the regime and its long-term viability. By showing that it was militarily and administratively effective—which nobody has denied—Mayers seeks to prove both. What she fails to explain is the sequence of events at the end of 1659. After only five months of renewed partnership, army and Parliament quarreled beyond reconciliation, and the author's efforts to highlight the strenuous attempts that they had made to work together just cause their failure to appear more inevitable. Its result—within three more months—was the disintegration of the army, and when the Parliament returned to power it found that, without the presence of the republican soldiers to cow them, the bulk of the national population immediately felt able to express a vehement detestation of it. The result was the republic's almost immediate fall. Mayers has produced a brave and valuable polemic, but she presses it too far.

RONALD HUTTON
University of Bristol

PAUL CHANG-HA LIM. *In Pursuit of Purity, Unity, and Liberty: Richard Baxter's Puritan Ecclesiology in its Seventeenth-Century Context*. (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, volume 112.) Boston: Brill. 2004. Pp. xix, 263. \$111.00.

Paul Chang-Ha Lim has written a solid first book on Richard Baxter's Puritan ecclesiology in its seventeenth-century context. He provides a good historiographical introduction to Baxter and follows it with six

separate chapters on selected controversies in which Baxter engaged. He has read widely and makes his points courteously and lucidly. What is missing from this study is Baxter himself; there is not even a minimal sketching in of his birth and upbringing. And yet we are unusually fortunate in our access to a mind on the march in his calendared correspondence and his unpublished papers in the Doctor Williams's Library, both of which are drawn upon by Lim on occasions, but not frequently enough.

In recounting Baxter's quarrels with Baptists in the 1650s, the writer recognizes that this was a shift in his previous position, but he misses the drama of the change: that Baxter's celebrated ministry at Kidderminster began with women parishioners almost stoning him to death for asserting that "hell was paved with infants' skulls." Lim notes (p. 59) that Baxter contributed to the hysterical antisectarian pamphlet of 1646, *Gangraena*, but misses his 1682 regrets at ever having done so. He follows the flawed *Everyman* edition of Baxter's memoirs in omitting *A Holy Commonwealth* from a list of his published works—the book that the Oxford Convocation of 1683 consigned to the flames. The book is a love poem to Richard Cromwell (a parallel 1659 work was actually dedicated to the Lord Protector). When Lim discusses the differences between Baxter and John Owen—so crucial to an understanding of the subsequent history of English Nonconformity—he puts their dispute about ecclesiology (p. 221) correctly in the context of their doctrinal disagreements. This is where sensitivity to context pays off, except that even here his "context" is not wide enough. We know that what Baxter found hardest to forgive in Owen was his perception that Owen was the key figure in the Wallingford House conspiracy to dethrone Richard Cromwell and thus destroy the "Holy Commonwealth." His invective against Owen was so fierce that it had to stay in manuscript. Initially Baxter had placed his "Holy Commonwealth" hopes in Oliver Cromwell, a remarkable turnaround from his earliest perceptions of him as the patron of sectarianism. A friend, John Howe, was chaplain to both Cromwells and a key figure in the change in Baxter's view of father and son. Without this political background, the discussion of theological differences, however sensitively done, takes on a slightly surreal air.

Lim writes movingly at the end (p. 230) of Baxter's mission to Christians "to unite in joint pursuit of holiness and purity." Staying within the constraints of internal debates, however, he leaves us unprepared for what really concerned Baxter in 1691 (the last year of his life), which were the classic defence of witchcraft, a revised view of millenarianism, and a celebration of the Glorious Revolution. Lim makes a footnote reference to another recent first book on Baxter: Tim Cooper, *Fear and Polemic in Seventeenth-Century England* (2001). Both contribute to our understanding. Lim has a surer grasp of theology, but in trying to

relate Baxter's war on antinomianism to his personal psychology, Cooper has written the braver book.

WILLIAM LAMONT
Lewes, Sussex

KEVIN P. SIENA. *Venereal Disease, Hospitals and the Urban Poor: London's "Foul Wards," 1600–1800*. (Rochester Studies in Medical History.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 367. \$80.00.

Historians of medicine frequently conjecture that more attention has been given to the history of venereal disease than to any other subject in their field. Thus, it is always surprising to find scholarship that adds a new dimension to the collective wisdom on this subject. Kevin P. Siena's book achieves this goal. Siena has drawn on institutional records of London's hospitals to offer an historical voice for that difficult-to-document segment of society, the urban poor. This book turns hitherto underrepresented attention toward a segment of society in which venereal disease ran rife.

The span of history covered, 1600 to 1800, is critical for several reasons. First, it includes the period during which London saw a significant rise in the number of hospitals with various distinctions, including "Royal," "parish," and "voluntary." Siena focuses attention over all of the institutions that comprised "early modern London's multilevel healthcare system" (p. 260) rather than solely on the famed "Lock Hospital." Furthermore, Siena devotes two chapters to help readers correctly re-envision how the Lock Hospital, although certainly a key institution, was but one of the places where "the foul" (one of many colloquial terms for those with a venereal disease), particularly those of the lower classes, could turn in hopes of cure. Second, it incorporates the evolutionary development of changes that took place within the medical care offered in London workhouses, spurred by efforts of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in the 1720s. This finding is crucial in documenting that significant changes were underway for over a century before the 1834 New Poor Law, the point typically used to demarcate such reform and relief efforts on behalf of England's urban poor.

"Choice" and "options" are novel terms that Siena convincingly applies to the health care sought by the urban poor. Although their choices were not as wide ranging as those of the moneyed classes, the poor, as Siena describes through poignant case studies, enjoyed many of the sensitivities related to the treatment of venereal disease—the "Secret Disease"—as did the rest of society. When, for example, women employed in domestic service became afflicted, they relied on secrecy in procuring treatment "in the name of economic survival" (p. 40). The marketplace of London medical services in the seventeenth century offered "foul" patients a competitive array of reputed cures within a local vicinity that were affordable and confi-

dential, and that took little time away from employment and avoided telling signs like the excessive production of spit through mercurial salivation treatment. To avoid the censorious stigmatization that often accompanied the venereal disease care they received from male practitioners, women of all classes sought the added discretion of treatments from the many female healers who proffered their cures in posted advertisements.

With the development of prescribed health care regimens in London hospitals during the eighteenth century, the choices and options for the urban poor became increasingly limited. They lost their choice in selecting the conditions surrounding their treatment, and “foul” women lost the option of being treated by female healers. Contrary to standard histories of London hospitals, Siena reinforces that all London hospitals treated “foul” patients. Such findings indicate both the enormity of this disease throughout the city as well as the lure of pecuniary reward that was available by offering such treatments. The demographics of patients within various hospitals are presented as is the treatment administered by particular physicians and surgeons within respective institutions. Particular emphasis is placed on the change in the hospital care of “foul” women, especially in the Lock Hospital, over the course of the eighteenth century. By the 1780s, after treating women with the tools of the medical trade, practitioners at the Lock routinely sought to “retool wayward women with moral probity and domestic skills” (p. 262).

Siena has delved into old sources in new ways, producing not only a superbly refined view of the care offered to the venereally diseased poor throughout early modern England, but also a model for future historical efforts directed toward a better understanding of the care sought for and received by this often overlooked, foundational segment of London society.

PHILIP K. WILSON

Penn State College of Medicine

JAMES KELLY. *Sir Edward Newenham MP 1734–1814: Defender of the Protestant Constitution*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2004. Pp. 318. \$55.00.

Over the past two decades, James Kelly has established a reputation as one of the foremost, prolific authors on eighteenth-century Irish politics. Following the publication of his biography of Henry Flood, his new book is an in-depth analysis of the career of Sir Edward Newenham, one of the leading radical figures in late eighteenth-century Irish parliamentary politics.

Like Flood, Newenham is a frustrating subject for the modern historian. In many ways one of the most charismatic and radical parliamentarians of his age, he was a poor parliamentary performer. As Kelly makes clear, Newenham often remained silent in key parliamentary debates, preferring to leave other more gifted speakers to argue the radical cause. In an age when rhetorical ability was critical to parliamentary influ-

ence, Newenham appears to have been at a significant disadvantage.

He entered the Irish House of Commons in 1769, during the controversial Townshend viceroyalty. Ironically, in light of Newenham's passion for the cause of parliamentary reform, he purchased his seat for £1,900. Newenham's conduct during his first few years in parliament was necessarily circumspect, since he was simultaneously employed as a revenue officer and consequently expected to refrain from opposition to the government. Newenham's discomfiture with this restraint on his ability to follow his radical instincts quickly became apparent, and he soon attempted to obtain permission to sell his office. Unsurprisingly, such permission was refused, and he was dismissed from his revenue post in 1772. While this was a severe financial setback, it permitted Newenham openly to oppose the executive thereafter.

Newenham was an early sympathizer with the cause of the American colonists in their dispute with the British government. Indeed, he maintained a regular (if mostly one-sided and sycophantic) correspondence with Benjamin Franklin until the latter's death in 1790. His long-standing connections with Franklin (and George Washington) eventually bore fruit with the appointment of his son Robert as U.S. consul at Marseilles in 1790.

The most interesting aspect of Newenham's career was his relationship with the politically active public. This was a “popular” politician in every sense. Newenham successfully stood as MP for County Dublin on three occasions, clear evidence of his high standing within the politically conscious Protestant community. He was an enthusiastic member of the Volunteer movement, being elected as colonel of the Independent Liberty Volunteers corps in 1779. Kelly devotes considerable attention to analyzing Newenham's activities as a prolific political writer both in pamphlets and in newspapers. Newenham regularly wrote for the *Freeman's Journal*, the *Hibernian Journal*, and the *Dublin Evening Post*, almost always employing pseudonyms. It is perhaps this aspect of his career that marks Newenham out from his contemporaries. Although many politicians articulated their views through the press, few can have matched the quantity of Newenham's output. The role of the popular press in politicizing the Protestant community during the American war was of critical importance, and Newenham was an enthusiastic participant in mobilizing “out of doors” opinion. Newenham also appears to have been genuinely committed to the idea that MPs should seek and take seriously the “instructions” of their constituents about how to vote on particular issues. On occasion this caused him difficulty. In 1783, Newenham was obliged to bow to the wishes of the Liberty Volunteers and support Flood's demand for a Renunciation Act despite his belief that it was unnecessary.

Above all, Newenham was passionate in support of the cause of parliamentary reform. A desire to reduce what he perceived to be the excessive and unhealthy

influence of the executive in parliament is a consistent theme of his career. However, as Kelly makes clear, there were limits to the extent of his reformist ambitions. While he consistently supported measures designed to make the Dublin parliament more representative of the Protestant community, he was steadfastly opposed to extending political rights to the majority Catholic population. Whereas a minority of Irish Protestants came to advocate Catholic enfranchisement or even complete "emancipation," Newenham's "uncompromising commitment to the Protestant constitution" (p. 12) led him from the early 1790s to reject the republican and nationalist program of the United Irishmen and within a few years to embrace conservatism and loyalism. In abandoning the politics of patriotism and radicalism in the turbulent decade of the 1790s, Newenham was representative of the majority of his coreligionists. Kelly convincingly argues that it is only the anachronistic perspective adopted by modern historians that assumes "that the appropriate radical response in the early 1790s was to pursue Catholic enfranchisement" (p. 296). Most of those Protestant patriots who were willing enough to tolerate repeal of penal legislation during the American Revolutionary War were convinced that Catholic relief must stop short of granting access to political power.

Recognizing the transformation in the Irish political landscape that followed the outbreak of war with revolutionary France, Newenham declined to seek reelection in 1797, turning increasingly thereafter to Ultra-Loyalism. He supported the Act of Union and, according to Kelly, his anti-Catholicism "crystallised in its final years into something approaching bigotry" (p. 18). In spite of Kelly's cautions against so doing, it is difficult not to conclude that Newenham's life is "a metaphor for the strand of radical Protestant patriotism that he epitomized" (p. 18).

PADDY McNALLY
University College Worcester

DROR WAHRMAN. *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 414. \$45.00.

This comprehensive and richly documented magnum opus on the modern self focuses on gender but extends its reach to race, class, and species: gender is to sex, as civilization is to race, and politics is to class. Drawing on theater, satire, newspapers, political tracts, and more, Dror Wahrman locates a cultural revolution occurring in the 1770s that transformed the *ancien régime* of the unstable, malleable English self into a reassuringly fixed concept of identity that he identifies as "modern" (although others might consider it to be more accurately "Romantic"). The book centers on the demise of the popular cultural practice of masquerade as exemplary of this change; but in the second half of the book, the argument comes to rest on the American Revolution, which, figuring prominently in the shift,

led the English to question every category of identity. The revolution marks the demise of the *ancien régime* in England, although not in America, where the older form of self persisted for several decades. Gender disguise or flexibility, Wahrman contends, became associated with revolutionary thought, and as a result the English established firmer identity boundaries in order to prevent revolution on their own ground. Wahrman also connects the revolution to racial thinking that increasingly linked complexion and climate to rigidified, racist meanings. This is a compelling if controversial argument, dazzling in its scope, and the plethora of evidence mustered to defend the case is nothing short of staggering. Some of the most convincing bits of proof derive from comparing emendations in various editions published over several decades, such as entries in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* on Amazon, Hottentot, or Negro, or tracing telling changes in translations of Juvenal's Sixth Satire on women.

Such a broadsweeping book inevitably arouses counterexamples in the reader's mind, and perhaps to encourage assent Wahrman engages in Shandyesque injunctions that enjoin the reader to heed a particular sentence ("Listen to John Hunter . . . who lectured on 'the varieties of man' in 1775," p. 97) or to take special pleasure in a final example he has saved for the reader's delectation ("Once again I have saved my most elaborate example for last," p. 243). Inevitably, such an all-encompassing thesis seems overstated, and many readers might have been more readily convinced of a muted change rather than a marked shift tied to a particular year or even a decade. For example, breeches roles on stage are alleged to have diminished by the end of the century because of the gender ambiguity they inspired; but Dorothy Jordan performed cross-dressed roles to sold-out crowds as Little Pickle and Rosalind from 1787 to 1814, and Joseph Grimaldi was a popular female impersonator in early nineteenth-century pantomimes. In James Boswell's essays on acting (1770), he believes that an actor or a lawyer "must assume in strong degree the character which he represents, while he at the same time retains the consciousness of his own character" (p. 173). According to Wahrman's chronology, the young Boswell should have emerged into the more "modern" essential notion of self while the older Samuel Johnson, a remnant of the past, should have subscribed to the "ancien régime" of identity. Yet Boswell's Scots aristocratic devil-may-care attitudes surely fashioned his playful notions of an assumable self, while the constraints of poverty urged Johnson the bookseller's son to profit, literally, from forging a consistent persona as the Great Cham. Does the author's age or the date of publication matter most? Maybe in this instance neither, as class and nation may have had greater effect on their views.

Curiously, Wahrman largely ignores autobiographical writing and the novel, two flourishing genres centering on the individual that might tell a rather different story. In addition, several decades of feminist

scholarship have demonstrated (e.g. Nancy Armstrong, Catherine Gallagher, Harriet Guest, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Kathleen Wilson) that eighteenth-century men and women thought of identity in dissimilar ways. Women's writing (e.g. Charlotte Charke, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Mary Wollstonecraft) might profitably have been given more significance. One might also wish that the English identity had been linked to its Celtic neighbors, or that more attention had been given to developments in India or the South Pacific concerning racial thinking. Still, the book in all its richness is a fascinating, powerfully argued work that will spawn nuanced debates for a long time into the future.

FELICITY A. NUSSBAUM

University of California,

Los Angeles [All reviews of books by Indiana

University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

ANNA CLARK. *Scandal: The Sexual Politics of the British Constitution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 311. \$29.95.

They erupt when norms are transgressed. They expose fissures within value systems. They threaten authority and sometimes stimulate political crisis, conflict, and change. They feed on publicity, driven by historically contingent cultures of communication. They pose uncomfortable questions about the nature and authority of public opinion, and about the blurred boundaries between public and private. Their meanings mutate as they are re-presented and appropriated. Scandals properly studied—one thinks of Cynthia Herrup's book on the Castlehaven affair, or of Sarah Maza's work on prerevolutionary French causes célèbres—can teach us a great deal about the past.

Anna Clark's fascinating book explores English political scandals—ostensibly scandals about sex, but about much more besides—during the period 1760–1820. She uses these scandals to think creatively about some of the central issues of late Hanoverian political, cultural and gender history. Scandals, Clark argues, illuminate contemporary debates about monarchical and aristocratic authority, about the nature of empire, and about the place of public opinion. Scandals expose the limits of the so-called conservative patriotic consensus and grant new insights into major political movements. Scandals reveal contemporary opportunities for and anxieties about women's political agency and allow us to examine the complex intermeshing of political ideologies with discourses of gender and sexuality.

The book is organized as a neatly interlinked succession of case studies. Clark begins with sexual scandal's role in the Wilkesite movement. She then turns to the scandals surrounding Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire's forays into parliamentary electioneering, and analyzes Edmund Burke's manipulation of melodramatic narratives of victimized Indian womanhood

during the Warren Hastings impeachment. Moving into the era of the French Revolution, Clark discusses English radical scandalmongering and conservative counter-propaganda before eloquently exploring how scandal destroyed the posthumous reputation of the feminist Mary Wollstonecraft, while leaving the conservative Hannah More relatively unscathed. Clark concludes with rich chapters on two of the most important early nineteenth-century scandals: the 1809 Mary Anne Clarke affair, in which the Duke of York's mistress revealed she had used her intimate access to the duke—who was the king's son and the commander in chief—to run a lucrative business selling military commissions; and the popular outcry surrounding George IV's attempts in 1820 to have his estranged wife Caroline convicted of adultery.

Clark's chapter on John Wilkes nicely demonstrates the book's strengths and methods. Clark focuses on Wilkes's manipulation of allegations about the princess dowager's sexual relationship with George III's chief minister, Lord Bute. The allegations, presented in satirical narratives and raunchy caricatures that blended elements of classical republican theory with Juvenalesque satirical language, worked by manipulating misogynistic anxieties about "petticoat influence." Wilkes used the scandal to mobilize a political and constitutional campaign challenging royal power over ministerial appointments. His enemies, however, fought fire with fire, branding Wilkes a morally debauched pornographer. In response, Wilkesites celebrated their leader as a bluff, hypermasculine, hard-drinking libertine, the antithesis of his effeminate, court-corrupted, and sodomitical opponents. "Wilkes's masculinity," Clark notes, "was the basis of his political mobilization" (p. 36). Using scandal as a focus, and combining political, intellectual, and literary history with sharp gender analysis, Clark effectively helps us to rethink Wilkes and the nature of Hanoverian radicalism.

In this chapter and throughout the book, Clark successfully demonstrates how contemporaries used scandals to debate issues of political importance, and she convincingly questions many problematic interpretations of late Hanoverian political culture made fashionable by Linda Colley's *Britons* (1992). Still, some case studies could have been further developed. For all her astute comments on the meanings of scandalous representations, Clark does not always give us the extended close readings that some of this material demands. She might also have incorporated more insights from the history of the book and the history of reading to deepen her analysis of scandalous media, communication, and reception. Yet this is a rich and important work, a fine example of the new political history that is certain to stimulate thinking not only about Hanoverian scandal but also about the significance—and the some times progressive consequences—of political scandal in the modern world. Indeed, Clark concludes with some interesting comments on contemporary scandals, on the self-subversion of the

Starr Report, and on the power of the mendacious *The Real Anita Hill* (1993). Of *Diana: Her True Story* (1992), alas, Clark has nothing to say.

ALASTAIR BELLANY
Rutgers University

MARTIN J. WIENER. *Men of Blood: Violence, Manliness, and Criminal Justice in Victorian England*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 296. \$70.00.

In this important and engrossing study, Martin J. Wiener examines the effect of Victorian reconstructions of gender on the workings of criminal law. In particular, he argues that Victorian legal history records a steadily diminishing tolerance of male violence, particularly violence against women. He arrives at this conclusion through analysis of a database covering nearly every case of spousal murder brought to trial in the Victorian period, as reconstructed through both published accounts and private correspondence among government and legal officials (typically considering appeals). The upshot is a powerful revisionary account of both gender and the law, which pointedly quarrels with feminist studies that have tended to view changes in the treatment of male violence as merely cosmetic, or as defensive ruses for reaffirming male domination.

The displacement of the "man of honor" by the "man of dignity," in John Tosh's terms, is registered in the early nineteenth century even in treatments of male-male violence. In addition to the well-known regulations of "set combats"—most notoriously, dueling—Wiener points out the increasing constraint of violence exerted by men in authority. Surprisingly, the regulation of violence often trumped even racial prejudice; the abuse of black and Asian seamen was frequently and often successfully prosecuted, even in the wake of the Indian mutiny and subsequent hardening of popular attitudes toward subject peoples (p. 66).

But the reconstruction of gender was most palpable in attitudes toward male violence against women. For centuries rape was an act rarely prosecuted, and prosecutions even more rarely produced convictions; where redress took place, it typically took the form of financial reparations. Over the nineteenth century, however, as the offense was redefined as a crime against a person rather than against property, a host of changes facilitated prosecution. Some of these changes were narrowly legal, but most far-reaching was the transformation in attitudes toward women generally. The legal implications were equivocal: the increased importance attached to feminine purity could be turned against victims of questionable character, and all women in the courtroom were exposed to conflicting imperatives to speak out and to be demurely silent. But on balance, Wiener concludes, the evolving discourse of "character" worked against male domination: it not only reduced requirements for successful prosecution but also weakened class barriers by

strengthening claims among all women to protection from assault. As he summarizes the changes (with typical caution), the discourse of character tended to enhance women's moral authority against men, making their evidence count for somewhat more, and men's for somewhat less, than previously (p. 93).

Ironically, this shift in attitude could also extenuate women's violence. Wiener charts increasing relaxation in prosecutions of women who killed, whether their victims were infants or spouses. At the same time, however, attitudes hardened toward homicidal men, who were prosecuted in growing disproportion to homicidal women, and with increasingly greater rigor. Wiener thus deflates widespread scholarly claims that wife murder was taken less seriously than husband murder, although the increasing rarity with which the latter was prosecuted did enhance trial publicity. The broad shift parallels that of the history of rape: a crime rarely prosecuted in early modern England became a Victorian nightmare—the work of the melodramatic "man of blood." Again the causes were manifold: the stigmatizing of brutal husbands encouraged by the idealizing of home and domesticity could be enforced by the expanding reach of the state's constables and coroners. Again change was not without costs to the innocent, particularly working-class men and men of color, who were most often stigmatized by a discourse of male "savagery." Yet only through some form of "othering," Wiener argues, could critics dislodge the "normality" of wife murder.

The very singularity of wife-killing, Wiener concludes, impelled concerted efforts to fathom the minds of such killers, which was further impelled by growing resistance to capital punishment. Over and against Foucauldian appeals to "medicalization" or accounts of the law as an instrument of social control, Wiener stresses in the rise of criminal psychology the ongoing importance of the law as an arena for arguing "general and difficult questions of responsibility" with consequences that extended to every member of society (p. 29). These emphases may seem to some readers unduly idealized and Whiggish. But Wiener's history is richly nuanced, consistently attentive to conflicting evidence, recognizing both the obstructions of change—such as the persistence of class and sexual prejudice—and its costs. This book is argued with modesty and caution, but it is truly provocative history.

JAMES ELI ADAMS
Cornell University

SETH KOVEN. *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 399. \$29.95.

The reproduction on the cover of Seth Koven's excellent new book is from the Photographic Archive of Barnardo's Boys' Home. It shows a group of five homeless boys, dressed in torn rags and seated on a heap of dust and rubble. Although the original caption of the photograph was "The Raw Material as We Find

It," the image is manifestly not an unmediated record; the boys are artistically composed, grouped in a conventional pyramid arrangement and linked by a sequence of clasped hands. Four of the boys look out directly to the viewer, the fifth stares behind him at the only adult figure in the picture: a beadle from Barnardo's home who was later dismissed for drunkenness and gross immorality.

In all its rich complexity, this image is a powerful visual evocation of the web of conflicting desires, of the blend of eros and altruism that drove Victorian philanthropists into the slums of London. At the beginning of his fascinating and persuasive account, Koven defines slumming as the desire among bourgeois do-gooders for first-hand experience of the conditions of the poor. Whether carried out by individuals disguised as homeless outcasts, or organized by philanthropic movements and institutions, slumming was always a form of spatial practice that involved a symbolic descent from the wealthy districts of the metropolis to the sites of poverty and deprivation. So intense were the pleasures derived from these urban forays that, by the end of the nineteenth century, slumming had become a tourist phenomenon, with guidebooks such as Baedeker's directing visitors to the most notorious slum locations. Slums provided what Koven calls the Victorian "well-to-do" with a powerful fantasy space, rooted in material reality but where prevailing norms of class, gender, and sexuality could be played with and transgressed.

The great strength of Koven's argument is that while he analyzes the combination of sexual and moral drives at stake in slumming and draws out the "unacknowledged desires for all sorts of taboo intimacies between rich and poor, the clean and the dirty" (p. 6), he never reduces the motivations of slummers to a single driving force. The insight that Koven brings to class and gender histories in this period concerns the coexistence of religious and moral gratification, with intense psychosexual arousal. This is a subtle and nuanced study, in which careful attention is paid to the particular roles of individuals and organizations and to the power of visual and textual representation. Koven's methods demonstrate the best aspects of interdisciplinary study, in which a wide range of discursive forms are subjected to detailed analysis; the visual is never reduced to passive illustration, and texts are understood as disseminated forms with specific modes of address and affect.

The paradox of this book, however, is that despite its subtitle the city itself is curiously absent, little more than a generic backdrop to the experiences of the slummers. Is Koven arguing that slumming was a practice that was specific to the metropolis, that was produced in some way by the particular conditions of London? Or did other great British cities such as Leeds, Manchester, and Edinburgh create different forms of philanthropic slumming out of their different cultures and histories? In Koven's book London is a constant cultural referent but a geographical absence.

Topographical details concerning how the slummers traveled to their philanthropic destinations and the actual places and locations that were traversed would have rooted individual players in the social and psychological drama of slumming more strongly in the historical narrative of London itself. As philanthropic slummers left their homes and institutions and embarked on their descents into the dangerous and thrilling slums of the world's greatest metropolis, they were creating multiple geographical narratives. They were able to draw on at least half of a century of London fiction in order to fuel their imagined landscapes of the city and, in turn, these fantasies shaped their perception of place and their social experience of the slum dwellers who were the objects of their sexual desire and their philanthropic concern.

Koven's study is undoubtedly one of the most important new contributions to the study of the Victorian city, but the tenacious links between the city as an imaginary space and its material existence as historical place demand further investigation and analysis. It is, after all, a testimony to the provocative brilliance of this book that the reader is left not just with new answers to class and gender relations in Victorian London, but with new questions, also.

LYNDA NEAD
Birkbeck College,
University of London

JAMES P. FLINT. *Great Britain and the Holy See: The Diplomatic Relations Question, 1846-1852*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2003. Pp. xvii, 301. \$39.95.

James P. Flint's detailed analysis of the dysfunctions of British-papal diplomacy during the first Russell ministry (1846-1852) confirms that the careful study of failure often produces valuable historical insight. As Flint notes at the outset of his work, alone among the major states of Europe, "no accredited British diplomatic agent was stationed in Rome when Lord John Russell became Prime Minister in 1846. There was still no such agent when he left office in 1852" (p. ix). This was so despite the long-recognized potential advantages to the crown of such representation for influencing continental politics and, most critically in the mind of Russell, for managing burgeoning Irish difficulties, and despite what Flint terms the Whig ministry's "grand design" to exploit the accession of the supposedly liberally minded Pius IX to serve British ends.

The close narrative that Flint provides over six chapters of the convoluted and interwoven events of these years concentrates on explaining the frustration of that design by examining the progress of the government's diplomatic relations and ecclesiastical titles legislation; the fate of a series of diplomatic initiatives; and the response in Rome to an array of English overtures, Irish subterfuges, and Italian upheavals. The forces arrayed against the normalization of relations, we are reminded, were indeed considerable.

Within the government, there were disconnects between Russell and his foreign minister, Lord Palmerston, about the potential benefits of formal contact and the significance of Rome to British domestic and foreign interests. Agents chosen by Russell, such as the Lord Privy Seal Earl of Minto, the British consul in the Papal States John Freeborn, and the minister to Florence Richard Lalor Sheil, proved unable to win the confidence of a complex array of Roman interests. Self-appointed advocates for a closer connection, meanwhile, such as the would-be go betweens Francis Nicholson, the coadjutor Archbishop of Corfu, and Nicholas Wiseman, the Bishop of London, proved to be unreliable or incapable of exercising effective influence in both Rome and London. At the same time, the diplomatic influence of the Irish Catholic Church, united as it had not previously been under Cardinal Paul Cullen, the new Archbishop of Armagh and longtime rector of the Irish College in Rome, was decisive in convincing many around the pope that English diplomatic representation would cost the church too dearly in influence over the Irish people.

In the end, Flint suggests, the initiative failed because Rome was unwilling to see the effort succeed on terms the English, and particularly Palmerston, were willing to offer. Flint's use of a variety of Catholic Church sources, particularly the correspondence of the papal secretaries of state, most notably Giacomo Antonelli, contributes to the authority of these insights. Flint is inclined to downplay the significance of the dramatic public reaction in England to the "Papal Aggression" of 1850, on the grounds that by that point the opportunity for better relations had already passed. That moment had come with the accession of Pius IX and at the height of the crisis of authority in the Papal States of 1848. Palmerston's machinations, and addition of the Eglintoun amendment to the Diplomatic Relations Bill, led to a determination, on the part of the pope and others in Rome, that the Russell government offered too little assistance in maintaining the pope's rapidly eroding secular position, and too many humiliating conditions to make the resumption of formal diplomatic contact worthwhile.

Flint's work adds to our understanding of the complexities of British and Roman foreign policy at a crucial juncture in European history. The calculation and abrasiveness of Palmerstonian foreign policy, at least in its Roman dimension, is underscored. Papal diplomacy as revealed here was for its part dominated by Irish influence and was unimaginative if not cynical about the advantages of diplomatic relations with the world's most powerful country. The rich narrative and its remarkable notes are enhanced by the author's measured assessments of personalities and events. The study has limitations; it is almost entirely concerned with high politics in the narrowly diplomatic sense and has remarkably little to say about how the more apocalyptic aspects of the years examined (including Irish famines, Chartist riots, and the conflagrations of 1848 on the continent) influenced the developments it

examines in such detail. The attention to narrative detail, a real strength of the work, at times produces gaps in the analysis of events that can be frustrating. We are told, for example, that the Eglintoun amendment to the Diplomatic Relations Bill crippled Russell's initiative, but we are provided with very little analysis of how the government saw the amendment or why it failed to prevent its proposal or passage. Overall, however, the considerable research effort this book represents is well spent. Those interested in the 1848 revolutions, the evolution of European church-state relations and papal diplomacy, and the domestic and international preoccupations of Britain at mid-century will benefit from its insights and analysis.

PAUL A. TOWNEND
University of North Carolina,
Wilmington

JORDANNA BAILKIN. *The Culture of Property: The Crisis of Liberalism in Modern Britain*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 320. \$35.00.

Jordanna Bailkin investigates the nature of art as property and aims to provide "a new frame of reference for understanding the ethics and politics of cultural property," "to illuminate the crisis of Liberal ideals and practices" (p. 1) in pre-World War I Britain, and to study how all this related to various axes of identity, especially nationality and gender. Bailkin's argument is based on several important premises: that a crisis of the notion and ownership of property was central to a general crisis of liberalism; that cultural property was as significant in this crisis as landed and other forms of property; and that the nineteenth-century public gallery embodied a liberal project.

These assumptions remain largely untested, and to this reviewer unconvincing, in the brief introduction and prelude that precede four case studies. The first two chapters involve questions of national identity in Ireland and Scotland as reflected in contemporary discussions of cultural property. In both cases, the lack of adequate contextualization of litigation and press discussion, and of sustained analysis of cultural nationalism and national character in art, limit the reader's ability to assess how significant the Celtic nationalist reading of the cases was. Chapter one concerns the repatriation from the British Museum to Dublin of a hoard of ancient Celtic gold ornaments discovered on an Ulster farm in 1896. Chapter two reviews the campaign to extend Scottish control over the National Gallery of Scotland and the National Galleries of Scotland Bill (1901–1906). Bailkin discusses the first case in terms of Irish and British cultural and political nationalism, the status of the British Museum as a national or imperial institution, and the medieval law of treasure trove as crown property. The case hinged on that legal framework rather than—as Bailkin has us think for much of the chapter—the "Irishness" of cultural property, the politics of Irish self-determination, and its (perceived) connection to the contempo-

aneous Irish land war settlement. Similarly, Bailkin discusses the Scottish case in terms of a perceived struggle between Home Rulers and Unionists over the relationships among state, nation, and culture, the connection between the National Gallery and other Liberal causes, especially land reform, and the “extent to which traditional Liberal narratives of progress and development would have to be reformulated at the National Gallery of Scotland” (p. 25). Yet, while offering interesting glimpses of the complicated nature of Scottish cultural politics, when the Scottish National Gallery was put under a slightly more devolved local administration within a Unionist framework, the case had not obviously revolved primarily around Scottish nationalism.

The question of Irish and Scottish national character in art and “aesthetic home rule” could have been analyzed more carefully. With little sustained discussion of artistic nationalism in relation to the European scope of the Scottish national collection and the role of a distinctly Scottish school of art, it is hard to judge whether the gallery had “come to symbolize the failure of Liberalism to represent national cultures within Britain and thus embodied the institutional limits of Britishness instead of its potential for expansion” (p. 115). Finally, when Bailkin declares the gold hoard case “in certain respects, another Liberal failure in Ireland” (p. 72), it is not clear whether we needed the crisis of liberalism to explain the case, or vice versa. Neither is the connection between gallery reform and Highland land reform obvious when the radical MP for Sutherland denounced gallery reform as a distraction by a government not doing enough for the crofters; he appears to have been contrasting the two issues as much as linking them (p. 109).

Chapter three is a revised version of Bailkin’s earlier excellent article in *Gender and History* (1999) on the threatened export of the Duke of Norfolk’s Holbein, *Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan*, on long-term loan to the National Gallery in London. Here is a missed opportunity for a systematic study of British art exports. If there was anti-American as well as specifically Liberal concern with the “loss” of art works to protectionist America, what were its scale and its impact on British art and museums, and on perceptions of national cultural property and heritage (neither artist nor subject in this case were British)? Bailkin acknowledges but does not adopt the methodological rigor of Peter Mandler’s excellent study (*Historical Journal* [2001]) on the taxation of works of art over the long nineteenth century and government impetus to protect “national heritage” in art from export. Yet both this and the fourth chapter—on the London Museum, which valued domestic objects and thus women’s contribution—are more convincing than the first couplet of case studies. Bailkin illuminates the gender politics of the nineteenth-century museum, related anxieties over women’s status in public life, and the ways in which women’s relationship to museums and art within museums troubled Liberal conceptions

of property and citizenship as well as culture in the period framed by the 1882 Married Women’s Property Act and feminist attacks on works of art in 1912–1914. The last chapter offers particularly perceptive discussion of the cultural politics of the Horniman Museum, ceded by the Liberal Frederick J. Horniman to the London City Council, the Corporation of London’s Guildhall Art Gallery, and the Musée Carnavalet, which functioned as a rather ambiguous (because revolutionary) model for the London Museum. Here as elsewhere, good use is made of satirical cartoons.

This lucidly written and handsomely produced volume offers valuable insights in how museums at certain moments crystallize wider debates about the relationships among politics, culture, and gender. Though not delivering the promised “prehistory of cultural property” (p. 7), Bailkin has opened up many lines of inquiry in the historical context of museological practice and debate and the wider politics of culture of late Victorian and Edwardian Britain.

HOLGER HOOK
Selwyn College,
University of Cambridge

ALEX OWEN. *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 355. \$30.00.

Since at least the late eighteenth century, Western European intellectuals tended to define modernity as “disenchanted”; Max Weber famously encapsulated this discourse when he discussed the “disenchantment of the world” in a 1917 lecture. Weber and many others feared that the increasing rationalization and secularization of the world stripped it of the spiritual values and animistic interconnections it had enjoyed in previous centuries. In recent years, however, the discourse has been challenged by scholars in many disciplines, including political scientists (Jane Bennett, *The Enchantment of Modern Life: Attachments, Crossings, and Ethics* [2001]), literary critics (Simon During, *Modern Enchantments: The Cultural Power of Secular Magic* [2002]), and historians (Corinna Treitel, *A Science for the Soul: Occultism and the Genesis of the German Modern* [2004]). Alex Owen intends to contribute to this emerging paradigm shift in her elegantly written book. Owen argues that the “new” occultism” in Britain between 1880 and 1914 sheds a new light on our understanding of “modernity,” replacing the traditional definition of it as the teleological triumph of rationality and secularism with a more nuanced and “ambiguous” definition that incorporates spiritual outlooks and psychological complexities. Scholars have tended to view the fin-de-siècle vogue for the occult as an irrational reaction against the dominant currents of modernity—part of the “revolt against positivism,” in H. Stuart Hughes’s well-known phrase. Owen, however, maintains that British occult groups were committed to the modern valorization of reason, although they contested the idea of a purely secular rationality.

They also 'exemplified the modernist preoccupation with human subjectivity, although they tended to believe in a unified self underlying the fragmentary human consciousness adumbrated by their more secular and positivist-oriented peers.

It is in regard to the latter claim that Owen's work is most persuasive. She ably demonstrates the links between the new occult's explorations of human subjectivity and the modernist repudiation of the unified, rational self extolled by the Enlightenment. The occultist groups she examines maintained that human subjectivity was both complex and contingent, challenging earlier views that envisioned the self as a bounded whole, delimited by gender and organized according to a hierarchy privileging the rational over the irrational. Contemporary psychologists, philosophers, and physicians were making similar claims at the time but tended to do so in secular terms. The new occultists, however, distinguished their understanding of the self by defining it in both rational and metaphysical terms: underlying the apparent fragmentation of the human psyche was a transcendent unity revealed through hermetic knowledge and esoteric practices. Owen stresses that the new occultists upheld the existence of both a spiritualized interiority and a "rationalized self-consciousness . . . interpreted according to the conventions of modern science" (p. 114). This attempt at reconciling reason and spirituality highlights the "ambiguities of the modern" (p. 213).

While Owen skillfully demonstrates that the new occult did share in the modernist concern with psychologism, she is less persuasive in her claim that the occultists were genuinely committed to a modern conception of reason. She notes that they, along with many fin-de-siècle intellectuals, sought a more capacious definition of reason that could incorporate the irrational. But she also tries to make the case that they valued scientific reason, albeit with severe reservations: "The 'new' occultism . . . co-opted the language of science and staked a strong claim to rationality, while at the same time undermining scientific naturalism as a world-view and rejecting the rationalist assumptions upon which it depended" (p. 13). It is not clear what Owen, or her subjects, mean by "reason," since elsewhere she makes it clear that the occultists did not adhere to the modern scientific outlook, a key tenet of any definition of Western modernity: "the reappraisal of the role of the intellect and understanding of the term *knowledge* that occult practice implied did not accord with the [perceptions] of the 'scientific' disciplines" (p. 142). Occultists did give occasional lip-service to science and followed "rational" (or at least orderly) procedures during their magic rituals, but they also rejected the scientific method when making their claims for the nature of reality. In this respect, contemporaries like Holbrook Jackson were surely correct to see them as more antimodern than modern.

Owen's study is a cultural rather than a social history, and she admits it is "specific rather than

exhaustive" (p. 15). However, one would have liked her to have gone further in placing her story within a larger intellectual or social history of modern Britain. We never get a sense of how widespread the occult movement was: she claims that the most important society, the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, had "hundreds" of members (p. 46), but such limited numbers do not inspire confidence as to its significance. (Indeed, despite its title her book is not about Britain, as nearly all of her illustrations deal with a handful of central players in London.) It would have helped her arguments concerning the intellectual import of the new occult if she had discussed how its metaphysical philosophy fit into fin-de-siècle controversies in Britain between the reigning empiricist tradition and the emergent idealist movement associated with T. H. Green, Bernard Bosanquet, and others. Finally, although she depicts the occult movement in a positive light, there was a broader range of reactions to it by contemporaries that would have helped place it in context. Owen claims that ridicule by scientists of occult practices diminished at the turn of the century, as science itself moved away from its mid-century mechanistic orientation to explore invisible physical forces and counter-intuitive physical laws. Fair enough, but the sexual scandals and exposes of fraud that plagued occult societies in the 1880s and 1890s also turned occultism into a paper tiger unworthy of further attention by many professional scientists. These queries should be taken as a testament to the fascinating subject Owen has chosen, and the intriguing questions she raises about modern British occultism and the ambiguous aspects of Western modernity.

MICHAEL SALER
University of California,
Davis

THEODORE M. PORTER. *Karl Pearson: The Scientific Life in a Statistical Age*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 342. \$35.00.

To most historians, Karl Pearson is known primarily as the author of *The Grammar of Science* (1892) and of a voluminous biography of Francis Galton, as a pioneer of statistical analysis, and as one of the founders of eugenics. Despite its subtitle, Theodore M. Porter's intellectual biography pays much less attention to these achievements than to tracing the curious late Victorian byways that eventually led Pearson to advocate social reformation on the basis of statistical analysis. Consequently, scholars of late Victorian literature and culture will find this important volume every bit as interesting as historians of mathematics and science.

Born in early 1857, Pearson spent the first three and a half decades of his life moving through intellectual and emotional experiences that one might have expected to mark the career of an early nineteenth-century romantic. Indeed, Porter points repeatedly to the manner in which German thought from the *Sturm*

und Drang era onward influenced Pearson's early self-understanding. The young Pearson was a late Victorian who, like the earlier generation of the 1840s, found personal, spiritual guidance in the writings of Thomas Carlyle, most particularly *Sartor Resartus*. Although he studied mathematics at Cambridge University and would later hold various academic positions in mathematics, Pearson was deeply concerned with coming to an ethical understanding of life. To that end he became what Porter terms an "Apostle of Renunciation." During these years of his life, Pearson wrote his own version of a new novel about Werther and a passion play about the life of Christ as well as exploring medieval German history.

Most readers will discover the most penetrating part of Porter's volume in the chapter on "Intellectual Love and the Woman Question." In 1885, Pearson founded a "Men and Women's Club" that was eventually attended by numerous young London radical literary and socialist figures. The group gathered to discuss the state of social and sexual relationships between men and women. Throughout his twenties and early thirties, Pearson, while simultaneously embracing renunciation and mathematics, had repressed his sexuality while having ongoing conversations about the subject with women who were deeply attracted to him. When he finally did propose marriage, his intended went into a state of mental collapse. Porter quotes copiously from the correspondence between Pearson and others, most particularly his future wife, who participated in the club. These letters are among the most remarkable cultural documents to appear in any recent Victorian biography, and they reveal in painful and sometimes amusing detail the sexual confusions and curiosities of the young of that generation. This chapter deserves to be read in conjunction with Peter Gay's volumes on Victorian sexuality and Sally Peter's *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman* (1998).

These experiences of the passions through German and other romantic literature, his enthusiastic belief in the necessity of empathy with the past, and his fascination with socialism and sexuality eventually led Pearson to devote his gift for mathematical rationality to the study of statistics and heredity. His fascination with culture as a whole, his study of the Middle Ages, and his devotion to reformist socialism had led him to see collective entities rather than individuals as the force that changed history and society. The key connection was his belief that statistical analysis of collective entities represented the renunciation of emotion in things scientific as parallel to the ethical renunciation of sexual passions. Porter contends that these various, deeply personal urges to renunciation led Pearson to become one of the pioneers in forging the early twentieth-century image of the scientist and social scientist "who regarded legitimate thought as equivalent to strict, impersonal quantification" (p. 298).

Porter toward the end of his book confesses to a broader goal for his remarkable study, writing "My

deeper ambition . . . is to raise a larger question: What has become of the liberal ideal of personal development in an age of professionalized science and scholarship?" (p. 307). This statement reveals why Porter has so wisely and interestingly devoted most of his attention to Pearson's early development and has resisted the temptation to explore in depth his statistical thinking and the character of the already much examined eugenics movement itself. Rather Porter has presented the manner in which Pearson's own ambition as a young man to cultivate a whole personality and a mode of radical individualism even when championing collective socialist and feminist reform would eventually culminate in the drive to rational statistical analysis in all things. Porter, like David Hume, contends that rationality is rooted in the passions.

FRANK M. TURNER
Yale University

C. T. MCINTIRE. *Herbert Butterfield: Historian as Dissenter*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xxv, 499. \$45.00.

While most of today's history graduate students would recognize Herbert Butterfield as the author of *The Whig Interpretation of History* (1931), few would have read it, and likely none could name the title of any other work by the same man. C.T. McIntire sets out to establish that Butterfield's influence extends far beyond his famous warning against "presentmindedness." In the process, he provides the first full-bodied evaluation of Butterfield and his work based on unrestricted access to his private papers. The author warns at the outset that this is an "intellectual biography," conspicuously disregarding his subject's personal life except as it affected the trajectory of Butterfield's work. True to his word, McIntire devotes only two paragraphs to the 1954 suicide of Butterfield's son.

Early exposure to Harold Temperley led to Butterfield's first academic publication on the minutiae of Napoleonic diplomacy. This research experience ensured that Butterfield would henceforth champion "technical" or "scientific history" as the benchmark for investigations of the past. Here was a technique he maintained was free of religious, ethnic, and ideological partisanship. The great irony was that, from 1929 until his retirement in 1968, Butterfield never authored another book that fit his description of scientific history. He spent the last fifty years of his life assuring colleagues that he was working on the definitive life of Charles James Fox, a volume that never quite materialized. Butterfield's sense of guilt at this professional lapse is a recurrent theme of McIntire's study.

Butterfield's infatuation with the legacy of Lord Acton quickly lured this rising Peterhouse star away from "technical history" toward a consideration of the broader questions of historical thought. McIntire demonstrates convincingly how, in one way or another, all of Butterfield's major works arose from this preoccupation, beginning with *The Whig Interpretation of His-*

tory, continuing on through *The Origins of Modern Science* (1949) and *Man on His Past* (1955), to his inaugural address as Regius Professor, *The Present State of Historical Scholarship* (1965).

The most profound and enduring influence on Butterfield was his status as an outsider. His idiosyncratic Methodism reinforced his sense of himself as a clever, lower-middle-class grammar school boy with a funny Yorkshire accent immersed in an academic environment filled with Anglican gentlemen bred at exclusive public schools. The result was a reactive compulsion to adopt the role of iconoclastic dissenter, to assault every orthodoxy, a pose that did not always serve Butterfield well, for it contained elements of the puerile. As J. H. Plumb noted, "deep down he loved to shock" (p. 86).

McIntire sees his subject as a shy and humble man, but Butterfield's insistence on provocative dissent in tandem with his belief that he, and he alone, could provide reconciliation and a higher unity between opposite views, comes off far more often as moral and intellectual vanity. Butterfield gloried a bit too much in his role as public intellectual, dispensing ex cathedra pronouncements that identified "his own views as the wave of the future in historical study" (p. 151). His knee-jerk contrarianism led to some spectacular embarrassments. In the 1930s, hoisting the banner of benevolent reconciler, Butterfield publicly praised Marxist historical method, although it is never clear from McIntire's account that this devout Christian understood the materialist core of Marxist assumptions. Butterfield's war record is most unseemly of all, a fact his biographer makes no effort to hide. During the era of appeasement Butterfield vigorously criticized any moral judgments directed at Nazi Germany, wishing instead "that the enemies of the Fascists could be more gentle" (p. 105). He never lived down his foolish decision to undertake a lecture tour of Germany after the 1938 Munich Conference. The questions he asked seemed to assign blame to Britain for the conflict: "What did we do wrong? What could we have done to prevent the Germans from feeling that they must turn to Hitler?" (p. 112). Butterfield's sole contribution to the war effort was the publication of the mildly patriotic *The Englishman and His History* (1944), which he later dismissed as "comic" (p. 117).

Butterfield admitted proudly that he almost never voted. Political quietism supposedly flowed from Butterfield's principled insistence upon the segregation of history from moral and political questions, the core of his argument in *The Whig Interpretation of History*. But this principle was honored as much in the breach as in the observance. In the 1950s and 1960s, Butterfield vocally denounced U.S. foreign policy, while demanding detente with Soviet Russia and unilateral disarmament by the West. He denied any inconsistency, announcing "I am as an historian against all governments" (p. 170). To the modern observer his calculated dissent at times more nearly resembles moral exhibitionism than noble openmindedness.

McIntire claims enormous originality and influence for Butterfield's writings on science, religion, and historiography. The book would have benefited from a little less assertion on this score and a little more demonstration. For example, missing is a thorough dissection of the alleged congruencies between Butterfield on the origins of modern science and Thomas S. Kuhn's *The Structures of Scientific Revolutions* (1962). The author labors mightily to give the impression of Butterfield's ideas evolving over the course of his life as an historian, often magnifying a distinction into a difference. The recurrence of a few core reflections in different guises seems nearer the mark. Thus the book suffers from the defect of its subject's career, both overlong and riddled with repetition. The reader wades through explanation after explanation of the same concept as McIntire analyzes a succession of publications in chronological order. Along the way, we read far too few of Butterfield's own words.

McIntire's treatment bears comparison with the newly published study of Butterfield by Keith Sewell, a book scheduled to appear just as this reviewer was laying down his pen.

VICTOR H. FESKE

Louisiana School for Math, Science, and the Arts

RICARDO PADRÓN. *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 287. \$35.00.

If there is one field in which the old analytic paradigm has been radically replaced by a new one it is the history of cartography and mapmaking. Until a few years ago, the configuration of space was studied simply as another example of the process of "scientific modernization" that the West—or at least some parts of it—experienced after the Renaissance. Maps were studied as a part of the history of European expansion and colonialism; they were not viewed as instruments of "domination" but as objective and complex descriptions of a geographic reality that Europeans first discovered and then dominated in a variety of ways. This old paradigm has now been completely replaced by a new one that sees maps and mapmaking as politically and ideologically determined instruments of Western imperialism and power. John Brian Harley, the late historian of cartography, was the most influential scholar in this transformation. He fiercely criticized the notion that maps simply reflected reality and argued that "cartography is primarily a form of political discourse concerned with the acquisition and maintenance of power."

Although not everybody agrees with Harley's methodological premises, his work has helped initiate what many scholars call a "cartographic turn," as a result of which practitioners of various disciplines study maps and mapmaking as a way to comprehend European imperial ideology and territorial expansion. Early modern European rulers, we are now told, appeared to have viewed maps as important instruments of con-

quest and domination, as important as their still nascent professional armies. Mapmaking was highly praised as a "scientific" form of knowledge and therefore well placed to help legitimate possession of non-European territories and peoples.

The cartographic turn came late to the study of the Spanish Empire, for reasons that seem to lie in the character and quantity of sixteenth-century Spanish documents. First, as demonstrated by many historians, Habsburg Spain—the hegemonic European power until the 1640s—mainly relied upon mapmakers from Portugal, Italy, and Holland. Second, and more importantly, Spain produced fewer maps describing and recording its American conquests than any other European powers. Thus, the role of maps and mapmaking in the Spanish monarchy appears to challenge the hypothesis that the mapping of the Americas is key evidence for theories linking maps and European imperial domination. Recently, however, a new cohort of scholars following Harley's footsteps has initiated a comprehensive analysis of maps and mapmaking in the Hispanic world and is beginning to shed new light on the role of maps in the conquest of Hispanic America.

Ricardo Padrón believes that to understand sixteenth-century Hispanic representations of space, and what they can tell us about the construction of empire, we must not limit our analyses to cartographic sources (printed maps and maps kept in manuscript form) but also include discursive sources (treatises, letters, and chronicles). This methodological decision is reflected in his book, in that chapters one and two are dedicated to maps and mapmaking and the rest (three through five) to the representation of space in "discursive" literature. It is difficult to summarize a book as rich in literary and textual analysis as Padrón's, but it is worth underlining some of his main conclusions. His theoretical point of departure is that European representations of space were not monolithic, wholly established and defined from the beginning of territorial expansion. As he writes, "[i]t is not just the process of [the] invention [of America] that cannot be understood in monolithic terms: it is also the 'European consciousness' doing the inventing. Europe, we cannot forget, was in the process of transforming itself at the same time that it began to transform the rest of the world" (p. 29). In contrast to those who believe that all European polities followed the same stages and patterns in representing space, Padrón demonstrates (in chapter two) that such was not the case, at least during the sixteenth century. For example, although some sixteenth-century European rulers began to promote the use of gridded maps, which allowed for the emergence of an abstract concept of space, Spaniards—although interested in Ptolemaic cartography—continued to rely almost exclusively on the itinerary map dominant during the Middle Ages.

Padrón charts how various authors who wrote about the Americas conceived and represented space until 1580. He studies all references to space in Hernán Cortés's letters to Emperor Charles describing the

conquest of Mexico (chapter three); the works on the Americas written by Francisco López de Gomara, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, and Bartolomé de las Casas (chapter four); and *The Araucana*, an important and influential Spanish epic poem written by Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (chapter five). His conclusions are both interesting and paradoxical. Three of the more "pro-imperialist" authors (Cortés, Gomara, and Oviedo) tended to describe space linearly, following the itinerary-map model. In contrast, Las Casas—"Spain's greatest critic of empire" in Padrón's words—was more geometric and abstract in his descriptions of space, and in Ercilla "the new cartographic sensibility developed into a visionary experience that appears to celebrate empire only to draw upon the dynamic linearity typical of Cortés to bring its pretensions of mastery into question" (p. 235).

This book is an intelligent and sophisticated unraveling of contemporary cartographic literature, despite the fact that Padrón tends to be a long-winded writer. Through his close reading of maps and other iconographic literature, Padrón demonstrates that a variety of perceptions of space existed among European polities as well as among various authors within a single empire. The main shortcomings of the book relate to its vague and general analysis of "power and empire," concepts that have now become an integral part of all studies in cartographic history. Padrón employs abstract notions of power that fail to reflect how early modern Spaniards viewed and exercised it. Furthermore, the link between "maps" and "power" is vague, and in general it is unclear in what sense maps helped the Spanish monarchy to enhance its power over the Americas or to legitimate its control over the new world against other European polities. Equally important, the reader will not find specific references to the meaning of "empire" or of what it meant to sixteenth-century Spaniards. Nor does Padrón explain whether Spanish rulers had a clear imperial agenda that required the creation of new tools of domination, or whether the Spanish ideological views on empire were similar or different to those held by other Europeans and how these ideological differences affected the representation of space. It is important to connect the literary production to the larger contexts of imperial and territorial expansion during the early modern period, but to do so requires an understanding of the complexity not only of texts but also of contexts. Sixteenth-century maps, epic poems, chronicles of the New World, and other texts are not only illustrations of power relations; they can also help us uncover the complex motivations and ideologies that drove authors and rulers to endorse or oppose territorial expansion.

ANTONIO FEROS

University of Pennsylvania

JOSÉ ANDRÉS-GALLEGU. *El Motín de Esquilache, América y Europa*. (Biblioteca de Historia, number 53.) Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. 2003. Pp. 799.

This lengthy (744 pages of packed text plus 2,550 footnotes) but highly readable and authoritative study could be the definitive work on an important incident in the history of Spain under Bourbon reformer Charles III (1759–1788). Authoritative Spanish academics like Vicente Rodríguez Casado and Carlos Corona and the distinguished French historian Pierre Vilar have all studied the three-day popular riot or *motín* against the policies of Charles's Italian (Neapolitan) Minister of Finance and War, Leopoldo di Gregorio, better known as the Marquis of Esquilache. They have disputed the extent to which the *Motín de Esquilache* was the result of economic problems, especially inflationary pressures linked both to erratic weather patterns and to Esquilache's decree of free trade in grain. The new policy and the weather had raised prices beyond the reach of commoners and many others, producing shortages of wheat and bread in many towns and villages. Other scholars have argued that the riot was the product of a well-planned conspiracy of antiliberal aristocrats alienated by the bourgeois-friendly policies of the reformist Esquilache and represented a challenge to the traditional prerogatives of the clergy and nobility. As José Andrés-Gallegos shows, the reality was a little bit of both.

The *Motín de Esquilache* has elicited debate and academic attention not only because popular riots generally fascinate historians and sociologists, exposing important dynamics in the processes of state-building and collective action and even at times revealing the course of international geopolitics. This particular riot, which occurred during Holy Week in 1766, was particularly significant to contemporaries and later generations of scholars because it was linked to an event with major historical consequences: the expulsion of the Jesuits from the domains of the Spanish monarchy in 1767, followed by the confiscation of all of their valuable properties. Observers at the time alleged that the Jesuits had instigated the riot, in which large crowds raided military garrisons and seized weapons; vandalized the homes of Esquilache, the controversial Italian architect and urban designer Francesco Sabatini, and a high-ranking government officer in the Council of Castile; and destroyed valuable public works. To the cry of "long live the king and death to Esquilache and bad government," the masses stoned and destroyed thousands of expensive crystal lamps newly installed along Madrid's central streets. They forced people in nearby areas, among them merchants whose goods were allowed into the city tax free, to enter Madrid. The mob released prisoners from the local women's jail and confronted the city's royal troops, in the process causing and suffering several casualties. The corpses of some royal guards were dragged through the streets and burned. The tearful king swore that Esquilache would be expelled, promised to appoint only Spaniards to all future ministerial posts, and granted a general amnesty. Unknown to the crowd, the king was so alarmed that he and his entire entourage fled the royal palace.

Belatedly realizing he had departed, the riot's leaders sent envoys and sabotaged food and water supplies to coerce him, his family, and associates to return to Madrid from their place of escape, the nearby town of Aranjuez. They impeded the departure of anyone else from Madrid, detaining coaches headed to Aranjuez or suspected of transporting the royal servants. Esquilache resigned from the government and rushed back to his native Italy, joined by several other Italian families who resided in Madrid.

Since his appointment in the early 1760s, Esquilache, a liberal-minded aristocrat, had promoted a number of urban, fiscal, and sanitary reforms. In early 1765, he enforced a longstanding prohibition against the wearing of long capes and a type of round hat known as the *sombrero gacho* or *chambergó*. According to the decree, these capes and hats violated standards of decency and sanitation and defied the three-point hat (*sombrero de tres picos*), a key symbol of status. Esquilache also supported other bureaucrats who challenged the Catholic Church's control over real estate and imposed long-overdue taxes on church-owned property. He went on to restrict the further acquisition of property by the church and its officials.

Andrés-Gallego describes these and other events in solid prose based on information gathered in numerous libraries and dozens of secular and ecclesiastical archives in Spain, Italy, France, and Latin America. Consulted by the author over the course of two decades, these archives afford exciting new evidence that, contrary to previous interpretations, the riot was neither merely an economic (bread and tax) riot nor a preordained and reactionary clerical and aristocratic plot but instead combined features of both. The book also provides a comprehensive assessment of related riots all over Spain as well as in Spanish America. A tour de force, this entertaining work should set to rest one-dimensional interpretations. It should be obligatory reading for anyone interested in the Spanish Bourbon reforms, church history, popular rebellions, and what could be seen more generally as the early antecedents of the Age of Revolution.

VICTOR M. URIBE-URAN

Florida International University

STANLEY G. PAYNE. *The Spanish Civil War, the Soviet Union, and Communism*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 400. \$35.00.

Shortly after it broke out in July 1936, the Spanish Civil War developed into something more than just a domestic affair. The intervention of Italy, Portugal, Germany, and the Soviet Union inevitably widened the significance of a struggle that aroused intense passions, not just among politicians and diplomats but also among actors, artists, poets, and writers as well as ordinary men and women across Europe and the Americas. After being locked in a brutal and devastating war for nearly three years, Spain succumbed to a right-wing military dictatorship, a tragic outcome that

would haunt the country long after the fighting had ended.

Efforts over the years to interpret what happened in Spain during the most tumultuous period of its recent past have produced an immense and highly contentious historiography. In Francisco Franco's era (1939–1975), for example, the war was portrayed as a modern-day crusade that pitted the forces of Christianity and Western civilization against those of the godless communists or *rojos*. The political right was not alone in viewing the struggle in Manichean terms. Many of the supporters of Republican Spain have long insisted on seeing the war as the last great attempt to halt fascism before it was too late. It was, in this sense, regarded as a prologue to World War II. The dichotomous nature of Civil War historiography was reinforced by the polarized political climate of the Cold War (1948–1989), and, with few exceptions, it continues to define the terms of the scholarly debates and discussions about the subject.

The latest contribution to Civil War literature is by Stanley G. Payne, a scholar who has long studied the military, ideological, and political history of modern Spain. The generally neutral tone of his contributions in these areas—largely a product of the influence the social science model of “objectivity” has had on his historical approach—has meant that no serious scholar can legitimately accuse him of being an apologist for either the Nationalists or Republicans. Yet his well-known antipathies toward the Spanish left in general and toward the communists in particular will no doubt cause some to classify this book as another contribution to the partisan literature on the subject. This would be a pity, as Payne's latest work is neither ideological nor polemical. Rather, it is a judicious and diligently researched study that has important and new things to say about a well-worn dimension of the conflict.

The most provocative thesis advanced by Payne is his argument that the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) and the Soviet communists did not, as so often is assumed in Civil War historiography, play a counterrevolutionary role in Republican Spain. This is because Payne insists that most historians have either consistently overlooked or misread the communists' own strategy for pursuing revolutionary goals in the era of the Popular Front. The author points out, for example, that it was the particular circumstances of the mid-1930s that impelled the communists to jettison their highly unsuccessful, head-on confrontational tactics of the so-called “Third period.”

The outbreak of civil war in Spain in July 1936 was neither anticipated nor welcomed by the communists. Yet, according to Payne, it provided them with a rare opportunity to put their Popular Front strategy to the test. In the aftermath of the military rebellion and the massive anticapitalist popular revolution that swept through much of Republican Spain, the communists were convinced that the conditions existed for the emergence of a so-called “democratic republic of a

new type.” What this meant in the Spanish context was not fully understood by critics on the left or the right. For the right, it was simply a Trojan horse tactic meant to conceal the real intention of establishing a communist dictatorship behind the façade of a “liberal-democratic” government. The anarchists and other anti-Stalinist revolutionaries also got it wrong when they accused the communists of being “counterrevolutionary” in their alleged attempts to resuscitate the largely moribund “bourgeois” Republic. What the communists really aimed to do, according to Payne, was to construct a sort of hybrid “Popular Front” regime, one that was nominally pluralistic and devoid of its principal capitalist underpinnings. The resulting “Third Spanish Republic” they envisaged was to be used to lay the groundwork for the establishment of a Leninist/Stalinist type of political and economic system. The parallel between this type of “transitional” revolutionary government and the “People's democracies” that emerged in Eastern and Central Europe following World War II is no mere coincidence. Indeed, as they looked back on the Civil War some years later, communists like *La Pasionaria* and Georgy Dimitrov characterized the communist-dominated Spanish Republic as the first example of a people's democracy (p. 303). However, Payne avoids the pitfall of reading the present into the past by pointing out that the historical circumstances that gave rise to the “Sovietized” Spanish Republic were very different from those that allowed for the formation of “democratic” communist regimes in a prostrate postwar Europe. Even so, Payne tells us that the communists learned a great deal from their experiences in Spain, and that there can be no doubt that the republic they sought to transform according to the Popular Front formula furnished them with a prototype for the “revolutionary” people's democracies they established on a much wider scale less than ten years after the Spanish Civil War had ended.

Payne's reading of the communists' role during the Civil War is both bold and compelling. Yet, in making his case for interpreting their strategy as “revolutionary,” the author does not fully account for the fact that, in context, communist policies and practices could legitimately be interpreted as counterrevolutionary. During the 1930s, for example, the term “revolution” was defined in different ways by different political groupings. Because the anti-Stalinist left strongly believed that the inherent dogmatism and autocratic nature of the Moscow-dominated communist movement rendered it incapable of leading a genuine working-class revolution, it is hardly surprising that they would regard the “revolutionary” language embedded in Popular Front propaganda as being little more than ideological window dressing. Their judgment in this regard was reinforced time and again during the Civil War by the antirevolutionary behavior of the communists themselves. Besides pursuing a political agenda that sought to divest ultra-leftists of the power and influence they wielded in the military

and in the numerous collectives scattered throughout the republican zone, the communists did not shrink from using violent and repressive measures to stifle the revolutionary forces that opposed them. Thus it was not just their political naïveté that caused the anarcho-syndicalists and anti-Stalinist Marxists to characterize communist policy during the Civil War as counterrevolutionary. What they failed to see, at least as far as Payne is concerned, was that the communists were opposing a “bottom up” popular revolution over which they had no real control in order to promote their own “top-down” (read Stalinist) revolutionary agenda.

While Payne’s study does not fully resolve the historiographical issue of whether the communists played an antirevolutionary role during the Civil War, we have him to thank for drawing our attention to the fact that the question is far more complicated than most histories have allowed. No less noteworthy is the fact that Payne’s book provides the first comprehensive historical analysis of communism in Spain to be based on the recent discovery of archival and other hitherto inaccessible documents relating to the Comintern and the Soviet Union. The conclusions Payne draws from his careful collation of these with older, more established sources on the history of Spanish communism forcefully challenges revisionist studies (which began appearing in the declining years of the Cold War) that have portrayed the communists as progressive forces who ought to be remembered as heroes of the twentieth century’s most memorable contest between democracy and fascism. Rather than reinvigorate old political myths and clichés about the war, Payne’s book goes a long way toward debunking them. As such, this is a book on Spain’s Civil War that should not be ignored.

GEORGE ESENWEIN
University of Florida

CRISTINA PALOMARES. *The Quest for Survival after Franco: Moderate Francoism and the Slow Journey to the Polls, 1964–1977*. (Sussex Studies in Spanish History.) Portland, Oreg.: Sussex Academic Press. 2004. Pp. x, 271. \$69.50.

This book is about the role of reformist Francoists in Spain’s remarkably peaceful transition from authoritarianism to democracy. Cristina Palomares’s main point is that the reformist Francoists were a critical bridge between the most conservative members of the Franco regime and leaders of the democratic opposition. Palomares begins with a brief review of the historical divisions among Francoists. She then turns to explaining the emergence and impact of two long-awaited but disappointing Francoist laws: the 1964 General Law of Associations, and the 1967 Organic Law of the State. Next Palomares focuses on the role played by two key reformists between 1969 and 1973: Manuel Fraga, minister of information and tourism from 1962 to 1969, and King Juan Carlos, who was appointed as Francisco Franco’s successor in 1969. She then reviews the critical events occurring between 1973

and 1976, focusing on two major reformist political groups: the Gabinete de Orientación y Documentación (GODSA), led by Fraga, and Tacito, led by a group of young reformists of Christian Democratic background. Palomares concludes with an examination of the pivotal period between Franco’s death in November 1975 and the first democratic elections in 1977, paying particular attention to Fraga’s performance as interior minister. She also provides a short epilogue covering the period from the first democratic elections to the 1996 general election and the success of the conservative Partido Popular.

Palomares provides a thorough, if not particularly groundbreaking, account of the evolution and impact of reformism within Francoism. However, her assertion that reformist Francoism is a “hitherto neglected” topic in the literature on the Spanish transition is somewhat misleading. Since the transition, a number of political scientists, sociologists, and historians have emphasized that the transition was a success precisely because of the moderation that emerged from all sides—including an important sector of the Franco regime. At the least, I would have liked Palomares to specify exactly what was “hitherto neglected” in the existing literature by and about reformist Francoists, and/or explicitly state what new details and insights regarding the role of moderate Francoists in the “slow journey to the polls” she is illuminating.

Nevertheless, this book aims to provide a side of the story that is less told. Except for the extensive accolades heaped on King Juan Carlos, there has been more celebration of the democratic opposition than of the reformist Francoists in the literature on the Spanish transition. To the extent that the author focuses on the role of the latter factions, her account offers a welcomed balance to the subject. But Palomares’s “central hypothesis—that the role played by the regime moderates (especially the reformists) during the transition process was largely the result of their early awareness and advocacy (either genuinely or as a mere strategy of political survival) of the need for political reform” (p. 9) is frustratingly unambitious. A stronger statement revealing the dynamism of reformist Francoism is needed. Time and again, Palomares simply retells the standard historical, political science narrative of the transition, neglecting to dig deeper into the events. For instance, although I enjoyed Palomares’s discussion of the private meetings and dinners that, to me, epitomized the spirit of the Spanish transition, it is not clear how her analysis clarifies, challenges, or otherwise enhances our understanding of these pivotal moments. I was especially disappointed that her personal interviews did not bear more fruit. Instead of using her interview data to expand our understanding of the transition, Palomares settles for confirming existing information. She provides few new insights into the personalities and motives of the key reformist Francoists. Indeed, Palomares relies principally on secondary sources, including published memoirs written by the main protagonists (most importantly Fraga),

that reaffirm their own critical role in the process of transition. With little in the way of new data, Palomares reissues familiar explanations for elite moderation, such as the somewhat circular idea that civility was preeminent because "Spanish society in the early 1970s would not tolerate any extremism" (p. 104).

In sum, social scientists intent on getting a better feel for the actual motivations of Francoist reformists may be left unsatisfied, while lay readers without a substantial background in the subject may have difficulty appreciating the political details that make up the bulk of the book. Nevertheless, Palomares does provide an even-handed overview of the role of reformist Francoists during this critical moment in Spanish history.

LAURA DESFOR EDLES
California State University,
Northridge

MEGAN C. ARMSTRONG. *The Politics of Piety: Franciscan Preachers During the Wars of Religion, 1560–1600*. (Changing Perspectives on Early Modern Europe.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2004. Pp. 278. \$75.00.

Since the eighteenth century, the ways in which the Roman Catholic Church's supranational (and, by its own account, supernatural) authority intersected with Europe's developing nation-states have fascinated historians. As this study shows, the question is still fruitful. Megan C. Armstrong argues that the political views of sixteenth-century French Franciscans were shaped primarily by their order's traditions, institutions, and situation within the broader church. She also argues that this gave the friars a position within French society and culture that strengthened their influence on national politics. They were thus able to play a key role as leaders and ideologists of the radical Catholic party in the civil wars that wracked France from 1563 to 1595. By focusing on the venerable, even stodgy order of the Observant Franciscans, moreover, Armstrong is able to demonstrate the enormous continuing relevance of medieval ideas and institutions in the early modern period—something that historians, biased toward change and novelty, are liable to forget.

Although the documentary base for this study is very broad, its key sources come from the Franciscans themselves: the council minutes of the Paris Observant convent (the Cordeliers), and the published writings of sixteenth-century French Franciscan preachers, theologians, and controversialists. Recent work on preaching and religious propaganda has drawn attention to this kind of documentation, but the strength of Armstrong's book is the institutional and political framework she uses to interpret it. In particular, she stresses the importance of a push for reform within the order, directed by the papacy and by the order's own generals in Rome. The reform of existing monastic orders has been a continual and important, if often unheralded, aspect of the church's history, and it was very much

part of the sixteenth-century Catholic Reformation. It frequently excited bitter resistance, as was the case with the French Franciscans, but Armstrong interprets such conflict as a sign of vitality rather than decadence. One reason this was such a fraught issue was that the Franciscans found themselves on the front lines of Catholicism's multiplying opportunities and dangers, in the New World as well as in conflicts with continental Protestantism and Ottoman Islam. As a result, they experienced particularly acutely the combination of exaltation and paranoia typical of the religious wars.

In France, the Franciscans proved especially suited to combat John Calvin's army of mobile and highly trained preachers. They received broad though qualified support in this mission from the state and from a broad range of ecclesiastical institutions, prominently including the University of Paris. Armstrong pays special attention to the university, providing an excellent overview of its role and function and suggesting that, despite endemic conflict, it and the Franciscans complemented each other in prestige, conservative traditionalism, and commitment to a highly confessionalized preaching ministry. They proved to be close allies in the leadership of the Catholic League. What was unique to the Franciscans, though, was the vision they inherited from St. Francis, which included a highly sensual spirituality, a suspicion of hierarchy, and a messianic commitment to the perfection of Christian life. The order's extremely broad base of material support shows that this vision, little changed since the thirteenth century, retained enormous appeal, and it was thus well suited to spark a quasi-revolutionary political movement.

The book's final and climactic chapter traces the Observant Franciscans' role in the revolt of the Catholic League against King Henri III and, after his assassination, the initially Protestant Henri IV. The story of the rebellion is familiar to specialists, but Armstrong is unusual in tracing its religious rather than its political elements, and in showing its roots in a conservative, even "medieval" religious world. I think that this is fundamentally correct, and Armstrong might even have emphasized a bit more the profound nostalgia that pervaded League propaganda. Although the Observant Franciscans operated effectively in the late sixteenth century, Armstrong makes clear that they were really not in tune with the emerging Tridentine Catholicism. Indeed, the one element that seems missing from this excellent study is an account of Franciscan religiosity's ultimate fate in France. Every history has to stop somewhere, but the view from 1600 might disguise the extent of the Observant Franciscans' failure. They had insured that France would remain a Catholic monarchy, but in the seventeenth century a revived episcopacy, together with Capuchins, Jesuits, and other new congregations, would lead French Catholicism. Meanwhile, there is reason to suspect that the popular and scholastic piety championed by the Observant Franciscans went into long-term decline. Was the Franciscans' hold on late

sixteenth-century French public opinion the last effort of a dying religious order, or did such institutions continue to influence succeeding generations and circumstances? Perhaps Armstrong will answer this question in a subsequent study.

JOTHAM PARSONS
Duquesne University

BARBARA DIEFENDORF. *From Penitence to Charity: Pious Women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 340. \$55.00

Barbara Diefendorf's book opens with a biographical sketch of Marie du Drac, who, in the 1570s and 1580s, turned her home into a "little monastery" where she engaged in dramatic penitential practices such as extreme fasting and wearing a horse strap around her loins. Du Drac, who died in 1590, was almost as foreign a character to her sixteenth-century contemporaries as she is to Diefendorf's readers. The holy woman was ahead of her time, and Diefendorf argues that her religious sensibilities would come to exemplify those of the generation of Parisian women whose spirituality came of age during the wars of the Catholic League in Paris (1588–1590), during the Wars of Religion in France (1562–1598).

Diefendorf's very important book places the evolution of socially elite female spiritual expression on a continuum with political events. She argues that the wars of the Holy League shaped the ascetic impulses of the late sixteenth century and continued to mold spiritual experiences into the early seventeenth century. The women who adopted ascetic and penitential practices also founded and supported convents of Carmelites, Capucines, and Ursulines in Paris, the first two of which embraced an extreme austerity within their walls. However, the daughters of these penitential and pious women were attracted to a different model of religious service. Women coming of spiritual age in the 1630s dedicated themselves to charitable works and not ascetic feats. These women raised funds and administered efforts to support war refugees, the sick, the orphaned, and the poor. Diefendorf explains that the misery caused by fighting on France's border with the Spanish Netherlands during the Thirty Years' War inspired women in the mid-1630s to send alms to Picardy, Champagne, and Île-de-France and to find housing and support for nuns and families fleeing the advancing troops. Moreover, the Fronde (1648–1653) brought fighting to Paris as well as the countryside. The seventeenth century was a time of acute misery for the people of France, and pious women focused their energies and talents on alleviating the suffering of their countrymen and, more commonly, their countrywomen.

Diefendorf makes several contributions to our understanding of the era of the Catholic Reformation in France. First, she locates the origins of France's Catholic Reformation in the later sixteenth century

and includes this era of extreme asceticism not as a bizarre precursor to the Catholic Reformation but as its beginning. Second, Diefendorf challenges current assumptions about the actions of women in the French Catholic Reformation. Older histories of the Catholic Reformation tended to leave women out of the picture and, more recently, historians have argued that the Catholic Reformation was a decidedly patriarchal movement, led by men who confined women to convents or homes. While enclosure of religious communities did occur, Diefendorf focuses on a dynamic and creative spirituality of women that was not under male control. In fact, women in *dévôte* circles worked alongside men. Like Elizabeth Rapley, who also describes seventeenth-century women's religious activism, Diefendorf insists on a revision in our understanding of the Catholic Reformation and, especially, its gender relations. Women were important innovators of Catholic reform between the 1590s and the 1650s; they were not simply followers of the great saints of the age, Vincent de Paul and Francis de Sales.

This book makes a significant contribution to the larger story of the "feminization" of religion in France. Historians have traditionally argued that the church became "feminized" in the nineteenth century, when women became the majority of church attendees, but there is more to the issue of feminization of religion than who is sitting in the pews. Diefendorf convincingly demonstrates that during the Catholic Reformation, women created modes of spiritual expression that changed over time to fulfill their needs to atone for perceived sins or to aid the suffering poor. Their actions forced the church to embrace, or at least to tolerate, their expressions of faith. It could be argued that the Catholic Reformation, instead of being a moment when men controlled and confined women, was a moment when some women imposed their vision of piety upon the church.

Diefendorf has composed a very compelling and readable book that offers her audience an understanding of the changing meanings of piety in late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century France.

SUSAN E. DINAN
Long Island University

JOSEPH BERGIN. *Crown, Church and Episcopate under Louis XIV*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. ix, 526. \$60.00.

The power of Louis XIV depended on the political and moral endorsement of the bishops of the Church of France, and yet little has been said to any systematic purpose about the 250 men who were consecrated between 1661 and 1715. This omission (made the more glaring as studies of the nobility have appeared) does much to explain why detailed examination of the personal rule has not advanced significantly. Now, at long last, something has been done to correct this scholarly oversight, and who better to do so than Joseph Bergin, the world's leading authority on the

bishops who served the first two Bourbon sovereigns? With assurance and great learning born of exceptional familiarity with surviving unpublished sources, he has moved on to investigate the appointment of bishops to office under the Sun King. In this systematic survey, which culminates in a 125-page biographical dictionary, Bergin clears the ground completely so as to get away from any "Saint-Simonian straitjacket" (p. 51) and goes back to the sources, printed and unprinted, to trace the institutional evolution of the episcopate over half a century.

Bergin discloses that no less than two-thirds of the bench were related to previous or contemporary bishops, although one in five were commoners by birth, a figure that gradually contracted over time. Most of them were northerners, sixty-eight from Paris, and had theological rather than legal qualifications. This was an important change by comparison with previous generations, as was the fact that only two had not taken priests' orders when they were nominated to a see. Whereas there was a fourfold drop in the number of regular priests joining the episcopate, the eighteenth-century trend for *agents-généraux* to become bishops was foreshadowed under Louis XIV: twenty-seven of the thirty-eight who held office in this reign were thus elevated. Another emerging pattern was for future bishops to serve first as *grands-vicaires* and thus gain experience at diocesan level while still in priests' orders.

In section two, Bergin looks—in as much as the evidence allows—at the fascinating processes by which men became prelates in the first place. After the death of his mother in 1666, Louis became the first king to name to all sees in France—what Bergin calls "a milestone in a minor mode" (p. 205)—and he did so in conjunction not with the old *conseil de conscience* but with a de facto appointments triumvirate composed of himself, his confessor Father La Chaize, and, until his death in 1695, Archbishop Harlay of Paris. That decade brought two new players to the nominations game: the king's morganatic and ultra-orthodox wife, Madame de Maintenon, and, increasingly, the new archbishop of Paris, Cardinal de Noailles. Bergin offers some fascinating insights into the circumstances in which Noailles was appointed and the dynamics of this uneasy quadrilateral: he seeks to show that Maintenon's crusade for a *dévo*t episcopate never went uncontested, while Noailles's influence in nominations rose steadily with time to what Harlay's had been. In 1709 La Chaize finally died and the new confessor, Father Tellier, set about trying to create an openly anti-Jansenist bench, with Maintenon as keen as ever not to be left on the sidelines. By 1715, Bergin concludes, a definite episcopal pattern had emerged that would hold good for the rest of the eighteenth century: more graduates of Saint-Sulpice, fewer translations and coadjutors, and an episcopate that was, collectively, "assertive" (p. 346) and as professional as any other in Catholic Europe.

This book can be assured of an unqualified welcome

from early modernists and religious historians alike. There is great depth of scholarship here, a feast of information that never remotely threatens to engulf the author. What he has to say about the wider ecclesiastical context is always compelling, especially on the 1680s, the decade of the stand-off between Louis XIV and Innocent XI, when *évêques nommés*, the so-called "black bishops" abounded, entitled only to normal clerical garb as their institution had not been confirmed by the pope. This should become an indispensable volume for anyone working on Louis's reign, as Bergin offers other scholars any number of jumping off points for future studies.

NIGEL ASTON

University of Leicester

SARA E. CHAPMAN. *Private Ambition and Political Alliances: The Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain Family and Louis XIV's Government, 1650–1715*. (Changing Perspectives in Early Modern Europe, number 1.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 292. \$80.00.

In this impressively researched study, Sara E. Chapman uses the careers of the members of the Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain family as a means of examining the nature of government and society in Louis XIV's France. One of the most important themes to emerge from recent scholarship on the period is the continuing importance of kinship networks, patronage, and clientele to the workings of the political and administrative system. Chapman's book is a model of how this functioned and she demonstrates that the Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain relied on their extended family, patrons, and clients first to gain entrance to the charmed circle of Louis XIV's ministerial elite and subsequently to consolidate their position over several generations. Individual talent, particularly in the case of Louis III Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain, mattered, but his brilliant career as *contrôleur général*, secretary of state for the navy, and finally chancellor, would have been impossible without his family connections and powerful patrons, notably Claude Le Peletier.

One of the many fascinating subplots to Chapman's story is the relationship between the Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain and their close relatives the Phélypeaux de La Vrillière. A feud over the right to the office of secretary of state for the *Religion Prétendue Réformée* (Protestant religion) was waged throughout much of the seventeenth century, doing considerable damage to the initially less powerful Pontchartrain branch in the process. After Louis III's rise to high office, however, the position was reversed, and he made the astute decision to mend fences, a policy that culminated in a marriage alliance, thus facilitating the continued presence of the Phélypeaux in the ministries of both Louis XV and Louis XVI.

Family and patronage networks played a vital role in French administration until the revolution, and the Phélypeaux were extremely effective at pulling the

levers of the system. Louis III, who had served as first president of the Parlement of Brittany, maintained contacts in the province throughout his long career. These ties provided him and later his son, Jérôme, with valuable information, personnel for the implementation of his policies, and help in time of crisis, while he was careful to reciprocate with the advancement and protection of his clients. Nothing could better illustrate the importance of such informal ties than the example of the bishop of Nantes, who took a prominent role in the arming of ships under the direction of the minister. The bishop also had some influence over naval appointments and promotions, something that was typical of a political system that allowed the Marquis d'O to be appointed to the second highest rank in the navy despite the fact that he was not on speaking terms with the Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain.

Chapman is, however, aware that Louis XIV's government cannot be reduced to the workings of patronage and clientele alone. Instead, as she notes, Louis III was determined that the administration should function through the regular, increasingly formal official channels, and there was a growing emphasis on the need for stability of personnel, regular procedures, and a respect for competence regardless of political affinities. This was particularly apparent in the way that both Louis III and Jérôme treated the *intendants*, *intendants des finances*, and other officials they inherited on their appointment to the finance and naval ministries. Rather than attempt a wholesale purge of those officials with close links to their predecessors or other ministers, they sensibly sought to coopt them, or at least to work with them, and only gradually introduced their own clients to key positions by promotion or transfer. This book will provide further ammunition for those who have doubts about the theory that eighteenth-century France was governed by a bureaucratic administrative monarchy. In reality, old regime government was something of a hybrid, continuing to function through informal personal channels as well as more professional, formal procedures. Generations of the Phélypeaux family were masters of both sides of the governing equation, and Chapman's work is a convincing account of the triumph of a remarkable dynasty.

JULIAN SWANN
Birkbeck College,
University of London

DAVID WILLIAMS. *Condorcet and Modernity*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 306. \$75.00.

The Marquis de Condorcet's most famous work, his posthumously published *Tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain*, was described by its first editors, in 1795, as a "monument" to "the most useful truths." He has been seen, ever since, as an exemplary figure; an emblem of enlightenment and its illusions. His political ideas, in particular, have been rediscovered and reburied at fairly regular, resonant intervals through-

out the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (at the time of the 1848 Revolutions, for example, or of the educational reforms of the 1890s, or of the anticommunist liberalism of the 1950s).

The most recent edition of Condorcet's collected works dates from 1847–1849. But with Keith Baker's important book, *Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics* (1975), Condorcet at last became the subject of serious and sustained interest to historians, in France and elsewhere. There is now a "groupe Condorcet," involving historians of publishing, archivists, paleographers, and "codicologists" of the paper on which Condorcet wrote or dictated his fragments of political theory; their vast (1317 pages) edition of the *Tableau historique* is itself a monument of collective scholarship and historical investigation (Condorcet, *Tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain: Projets, Esquisse, Fragments et Notes (1772–1794)*, ed. Jean-Pierre Schandeler, Pierre Crépel, et al. [2004]).

This book by David Williams is the first full-length study in English of Condorcet's distinctively political writings. It provides a detailed account, drawing in part on unpublished manuscripts, of Condorcet's writings on human rights, sovereignty, enlightenment, religious toleration, slavery, the emancipation of women, legal reform, representative government, and economic order. Williams is concerned, in particular, with the "remarkable interaction" (p. 9) between Condorcet's theoretical writings and his engagement in a multitude of political, legislative, administrative, and journalistic activities, from 1774 to his death in 1794.

Condorcet's posthumous inculcation in "the cold, passionless hyper-rationality" of Enlightenment ideology is unjustified, as Williams shows (p. 8). He was a theorist, rather, of "sentiment and sensibility in public life" (p. 74), and his own political life was a sequence of compromises between principles and circumstances. Williams places particular emphasis, in the most interesting theme of the book, on Condorcet's concern with the ways in which "the law extended to the inner life of the citizen" (p. 177). He writes perceptively about Condorcet's "use of the verb *sentir* (to feel) in his writings on constitutional law, criminal law, tax law and . . . *causes célèbres*," and about Condorcet's preoccupation, especially in his writings on economic reform, with the "impact of the law on daily life" (pp. 70, 178).

The book covers a vast amount of material, and its narrative is not uniformly successful. The sequence of Condorcet's Atlantic connections, for example, is sometimes mixed up, with the Declaration of Independence deferred to 1786, and Condorcet's relationship with Thomas Jefferson brought forward to 1773 (pp. 25, 139). But Williams has an impressive insight into Condorcet's least-known writings, especially on the economic, fiscal, and legal reforms that are too often neglected as being unpolitical, or "historically remote" (p. 226).

The relationship between the inner lives of individ-

uals and their external circumstances, as Williams shows, was at the heart of Condorcet's political thought. It was at the heart, too, of his ideas of knowledge and scientific insight. Condorcet was dismissive, for example, of arguments about the lesser capacity of women for scientific discovery, unless they were based on a comparison of men and women who had had roughly similar opportunities for unimpeded study. He also speculated, in an intriguing comment quoted by Williams (p. 165), that the "intimate relationship between a mother or a wet-nurse and a child, which does not exist in the case of men," could itself be a means to important discoveries about the human mind.

These connections, between the life of the mind and the sentiments of daily existence, between political theory and political practice, and between "high" and "low" political thought, are the principal concern of Williams's book. They are connections of enduring importance, to the history of France and to political history.

EMMA ROTHSCHILD

University of Cambridge and Harvard University

ROBERT ALEXANDER. *Re-Writing the French Revolutionary Tradition*. (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 385. \$80.00.

This is in some ways a throw-back monograph, old-style political history, but it will be extremely valuable to anyone who wants to understand the politics of the Restoration. The research is exemplary: Robert Alexander has mined many relevant cartons in the Archives Nationales (notably the trusty F7 series), four *archives départementales*, contemporary newspapers (particularly the very revealing *France Méridionale*), the letters of Benjamin Constant, and more.

Alexander takes the reader carefully through the political history of the Restoration, from the (first) return of Louis XVIII in 1814 and the promulgation of the Charter to the opposition of the Ultraroyalists, who hated the apparent compromise with the revolution, undertook the White Terror in the south, and battled the king's man, the relatively moderate Duc Élie Decazes, who sought to tame them; to the assassination of the Duc de Berri in 1820, which gave the Ultraroyalists the upper hand, and the ascension to the throne in 1825 of the reactionary Comte d'Artois as Charles X; to the Liberal electoral successes in 1827 and the July Revolution of 1830, and into the first years of the July Monarchy.

With a few exceptions, Alexander is up on recent literature about the Restoration. He has also mastered the much older histories of the period and has several bones to pick with a long departed and largely forgotten nineteenth-century historian of France, Paul Thu-reau-Dangin, whose 1876 interpretation of the Liberal Opposition during the Restoration he finds wanting. This reader thinks that the author exaggerates when he

claims that only recently have historians seen the Revolution of 1830 as more than a Parisian affair. Moreover, in saluting "the abolition of censorship" (p. 301) by the July Monarchy, he ignores the extremely repressive Press Law of 1835.

Alexander deftly shows how Restoration politics worked at the national and local levels. In order to identify the Liberals and understand their organization, he focuses much attention on four nicely chosen *départements*, each of which offers extremely rich archives: Bas-Rhin in Alsace and Isère in Dauphiné, where in both cases the Liberals enjoyed considerable success; Haute-Garonne in the Midi Toulousain, where the Ultraroyalists held sway; and the Seine-Inférieure in Normandy, which stood somewhat in the middle. Thanks to Alexander's hard work, we appreciate more fully the accomplishments of the Liberals, who had to battle not only Ultraroyalism but also the determined repressive apparatus of the Bourbon state. While he makes clear in the conclusion that they cannot really be considered to form a political party in the modern sense, he clearly demonstrates that the Liberals manifested considerable coherence and consistency in ideology and organization, particularly after 1823, when they broke with the insurrectionary tradition of the radicals. The Liberals were determined to remain reformers (drawing from the gains of 1789 and thus part of what had already become France's revolutionary tradition). Alexander underlines the Liberals' "determination to make the representative principle in the Charter a genuine reflection of national sovereignty" (p. 338) and not simply a manifestation of royal sovereignty. They insisted that even within the narrow confines of what was an extremely restrictive electoral franchise, essentially based on the ownership of property, *électeurs* should be able to maintain their independence in the face of the heavy-handed attempts of the government, through "royal despotism" orchestrated locally by the prefects, to achieve favorable outcomes through intimidation, aggressive censorship, bending the electoral rules, and much more. In sum, the author demonstrates that Liberals believed that they represented the nation.

This book thus provides the most complete survey of Restoration politics that we have. Alexander is particularly good on the role of Comte Joseph de Villèle, the architect of the administrative despotism throughout a good part of the period, as well as the mayor of Toulouse. Indeed, Villèle and Constant are arguably the central personages in this story. The text serves as a virtual "Who's Who" of Restoration political figures, major and minor—the latter do fly by in the text in great numbers. This helps make the book a little longer than it might have been. It is repetitive in some places, in part because of the organizational structure within each chapter, but it works well enough. Alexander, like the Liberals of the Restoration, has been

both cautious and reasonable in his approach, and in the end both were very successful.

JOHN MERRIMAN
Yale University

MAURICE SAMUELS. *The Spectacular Past: Popular History and the Novel in Nineteenth-Century France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 280. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$22.95.

Historical memory is of interest both to historians and to literary specialists. Manifestations of collective recollection worthy of scholarly study include historical novels, plays, and films—the literary and cultural representations of the past, on the one hand—and histories, societies, museums, reenactments, commemorations, and statues—strictly speaking, the more historical cultivations of the past, on the other. Whatever the disciplinary perspective on these artifacts, they are widely understood as efforts to recapture or, more accurately, to reconstruct a lost world for often intensely present-minded reasons. Last January in Paris, for example, the French Shoah's version of the American Vietnam War memorial, also with the names of the dead inscribed in stone, marked the latest response to an apparent collective amnesia, the so-called Vichy Syndrome, which Henri Rousso's important study has explored.

Maurice Samuels takes a longer view of memory's implications. Like Richard Terdiman in *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (1993), he situates the origins of this modern obsession in the early nineteenth century, when Romantic historiography and popular culture made the past a visual and commodified spectacle. Cultural representations during the constitutional monarchies—histories, novels, plays, panoramas, wax museums, and book illustrations—tended to objectify collective memory and thereby to detach the past from its connection to the present. In effect, Samuels historicizes Guy Debord's situationist theory of the popular spectacle as capitalism's effort to control social and individual consciousness “to see how the rise of new forms of popular representation goes hand in hand with the need to assimilate . . . The [1789] Revolution” as “a vital link in the ‘progress’ to modernity” (p. 13). The remarkable specificity of this early visualization assured viewers that the past could be grasped in its entirety, when in fact this mastery was an illusion, one that realist novelists like Honoré de Balzac and Stendhal critiqued in their reaction to “Romanticism's spectacular mode of viewing history” (p. 9). In this way, Samuels modifies Georg Lukács's characterization of prose fiction as the making of the past present; Lukács's *The Historical Novel* (1965) fails to recognize how problematic history is to the protagonists in the realist novel. Samuels argues, “I present Realism less as a poetics than as a theory of history, one that diagnoses the dangers of a certain way of looking at the past” (p. 12).

Samuels examines, chapter by chapter, public enter-

tainments (like wax museums and panoramas), historical writings (with wood engravings), Napoleonic dramas (twenty-nine of them), and historical novels (most particularly those by Sir Walter Scott) before and after the 1830 Revolution in France. He does so with a keen eye to the visual and imagistic qualities of these popular productions, which drew on new technologies to provide an immediate, material reality to history and whose commercialization Samuels calls “the spectacular past” (p. 24). Philippe Curtius's wax figures, Etienne-Gaspard Robertson's phantasmagoria, Pierre Prévost's panoramas, Jacques de Norvins's illustrated histories of the empire, the Galeries historiques at Versailles, Pillaud de Forges and Eugène Sue's controversial play, *Le Fils de l'homme* (1830), and Scott's wildly popular Waverly novels in translation, for instance, all made the past feel real in a period when the past itself had come to seem altogether unreal. It is this unreality that Balzac and Stendhal depicted in their realist novels. “In these works,” Samuels observes, “history appears not as a spectacle to be consumed by the reader/viewer, but as the object of obsession, mediated by representation, that leads the protagonists astray” (p. 231). The author is especially insightful in his analysis of Mathilde de la Mole and Julien Sorel's historical role playing in *Le Rouge et le noir* (1831).

Samuels's work makes a signal contribution to modern French cultural history. In its analysis of historical, visual, and literary representation, it belongs on the shelf with Vanessa Schwartz's *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (1998), T. J. Clark's *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (1984), and Jann Matlock's *Scenes of Seduction: Prostitution, Hysteria, and Reading Difference in Nineteenth-Century France* (1994). Just one oversight—the wood engraving of Napoleon III at Sedan, whom Samuels mistakes as a mere “soldier sitting and contemplating his misfortune” (fig. 2.10, p. 104)—mars this work. It deserves to be read by anyone intrigued by the changing modalities of historical consciousness in the modern period.

JAMES SMITH ALLEN
Southern Illinois University,
Carbondale

MICHAEL R. STEINBERG. *Listening to Reason: Culture, Subjectivity, and Nineteenth-Century Music*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 246. \$29.95.

This book is a collection of essays on musical criticism, most of them previously published in earlier versions, each focusing on selected musical works from the canon of German composers (Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schubert, Schumann, Wagner, Brahms) with some excursions outside this canon in the last three chapters. Michael P. Steinberg defines his work as “the discussion of music as a key genre in the history of cultural and aesthetic form, and equally as a significant existential component in the history of cultural

life" (p. 1). The underlying theme of the book is subjectivity, which the author defines as "a mode of first-person experience resistant to the articulation or representation implied in the category of the subject. As the experience rather than the position of the 'I,' subjectivity displaces the paradigm of an autonomous subject facing an outside world in favor of a lived experience that is inherently contingent on culture. Subjectivity is thus a mode of experience where self and world are difficult to distinguish" (p. 7). Music, Steinberg notes, participated in an important way in the making of modern subjectivity; in fact, modern subjectivity relied on the belief in music's formal and cultural capacity to organize subjectivity. This idea of the privileged position of music in organizing subjectivity, Steinberg argues, stemmed from German Romantic theory in the early nineteenth century and continued in the works of Schopenhauer, Wagner, and Nietzsche.

The discourse on music is framed in terms of culture wars between the old and new, and Steinberg uses pairs of opposite terms that he identifies variably as the baroque and the modern, the Catholic and the Protestant, and the patriarchal and the post-patriarchal order, where the first term of the pair stands for the "old" and the other for the "new." Why would this be a viable way of ordering a discussion on musical subjectivity? "Through the production of subjectivity," Steinberg argues, "modernity distances itself from baroque subjection without falling into the Enlightenment trap of transparency. Here music is key. The resistance to baroque power entails an emancipation from the power of representation, and representation is associated closely with the visual world. Baroque culture involves the power of visibility, which also means the tendency of visibility to metastasize into visual ideology. The critical drive of music involves the critique of the assumed authority of the visual and visible worlds" (p. 12).

Predictably, this way of ordering comes at a cost, as it makes the author force dubious generalizations, ungrounded assumptions about the commonality of people's experience, and artificial binary oppositions. And there is no shortage of these in Steinberg's book. He uses broad labels as indicative of specific ideas in culture, politics, and aesthetics, as though the content of these labels was self-evident. But talking in a "you-know-what-I-mean" manner is risky for an author who wants to make an impact on cultural history, as most cultural historians today take nothing for granted. For example, few cultural historians would be comfortable with designations such as "bourgeois mentality" or "protobourgeois identity," "baroque patriarchy," or "Protestant tropes and gestures," and few would agree that there is a monolithic content to the term "Catholicism" as a cultural category.

In Steinberg's usage, the term "Catholicism" subsumes different currents within the Catholic Church after the Council of Trent under one set of associations related to theatricality and visibility, and there is

no note to the effect that the Counter Reformation (focused on institutional and dogmatic coherence) and the Catholic Reformation (focused on individual self-renewal) were two different currents that in many ways pulled in opposite directions. But making such a distinction would mean admitting that the inclination to inwardness, introspection, and individual spirituality were not exclusive properties of Protestantism, and would thereby invalidate the entire system of binary opposition Steinberg has built. (It would make it impossible, for example, to interpret Mozart's piety as a Protestant trait, as Steinberg tries to do.)

As an exercise in music criticism, Steinberg's book may be of interest to musicologists, rather than cultural historians, and primarily to those who are persuaded by a mode of criticism that takes the critic's subjectivity not as an obstacle but as a vehicle to understanding music. (And if music criticism is by definition subjective, there is no need to give it an aura of a more stable epistemological status by referring to other critics' interpretations as "correct" or "right," as the author repeatedly does.) The book is a presentation of ideas and reflections on musical works, sometimes idiosyncratic, rather than a sustained effort at communicating beyond that level. Although creative approaches can produce interesting critical insights, rigorous analysis would have been more compelling.

JOLANTA T. PEKACZ
Dalhousie University

ERIC J. ENGSTROM. *Clinical Psychiatry in Imperial Germany: A History of Psychiatric Practice*. (Cornell Studies in the History of Psychiatry.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 295. \$ 49.95.

Eric J. Engstrom presents here an institutional history of psychiatry as a medical and scientific specialty in imperial Germany, and also a history of the transformation of clinical practice in new institutional settings.

The displacement of asylum directors by university psychiatrists as the predominant actors in the study and treatment of mental illness is not in itself a new story. Asylum history is familiar to historians due to early work by David J. Rothman, Nancy Tomes, Andrew Scull, and others, but these studies did not focus on psychiatry as a medical specialty or on Germany. Although Engstrom does not intend to write asylum history, he uses vocabulary originally employed there when he argues that this is a story of "economies of power and knowledge" and "discursive regimes," marked by a "redistribution of power and labor within the profession" (p. 4). Fortunately, such Foucauldian talk does not pervade this solidly researched and clearly told story of institutionalization highly contested between academic psychiatrists and asylum directors, on the one hand, and among the academics themselves on the other.

Chapter two presents the Prussian "New Era" from 1860 onward as a watershed for the institutionalization of the specialty. Chapter three discusses the contro-

versy between Wilhelm Griesinger, the iconic figure for university establishment and reform of the discipline, and the German "alienists." Perhaps it will be no surprise that these academic and professional controversies were not resolved on scientific terms alone, despite traditional, triumphalist accounts focused on the towering figure of Emil Kraepelin. Engstrom, too, focuses on Kraepelin, but in a new and original way, combining institutional history with that of clinical practice in Heidelberg (in chapter five).

This dimension of Engstrom's story is by far the most interesting one. As he shows, the establishment of psychiatric clinics at university hospitals did indeed transform psychiatric practice in these places. Although interest in the exact classification of mental diseases was common to both asylums and clinics, the latter were clearly less focused on patient management and more on research. Engstrom writes that these clinics had three aims: scientific research aimed both at systematic description and at causal explanation of mental disorders; clinical instruction; and "social-hygienic prophylaxis," meaning efforts to establish outpatient clinics engaged in preventive psychiatric diagnosis. The second half of the book follows this schema: chapter four focuses on laboratory research in places other than Heidelberg, chapter six on clinical teaching, and chapter seven on "social prophylaxis" in psychiatric polyclinics.

As Engstrom shows, the successes of the new medical specialty—limited as they were—were achieved primarily in systematic diagnostics and associated clinical instruction. Far less successful were attempts to use brain anatomy (postmortem studies and neuroanatomy) as well as the experimental methods being pioneered at the time in "normal" psychology by Wilhelm Wundt and others to come closer to causal explanations of mental illness. In addition, Engstrom notes, scientific modernization did not lead to therapeutic innovation; he thus quite correctly emphasizes the "moral contingency" of university psychiatrists' professional practices (p. 6).

This is an excellent book, but it is not without problems. Engstrom does not show, for example, how experimental methods may have changed as they were transferred into psychiatry from experimental psychology. More important, and surprising, is the fact that case histories are largely missing from Engstrom's account of clinical practice, although clinical case reports remained numerous in medical journals throughout the period. Also underplayed are patients' perspectives, despite the late Roy Porter's widely heeded call to include patients in medical history. The issue of criminal responsibility—central to earlier studies of psychiatry in Germany and other countries, and also to recent work on the history of anthropology and criminology in the nineteenth century—is little discussed here. Most important, Engstrom offers no proof that the clinics he studies produced the majority of practicing psychiatrists in the imperial period or

later. The overall impact of the transformations he so carefully details thus remains unclear.

Wisely, Engstrom limits his account to the imperial period and thus avoids the danger of constructing a negative teleology to the murder of the mentally and physically handicapped in the Nazi era. For this reason, his study will provide a useful basis for comparative work in the history of psychiatry.

MITCHELL G. ASH
University of Vienna

PETER ELI GORDON. *Rosenzweig and Heidegger: Between Judaism and German Philosophy*. (Weimar and Now: German Cultural Criticism, number 33.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xxix, 328. \$65.00.

Peter Eli Gordon's book argues that an adequate understanding of the philosophy of Franz Rosenzweig can only be gained through a careful reading of the parallels between his thought and writings and those of Martin Heidegger. Carefully navigating through existing scholarship, Gordon situates Rosenzweig within the interpretive horizon of the "new thinking," what he refers to as the "philosophical expressionism" of the Weimar period. At the most fundamental level, this philosophy was an explicit rejection of the neo-idealism that had been forged by the Marburg school of Neo-Kantianism, a movement that had Hermann Cohen (1842–1919) as its spiritual father and Ernst Cassirer (1874–1945) and Paul Natorp (1854–1924) as formidable disciples. While Rosenzweig's philosophy, according to Gordon, "belongs simultaneously to German and Jewish traditions" (p. 3), Gordon's book seeks to demonstrate that Rosenzweig's philosophy, and *The Star of Redemption* (1921) in particular, must be understood within the context of a sustained encounter with German philosophy, specifically, as a reaction to German idealism.

Of interest in the introduction is Gordon's characterization of philosophical expressionism, to which Gordon believes both Heidegger and Rosenzweig belong. The salient features of this "new philosophy" were a rebellious attitude toward prior intellectual traditions, German idealism in particular, and a theologically inflected pathos of isolation. Several other key elements are discussed by Gordon elsewhere in his book as significant points of convergence between Rosenzweig and Heidegger: the concepts of finitude, temporality, death, and authenticity, and the destruction of the philosophical tradition and traditional metaphysics. Finitude in particular reflects its theological origins more explicitly in Rosenzweig, while in Heidegger's thought the theological moment is repressed. Gordon believes that there is a sense of loss of eternity in Heidegger's notion of human temporality and finitude, and thus a hidden, unreflected theological residue in Heidegger's thought that also binds him to the philosophical expressionism of Weimar philosophy.

In chapter one, Gordon convincingly shows how Cohen's late philosophy of religion in fact paved the way for this philosophical expressionism and its variants in Rosenzweig and Heidegger. Cohen's reading of Immanuel Kant's concept of experience threatens the metaphysical independence of the world as such. Reason's ability to ascertain knowledge of being is questioned, and all concepts are viewed as fundamentally rooted in human finitude. Further, Cohen's theory of redemption provides a philosophical justification of the necessary perpetuity of Jewish exile. In these and other decisive insights, Gordon shows how Cohen's late philosophy marks the transition from philosophical idealism to philosophical expressionism and the "new thinking," a phrase employed by Rosenzweig himself to characterize his philosophy.

The two chapters on Rosenzweig's *Star of Redemption* build the core of Gordon's book. In chapter three, "Beyond Metaphysics," Gordon analyzes Heidegger's critique of Cassirer's *Philosophy of Symbolic Forms* (1925) and draws a parallel between Rosenzweig's critique of the "error of idealism" and Heidegger's own critique of the philosophical tradition and representational thinking. With Friedrich Nietzsche's thought as the backdrop, the "death of God" is the point of departure for Rosenzweig's and Heidegger's philosophies: "a greater, shared understanding of the tasks of philosophy in the funeral wake of the metaphysical tradition" (p. 165). Both are in agreement on the singularity and the irreducibility of death (p. 167). Rosenzweig was a "hermeneutical" thinker insofar as he regarded the "life-context as a markedly coherent set of meanings and practices" (p. 181).

In chapter four, Gordon documents the dual temporality of redemption in Rosenzweig and indicates its proximity to Heidegger's notion of "authenticity." Where Rosenzweig decisively departs from Heidegger is in his assignment of ontological priority to the Jews; Judaism is a "special priority in the experience of redemption" (p. 207), whereas authenticity in Heidegger is essentially human and has no ethnic or religious provenance. Both thinkers converge in their view of the exceptional mode of authenticity and redemption, in their assessment of the uncanniness and homelessness of human being and the secondary, purely derivative nature of the political (as opposed to the priority of the "communal" in Rosenzweig and "concernful being with the other" in Heidegger). They concur, Gordon argues, in their use of the phenomenological method, their sustained critique of transcendence and idealism, and their wish to return to a more primal, and more authentic experience of human being-in-the-world in its fallenness. While Rosenzweig's redemption was explicitly theological, Heidegger's authenticity remained decidedly atheistic. But Gordon sees in Heidegger's "falling" and "fleeing" a theological or theistic residue (p. 233), and thus once again establishes a bridge between the two thinkers at precisely the point where the analogy seems to be most tenuous.

The strengths of Gordon's work are its depth of

understanding, broadness of scope, and the meticulousness of its individual readings of the texts of both thinkers. Gordon's book is a major contribution to an understanding of the difficult and complex philosophy of Rosenzweig and offers a promising alternative to the Jewish or Judaic appropriation of his philosophy, to the comparisons with the tradition of Jewish thought such as Martin Buber and Emmanuel Levinas. The study stops short, however, of exploring the historico-political implications of its own conclusions. Gordon asserts that the political realm for both thinkers was simply not at the center of their concerns: one of the broader aims of the book, Gordon tells us in his conclusion, was "to recall a moment in German intellectual life when the philosophical bond between Germans and Jews appeared altogether natural and relatively untroubled by political events" (p. 310). Neither Rosenzweig nor Heidegger was capable of thinking intelligently about politics, Gordon argues, and neither one "showed any real aptitude for interpreting the various social issues of the day" (p. 310). We know the disastrous results of Heidegger's politics; with Rosenzweig, any realization of his politics was blunted by his death in 1929. That both recoiled and withdrew from politics appears symptomatic for philosophical expressionism of the Weimar period. This philosophical discourse disregarded the political as a distortion and abasement of the "truly" human and thereby succumbed to the myth of a pre-political, original, and authentic being-in-the-world that somehow escaped the exigencies and contingencies of real political life. Other thinkers of this period—Max Weber and Walter Benjamin, Georg Lukacs and Leo Strauss, Carl Schmitt and even Edmund Husserl himself—were more circumspect and critical in their appraisal of the role of the political, although they came to strikingly disparate conclusions and were equally distrustful of idealist metaphysics. A more encompassing reading of philosophical expressionism of the period would have to grapple with this difficult problem of the political rather than adopt a primarily historicist interpretation that merely asserts the apolitical nature of Rosenzweig's and Heidegger's shared philosophical concerns. That said, Gordon's book illuminates and articulates many aspects of Rosenzweig's philosophy that have remained obscure and captive within a Jewish interpretive canon, and the parallels with Heidegger lucidly reveal an underlying philosophical discourse both problematic and symptomatic of the time in which it emerged that receives the careful interpretation it deserves.

ROBERT S. LEVENTHAL
College of William and Mary

DUNCAN KELLY. *The State of the Political: Conception of Politics and the State in the Thought of Max Weber, Carl Schmitt and Franz Neumann*. (British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship Monograph.) New York: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy. 2003. Pp. viii, 368.

The somewhat arcane German tradition of public (or, literally, state) law, the so-called *Staatsrechtslehre*, has been of increasing interest to historians as well as legal and political theorists in the English-speaking world. In particular, the public law debates during the Weimar Republic have been subject to extensive scrutiny, not least because Weimar is seen as a kind of laboratory for thinking about mass democracy, the welfare state, and, not least, the very nature of politics itself. Many of these reconstructions have been highly stylized: for instance, the ideas of Hans Kelsen, the positivist legal theorist, are frequently mapped onto those of American liberals such as John Rawls; while the thought of the Social Democratic law professor Herman Heller is assimilated to that of Jürgen Habermas.

Duncan Kelly claims in his book that such reconstructions have often been characterized by “incomplete or slightly one-sided presentation” of the thinkers and the historical problems they were facing. He also feels that some of the recent writing on *Staatsrechtslehre* has been politicized. Thus he seeks to rectify this situation by recontextualizing the thought of three theorists of the modern state in particular: Max Weber, Carl Schmitt, and Franz Neumann. Kelly sets himself the task of recovering what, following J. G. A. Pocock, he calls the “wider ecology of political language” in which the three theorists operated both as public lawyers and as public moralists.

For Kelly, the historical picture is much more complicated than an initial classification of Weber as a “liberal,” Schmitt as a “conservative,” and Neumann as a “Social Democrat” would suggest. All three, according to Kelly, felt that the traditional German way of thinking about the state no longer could do justice to the transformations the state was undergoing in the conditions of twentieth-century mass-based politics. Older *Staatsrechtslehrer* had simply equated state, law, sovereignty, and politics; for the theorists under examination here, such equations no longer added up, and all rejected purely formal, juridical analyses of the state.

In his interpretation of Weber, Kelly for the most part follows the lead of Wilhelm Hennis. Like Hennis, he does not see Weber primarily as a “founding father of sociology” but as grappling with the question what kinds of human beings (and “personalities” in particular) would be shaped by the modern world, with its division into different “life orders.” Before he was a political theorist, so the argument goes, Weber was a “characterologist” whose concern with the fate of humanity decisively shaped the demands on modern political leadership and the political institutions required to produce that leadership.

In addition, Kelly claims that Weber, under the influence of Georg Jellinek, broke with many traditional ideas of *Staatsrechtslehre*, in particular the idea of the state itself as a “personality.” For Weber, statehood was ultimately about domination—and, according to Kelly, he was, above all, concerned to

“unmask” the state. Thus, the family history of twentieth-century German thought is rewritten to the extent that Weber becomes Friedrich Nietzsche’s nephew, with Schmitt in turn appearing as the not obviously illegitimate offspring of Weber.

Nevertheless, while tracing Weber’s influence on Schmitt, Kelly is adamant that such influence does not qualify Weber as a precursor of fascism, as some older German interpretations had it. For the most part, Kelly’s chapters on Schmitt appear as a synthesis of what previous English-speaking interpretations, especially John McCormick’s, have argued. He occasionally takes issue with such interpretations, but, overall, there is not much here that is new, either as history or as theoretical interpretation. Kelly, if anything, reinforces the point that Schmitt adapted Weberian insights and *Staatsrechtslehre* traditions more broadly in order to “neutralize” (and disarm) democracy. However, Kelly’s take on Neumann is more original, in that he carefully reconstructs where Neumann agreed with Weber’s and, in particular, Schmitt’s diagnoses of the problems of mass democracy.

In the end, this book is very useful for those who want to get a better sense of the peculiar German “state tradition” and its crises and transformations in the age of mass politics. It is less useful for those who are interested in individual thinkers; too often, Kelly follows (and mixes) established interpretations for any overall argument to emerge. And occasionally the book feels like a dissertation, with too many discussions of method and historical excursuses. There is a wealth of interesting insights here, but they do not always add up to a distinctive thesis.

JAN-WERNER MÜLLER
Princeton University

NIKOLAUS WACHSMANN. *Hitler’s Prisons: Legal Terror in Nazi Germany*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 538. \$45.00.

In this carefully researched and path-breaking book, Nikolaus Wachsmann does not focus solely, as the title implies, on the largely unknown Nazi prisons, penitentiaries, and prison camps. He examines the Nazi judiciary as well and argues persuasively that, contrary to the long-held view of many scholars, the judiciary and penal system in Adolf Hitler’s Germany played a key role in Nazi terror, along with the police and SS. During most of the Third Reich, German penal institutions, run by the traditional legal system, held more prisoners than the much more notorious symbols of Nazi repression, the concentration camps controlled by the SS.

The author begins by examining the prison system and officials of the Weimar Republic. The system’s focus on rehabilitation of criminals produced charges from the extreme right of leniency in prisons and demands for harsher discipline. Wachsmann shows how the Nazi legal apparatus remained largely in the hands of the same officials who had been in charge in

Weimar. The great majority of German judges, prosecutors, and other senior legal officials broadly supported the Nazi regime, welcoming its revival of nationalism, authoritarianism, and militarism. By 1938 more than half the judges and prosecutors had joined the Nazi Party. Moreover, "the great majority of local prison officials remained in office after the Nazi 'seizure of power'" (p. 78).

Not surprisingly, the harshness of judicial punishment increased significantly in the Third Reich (including both sentencing of real or imagined criminals and life in penal institutions), as did the numbers of inmates in prisons and penitentiaries. Also the courts involved themselves heavily in the assault on the regime's political opponents and "habitual criminals" and in enforcing key elements of Nazi racial policy, targeting for persecution social and racial outsiders or "aliens" such as Jews, homosexuals, and Jehovah's Witnesses. The same policy, moreover, along with legislation and activist prison officials, contributed to the forced sterilization of numerous prisoners. From the mid-1930s the regime began integrating prison labor into the economic drive to prepare Germany for war. Such labor expanded significantly during the war.

The judicial and prison authorities generally sympathized with and supported the widespread SS and police terror, including its use of indefinite detention without due judicial process. Mostly compromise and cooperation dominated the prewar relationship between the legal system and police. Overall, however, "the legal system remained the foremost agency in the punishment of criminal and political offences," as shown by the high number of prisoners in the prewar years, "which dwarfed inmate numbers in SS concentration camps" (p. 185).

During World War II, Nazi terror against "community aliens" escalated dramatically, as the regime drew the circle of "dangerous" individuals ever wider and quickly made mass murder a legitimate policy. Wachsmann notes how Hitler served as the driving force in most of this escalation, with his fanatical belief that Germany must protect itself from another "stab-in-the-back" at home by instituting the harshest and most brutal terror for Germans as well as foreigners. The Criminal Law Decree for Poles and Jews of December 1941 demonstrated openly the willingness of leading legal officials to turn law into a weapon of racial extermination. Essentially "the decree opened the door for the unconditional execution of Poles and Jews, now deprived of any legal protection" (p. 203).

Following Hitler's public attack on the legal system in early 1942, when he accused it of being too lenient, police powers expanded even more, and all suspected subversives, from foreign workers to ex-convicts and "professional criminals," were "rounded up and sent straight to concentration camps, rather than being handed over to the legal authorities" (p. 211). Prisoner numbers in the concentration camps rose sharply. In August 1942, to extend the legal terror further, Hitler appointed Otto-Georg Thierack, the bloodthirsty pres-

ident of the dreaded People's Court, as Reich Minister of Justice. Death sentences jumped precipitously. So, in the war's final months, did mass killings of "asocial" and other unwanted prison inmates.

Wachsmann concludes with an excellent survey of the postwar legal systems in West and East Germany. In the Bonn Republic, most former Nazi jurists and prison officials not only escaped punishment for their criminal behavior but found reemployment in the "new" system. This outstanding study is well written and organized, based on extensive archival sources, and often brings Nazi prisons to life through the stories of individual inmates. It will serve as the standard work on its subject.

DONALD M. MCKALE
Clemson University

BONHOEFFER. Written and directed by Martin Doblmeier. U.S.A. In English. 2003; black and white and color; 90 minutes. Distributed by First Run/Icarus Films.

In this outstanding documentary, Martin Doblmeier gives us a chronological narrative of the life and thought of the young Protestant theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906–1945), who, in contrast to the majority of his fellow Germans, refused to be compromised by the nationalistic promises of Adolf Hitler. Making use of over thirty archives and personal collections, Doblmeier recreates Bonhoeffer's life in the context of the struggle of the German Protestant churches with the National Socialist state for religious freedom. He uses interviews with Bonhoeffer's friends, students, and family—such as his niece, Renate Bethge, her husband and Dietrich's best friend, Eberhard, and his nephew, Christoph von Dohnanyi—to detail Bonhoeffer's life. In addition, the director includes insightful commentaries by historians Victoria Barnett, John Conway, and Peter Hoffmann, and theologians Clifford Green, Christian Gremmels, John de Gruchy, and Geoffrey Kelly. Barnett and Kelly, along with theologians Andreas Pangritz and the late F. Burton Nelson, all experts on the life and thought of Bonhoeffer, served as consultants for the film.

The strength of Doblmeier's documentary, which in its presentation and depth of analysis far surpasses previous efforts, is the filmmaker's openness to exploring Bonhoeffer's theology and its impact on his historical life choices. The film convincingly shows how Bonhoeffer's theology developed from a series of life experiences. The combat death of his brother Walter in 1918, the devastation and aftermath of the Great War, and the Word theology of Karl Barth all helped Bonhoeffer to choose pacifism over nationalism as the frail democracy of Weimar struggled to root itself in Germany. His 1930 move from Berlin to New York City also altered Bonhoeffer's perception of the world as he encountered the thought of Reinhold Niebuhr and the gospel worship services of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem. As Reverend Henry Mitch-

ell comments, it was the first time that Bonhoeffer had experienced the political and social engagement of a church. Similarly, the influence of his friend, the Frenchman Jean Lasserre, at Union Theological Seminary taught Bonhoeffer that "nothing in scripture gives a person the right to destroy the body of Christ." Even more significant, as de Gruchy explains, was Lasserre's interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount, which made clear to Bonhoeffer that its message was not meant to show Christians how sinful they were but rather how Jesus "actually intended us to live."

Doblmeier notes, however, that these insights did not immediately affect Bonhoeffer's behavior. It is true that a few years after Bonhoeffer had returned to Germany, in February 1933, he was one of the few who publicly critiqued the concept of *Führer* through a radio address. Still, in April 1933, upon the death of the father of his brother-in-law, Gerhard Leibholz, a Christian of Jewish descent, Bonhoeffer followed the advice of a church official and refused to preside at the funeral. Nevertheless, as theologian Clifford Green explains, Bonhoeffer felt "dreadfully ashamed" afterward. Consequently, from this point onward, Doblmeier portrays Bonhoeffer as an individual one step ahead of the rest of his fellow church members. For example, in an interview, de Gruchy correctly identifies Bonhoeffer's groundbreaking essay, "The Church and the Jewish Question," as a "watershed moment" when he became the first German theologian to radically challenge the state's rights to persecute Jews. Yet the film fails to note that even here, within this unique essay, Bonhoeffer restated the decide charge against the Jews. However, by May 1934, when German Protestants, primarily associated with the Confessing Church, issued the Barmen Declaration that demanded freedom for the church to preach the gospel without even mentioning the plight of Jews in Germany, Bonhoeffer was clearly speaking about freedom for the church to stand by all victims. Winfried Maechler, a student of Bonhoeffer's at the Confessing Church's seminary in Finkenwalde, shares the belief that Bonhoeffer drew parallels between the oppression of African Americans that he witnessed in the United States and the persecution of Jews in Germany. Drawing on this sharp contrast, Doblmeier raises the question: does an individual have to go outside his or her milieu to gain these insights? Ultimately, you may answer affirmatively, especially as you listen to interviews with Bonhoeffer's Finkenwalde students who still seem astounded by the newness and challenge of Bonhoeffer's thought.

As is well known, Bonhoeffer ultimately sacrificed his life for his beliefs by joining family members Klaus Bonhoeffer, Hans von Dohnanyi, and Rudiger Schleicher in the resistance movement. Tempted in 1939 to remain in New York City, after friends arranged for him to teach at Union Theological Seminary, Bonhoeffer, Gremmels argues, followed instead the commands of the biblical prophet Isaiah who stated that "He who believes does not flee," and took the last ship back to

Germany before the war began. Thereafter, he resumed his work as a resistor. Bonhoeffer's theological development led him to believe firmly that tyrannicide was ethically justified.

Doblmeier offers the viewer a complete portrait of his subject. Even amid the tension-filled years of shaping a plan of resistance, Bonhoeffer disclosed a profound love for Maria von Wedemeyer, to whom he proposed before his arrest. Their last "illegal" embrace before the Gestapo is movingly recounted by Maria's sister, Ruth Alice von Bismarck.

Doblmeier's documentary is excellent. Only a few areas call for improvement. Perhaps more development could be given to how Bonhoeffer arrived at the topic of his dissertation, the "Communion of Saints," the concept of community that was so central to his theological writing. In contrast, less time could be spent on the segment of Wolfgang Huber, the Evangelical Church Bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg, in which the apologetic distinction between anti-Judaism and antisemitism is explained. Lastly, a brief but informative section on the Catholic Church and the Third Reich seems awkwardly inserted into the narrative. These minor critiques aside, Doblmeier has created on film an enduring account of the witness of a saint for our times.

KEVIN P. SPICER, C.S.C.
Stonehill College

CHRISTOPHER R. BROWNING. *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939-March 1942*. With contributions by JÜRGEN MATTHÄUS (The Comprehensive History of the Holocaust.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, and Jerusalem: Yad Vashem. 2004. Pp. xii, 615. \$39.95.

Christopher R. Browning has worked for three decades to dissect the political decision-making processes that led to the Holocaust. His newest book presents the summation so far. Since it appears as part of a series published by the Israeli memorial Yad Vashem and titled "The Comprehensive History of the Holocaust," it begins, without further introduction, on September 1, 1939. It ends in March 1942, at which point, in the author's view, the "Final Solution" had been decided upon for certain.

The book is clearly structured, well written, and free of intentionalist determinism. Its strength lies in the author's remarkable precision and eye for detail—and therein lies also its weakness, in this case. One problem is that Browning occasionally includes older essays in the text without really integrating them into the thematic structure of the book. Thus the reader asks in confusion why, after the mass murders in the Soviet Union have already been dealt with, the text suddenly jumps back (p. 334) to a portrayal of the German occupation and persecution of Jews in Serbia in all its extreme personal and institutional complexity. Overall, the study seems too detailed and too oriented toward the activities of individual and sometimes

secondary participants. Ultimately the origins of the Final Solution cannot be dealt with in sentences such as "Wirth led Eichmann and Höfle along a small forest path on the left side of the road" (p. 363). Yet many other details are rightly included in the text for their emblematic significance—for example, the forced digging of a mass grave by a troop of Jewish men in the early hours of the war against the Soviet Union: "Security Police and the SD men of the Stapoleitstelle Tilsit abused the victims, especially an old rabbi with a beard and caftan; one person was shot for not digging fast enough" (p. 254).

Browning is not among the unrealistic historical optimists who tend to trace the horror of the Holocaust to a single, supposedly obvious cause that can then be easily fought and summarized for the next generation in practical bullet points. Instead, he analyzes its history as a fully open, multifactored, and contingent political process. He is interested in the continuing and often confusing progression of decision making within the Nazi leadership, which is difficult to reconstruct due to the small number of surviving documents. He wants to know how this progression was joined with murderous experiments. This occurred within the paradigm, developed earlier by Hans Mommsen, of "cumulative radicalization."

The virtue of this volume clearly lies in the first section, which describes the inconsistencies, the failure of various plans, and the progressive increase in the radicalization of anti-Jewish policies in occupied Poland. An important section of the work, comprising some sixty pages, was contributed by Jürgen Matthäus; it deals with the hundreds of thousands of mass murders committed by members of the Einsatzgruppen during the early months of the war with the Soviet Union. This chapter, too, is marked by excellent research and synthesis. (It differs pleasantly from Browning's work in its more open overall interpretation. However, it is quite unnecessary that the number and length of footnotes should double the minute a German begins to write history.)

With this book, Browning and Matthäus have provided one of a number of important contributions to current Holocaust research, but they have not written the definitive work. This is not the result of any failure on the authors' part. They did their best. Most likely, the time is not yet ripe for such an undertaking. The wonderful synthesis of existing knowledge that Saul Friedländer produced in 1997 for the first phase of the persecutions of Jews in Germany does not yet seem possible for the period of the mass murders. The variety, parallelism, and inductive interconnections in the trans-European process of discrimination, expropriation, and extermination still elude scholarly portrayal. This is probably due not to the abilities of individual historians but to the long-term, traumatizing impact of the events. Therefore, the following critical remarks should not be seen as specific criticism of the work in question. They are meant to encourage the integration of the events of the Holocaust as

appropriately as possible into German, Jewish, and European history.

First of all, the entire complex of the robbery of the property, down to the least possessions, of the European Jews remains remarkably vague in the book under discussion. Browning fails to illuminate the consensus-building effect of Aryanization. He is not interested in the fact that, immediately after the start of the war, the forced surrender of German Jewish property was raised from twenty to twenty-five percent, or that the property placed under trusteeship, before also being formally expropriated in November 1941, was systematically turned into war bonds, which, upon the deportation of the creditor, were stricken from the German Reich's debt records—with names purposely left out. Browning overlooks the energy with which Hermann Göring set out, early on, "to interest the French" in the expropriation of Jewish property. The fundamental political decisions that led to the Final Solution cannot be understood if the fact of broad-based mass robbery and murder is insufficiently included in the portrayal. This robbery was not an incidental phenomenon; it was among the direct purposes of the Holocaust.

The second conceptual problem can be clarified through the concept of "collaboration." As Browning and Matthäus use it, it suggests a dirty but nevertheless secondary complicity by many individual residents of the occupied or dependent countries of Europe. True, there can be not the slightest doubt that it was the Germans who developed the idea of systematic murder of the Jews. They ran the extermination camps and led most of the execution commandos. Nonetheless, the concept of "collaboration" disguises the massive self-interest that the different national collectives associated with the disappearance of the Jews. Here congruencies of interest existed between Germans and Poles, Germans and Letts, Germans and Greeks, and later Germans and Hungarians that could be jointly achieved in a particular historical situation. What is crucial, and disturbing in its answers, is the sober question: did the discrimination, expropriation, and deportation of the Jews make the German occupation of different European countries easier or more difficult? Put differently, Auschwitz is without doubt the lowest point not only in German history but also in European history.

The third point of criticism follows from this. The Holocaust cannot be explained through the administrative files marked "Jewish question." Nor can the history of decision making be explained through German sources alone. It was necessary for the weak occupational forces to newly implement their racial program in each place. This meant that the project of the Final Solution to the Jewish question remained experimental to the end, and was broken off when, as in France or Central Bulgaria, Budapest or Athens, sudden difficulties emerged with regard to the cooperativeness of local authorities. This occurred to very different degrees in the various regions and localities.

All in all, assimilated Jews had a far higher chance of survival than the nonassimilated. But to integrate such European issues into the history of the origins of the Final Solution, this history must be structured much more broadly and include a wider variety of perspectives than Browning and Matthäus have done. It must also be recognized that Holocaust research is only as good as the extent to which it includes the European history of the first half of the twentieth century.

GÖTZ ALY

University of Frankfurt a.M.

TINA CAMPT. *Other Germans: Black Germans and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Memory in the Third Reich*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2004. Pp. x, 283.

At the core of Tina Campt's book stands her interpretation of interviews that she conducted in Germany in the early 1990s with two black Germans who happened to have lived in Nazi Germany. Rather than examining the neglected social history of the small black German minority in the German racial state, the book prefers to focus on the minority's memories. Campt seeks "to show how an examination of the memories of Afro-Germans highlights the workings of memory as a technology that produces not only dominant accounts of history but also the potential for alternative forms of knowledge production and meaning making" (p. 82). Fair enough. Yet in order to contextualize the life stories of these so-called *Mischlinge* (or "hybrids"—the offspring of an "Aryan" and a "non-Aryan"), the book offers a rather long historical introduction into the political, social, and legal status of black Germans in imperial Germany and during the first years of the Weimar Republic. The origins of Nazi Germany's treatment of *Mischlinge* can be traced back to Germany's short colonial history. More than any other factor, the public discourse rejecting mixed marriages in the German colonies in South West Africa prior to World War I and the campaign against the presence of black soldiers in the French force occupying the Rhineland after 1918 molded the German public's image of its colored citizens. Germany's ethnic conception of citizenship would prove incapable of accommodating exceptions such as nonwhite Germans. Indeed, under the racist dictatorship of National Socialism, approximately half of the offspring of German women and black occupation soldiers—children who embodied Germany's defeat—became victims of forced sterilization. Unfortunately, Campt presents neither substantial new historical sources for these well-documented episodes nor original interpretation, and her survey ignores the extensive literature in the field of ethnicity and racialization.

The book's strength and original contribution lies in the interviews and their interpretation. By choosing Hans Hauck, a so-called "Rhineland Buster," and Fasia Jansen, the daughter of a German mother and

Liberian father, the author covers two different gender perspectives from within this historical chapter. Simultaneously, Campt convincingly demonstrates how the image of the "Rhineland Busters" dominated the collective German perception of black Germans of the time. Through her careful reading of the interviews and the implementation of theoretical tools, Campt succeeds in portraying the ambivalence of her black Germans, a result of their uncommon experience of being both "outsider" and "insider" in German society under National Socialism. Employing the concept of the "Other Within," Campt succeeds convincingly in interpreting the seemingly contradictory position of her heroes within and outside the system.

The troubling aspect of the book lies in Campt's ambition to demonstrate "that although anti-Semitism played a key role in Nazi ideology, it did so as part of a larger system of racism in which race served as the essential biological category that defined an individual's social status and value" (p. 165). This ambition might explain the contradiction implicit in Campt's argument as she points to the insider status of her informants on the one hand while overlooking the full significance of this status on the other. Thus, for example, she painstakingly observes the conceptual inconsistency implied by the coinciding of Hauck's membership in the Hitler Youth with his forced sterilization. Although she interviews Hauck about his military service at the Eastern Front between 1942 and 1945, Campt is interested in Hauck's memories of the war only insofar as they serve her interpretation of his position vis-à-vis his German comrades. Not once does it occur to her to question him about his experience with regard to the civilian population—Jewish and otherwise—whom he actively helped to exterminate.

This neglect appears even more sharply emphasized in the interview with Jansen, who was forced to work as a cook in Neuengamme, a concentration camp near Hamburg. Speaking of Neuengamme, Jansen begins to recall her experiences with the Jewish inmates: "They, it's interesting, these, these . . ." Suddenly, she changes her mind, stopping in mid-sentence: "But you want to hear about me and not about the Polish-Jewish women." "No, I'd like to hear your impressions," is Campt's immediate response (p. 151). It soon becomes apparent, however, that Jansen's intuition regarding the interests of her interviewer was not so far off the mark. Later in the interview, Jansen recalls the terrifying fate of the Jewish women: "They were bombed. They were put on ships and, they, they, they were bombed. And the people who wanted to save themselves, the SS, they got boats, boats to catch them, right? They [the SS] rowed around and shot them in the water. There's a film about it." "Mhm," is all the meager reaction this story elicits from Campt (p. 152). The reader is left to wonder whether Jansen was, in fact, trying to tell the story of the *Cap Arcona*, the former luxury ship that was mistakenly bombed by the Royal Air Force in May 1945 while it was transporting inmates from Neuengamme. Yet going into Jansen's

account of the Jewish women murdered in the water would have made Camp's story much more complicated by highlighting the meaning of the "inside" position so self-evident for Hauck and Jansen, a position emphasizing the true boundaries and essential differences between the various victims of the German racial state.

YFAAT WEISS
University of Haifa

TATJANA TÖNSMEYER. *Das Dritte Reich und die Slowakei, 1939–1945: Politischer Alltag zwischen Kooperation und Eigensinn*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 2003. Pp. 387. €48.00.

A major theme of Tatjana Tönsmeier's detailed study of the advisors sent by Nazi Germany to the Slovak state is the mutual misunderstanding that existed on both sides of this complex relationship. She notes that, for the leaders of the Third Reich, Slovakia and its population remained more or less a blank spot on the Nazi ideological map, not even worthy of mention in Nazi plans for the reordering of Europe. Certainly her carefully nuanced analysis of the "everyday politics" pursued by the German advisors goes a long way toward filling in the large empty space that characterized the prior historiography of Germany's relations with the Jozef Tiso regime.

Based on the surviving reports of the advisors themselves, mainly from the Archives of the German Foreign Office, together with official Slovak documentation, records from postwar trials, and published memoirs, Tönsmeier presents a strong case against characterizing Slovakia as merely a "satellite" state. Rather the Germans themselves saw certain advantages in acknowledging Slovak sovereignty, and the relationship was constantly renegotiated throughout the state's short existence. Most importantly, Slovak politicians enjoyed some freedom of action in dealing with Nazi pressure, as Adolf Hitler was unlikely to order a full-scale occupation of the country merely to enforce minor economic demands.

Thus Tönsmeier's detailed research into the practical activities of the advisors reveals certain real limitations to German influence in Slovakia, even at the height of Nazi power in Europe. Tönsmeier characterizes the Slovak approach as a willingness to accept the transfer of "know-how" from Germany, as the young Slovak state lacked sufficient trained personnel, experience, and resources. But this willingness was accompanied by a healthy resistance to the direct import of Nazi ideology, if there was considerable common ground in terms of antisemitism and the construction of an authoritarian one-party state. Certain rifts within the Tiso regime also offered opportunities for increased German penetration, as internal opponents sometimes looked for German support to advance their cause (although these efforts generally did not achieve the desired outcome).

The most insightful aspect of the book is Tönsmeier's

analysis of the effectiveness of the advisors, which is also her main focus. She discovers that some individuals managed to achieve a great deal by constantly badgering their Slovak counterparts with demands for information and personal visits, while others found themselves more or less excluded from access to the relevant partners. Viktor Nageler, for example, the advisor to the Hlinka Guard, was especially unsuccessful, as direct German interference in Slovak internal affairs was not desired.

Apart from military cooperation, a central aspect of the relationship was German economic exploitation. In this respect the treaties signed shortly after the founding of the Slovak state served as useful tools for exploiting Slovak resources during the war, especially through the mechanism of the clearing agreements. By July 1944, the unpaid clearing debts run up by Germany had reached more than twice the annual budget of the Slovak state. This does not mean that the Germans always got their way, however. In terms of forcing stricter price controls, the rationing of certain goods, or even the exploitation of Slovak forests, German demands were sometimes successfully ignored or rebuffed. In one unusually curt exchange a German forestry official, Willi Parchmann warned: "The Bolsheviks will hang you from the trees you are not willing to cut down for us!" The Slovak official retorted: "Then at least I will die knowing that I have saved Slovakia's most essential resources for the Slovak people, her forests."

Tönsmeier's work also sheds some light on the development of the Holocaust in this region; but this remains only a subplot, or one example among many of the complexity of the interrelationship. With regard to "Aryanisation," she argues that Dieter Wisliceny only helped to steer a process that had already begun before his arrival, and which for some time had been justified publicly by Slovakia's political leadership as reclaiming "unlawfully appropriated Slovak property," reflecting the strength of home-grown antisemitism. Similarly the deportation of the Jews was a (fairly rare) straightforward case of common interests between the two states, while the subsequent cessation of the deportations demonstrated Slovak autonomy.

One slight problem with the book is that the strictly analytical approach adopted leaves the uninitiated reader a bit confused about certain key developments in Slovak domestic politics and leads to some duplication across chapters. However, this minor irritation does not detract from a refreshingly incisive, informative, and well-argued thesis that provides many important insights into the nature of the Tiso regime and its relationship with Nazi Germany.

MARTIN DEAN
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

MATTHIAS SCHRÖDER. *Deutschbaltische SS-Führer und Andrej Vlasov 1942–1945: "Russland kann nur von Russen besiegt werden"; Erhard Kroeger, Friedrich Buchardt und die "Russische Befreiungsarmee."* 2d. ed.

(Sammlung Schöningh zur Geschichte und Gegenwart.) Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 2003. Pp. 256. €34.00.

This interesting study by Matthias Schröder contributes to our understanding of the Nazi regime's poly-cratic potential by a close examination of how an interest group of Baltic German "Eastern Europe experts" in the SS instrumentalized an anti-Bolshevik movement around the captured Soviet general Andrei Vlasov for their own political ends. The book's focus is not Vlasov or his motivations but the institutional and personal context of mid-level Nazi leaders seeking to manipulate him and the Russian Liberation Army he was to organize (reflecting the motto of the book's subtitle, "Russia can only be defeated by Russians"). What becomes clear is that divergent views on the future of Eastern Europe held by competing Nazi factions could in practice often be combined in the destructive dynamic of the regime as a whole. These Baltic German SS officers, presenting themselves as "sensible Nazis" (p. 180) and arguing for pragmatic approaches to Eastern questions and the recruiting of Russian forces to fight against the USSR, nonetheless had themselves participated in the genocidal onslaught coinciding with the invasion of the Soviet Union, as leaders or officers of *Einsatzgruppen* squads.

Schröder launches his study with detailed biographical examinations of the prehistory of the SS officials steering the Vlasov initiative: Dr. Erhard Kroeger and Dr. Friedrich Buchardt. Both men were Baltic Germans from Latvia whose youth was stamped by their ethnic group's loss of status, falling from a dominant social position based on seven centuries of preeminence in the Baltic region to the reduced state of being a minority group in a new Latvian republic. Kroeger played a catalytic role as a founder of the National Socialist movement within the Baltic German community. This radical movement stirred a generational revolt against the aristocratic and liberal middle-class traditions of the community's older elite, looking instead to Nazi Germany for inspiration and support. The paradoxical outcome was the destruction of that very community, as the Baltic states were handed to Joseph Stalin by the Nazi-Soviet Pact of August 23, 1939. Apparently at Kroeger's suggestion, from October 1939 on, 60–70,000 Baltic Germans were resettled from Estonia and Latvia to annexed Polish areas. Coordinating this massive population movement (while Poles and Jews were expelled), Kroeger solidified his own role as "Führer" of the Baltic Germans. He and associates like Buchardt moved on to rapidly rising careers in the SS (whose ethos matched theirs).

Compellingly, Schröder explores the unique and contradictory position of Baltic German personal networks and cliques within the Nazi system. Baltic Germans often met antipathy but also proved prominent participants. While not monolithic, their views on Eastern Europe were a distinctive strain in a range of perspectives, dominated by Nazi racial thinking that

regarded Eastern Europeans as subhumans. The officers' claim to be experts on Russia won them prominent positions, but this expertise was not without ideological directions. Said to be marked by a "paternalistic Russophilia" (p. 181), they fully agreed with a crusade against the Soviet Union, hoping to establish a future authoritarian Russia under their leadership. Thus, the Vlasov initiative hailed a possible German-Russian alliance instead of immediate subjugation of the Slavs. As a "critique from within the system" (p. 208), it by no means constituted true resistance or an oppositional stance, as some tried to claim after the war. After a first attempt of setting up Vlasov forces under the German army failed, the Baltic German Nazis crafted a second plan that won over a triumvirate of leaders: Heinrich Himmler, Joachim von Ribbentrop, and Joseph Goebbels. The movement's formation in 1944 and 1945, however, came too late to have real effect.

Schröder usefully pursues the narrative beyond the war's end, arguing that 1945 was not a definitive caesura. While Vlasov was returned to Russia and executed in 1946, a different fate awaited his Nazi handlers. They escaped full punishment and offered their services to British and American secret services in the Cold War. The volume includes an appendix with articles from the Baltic German Nazi press of the early 1930s, a bibliography of Kroeger's writings, and photographs of the principals. This focused study further refines our perception of the inner dynamics of the Nazi state and illuminates the complexities of mixed fanaticism and pragmatic practice.

VEJAS GABRIEL LIULEVICIUS
University of Tennessee

PAUL BETTS. *The Authority of Everyday Objects: A Cultural History of West German Industrial Design*. (Weimar and Now: German Cultural Criticism, number 34.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 348. \$50.00.

This is a smart book. Focusing on the history of industrial design of household and other everyday objects, Paul Betts explores the political uses and social meanings of modernist aesthetics in twentieth-century Germany, and along the way reinterprets the culture, character, and ideological entanglements of Nazi and postwar German modernisms. Betts is less concerned to establish the cultural modernity of the Nazi regime and its post-1945 successor states than to explore the various ways that modernism has been embraced and employed since the 1920s, both in the overtly public spheres of German architecture, advertising, and industrial exhibitions and in the more private spheres of the modern German home and personal consumer choices. While he finds much continuity across political regimes—asserting, in fact, that "outwardly, German design changed little between 1925 and 1965" (p. 80)—his keen eye for detail uncovers the shifts and conflicts in the ideological

significance and social meanings of design for the household, workplace, even the church.

Beginning with the early 1930s, Betts explores diverse reactions to kitsch and the leveling effects of consumer materialism within such ideologically disparate organizations as the Werkbund (founded in 1907 and father to the Weimar Bauhaus) and Albert Speer's Beauty of Labor Bureau. Both endeavored to invest material objects with "spirituality," whether construed as emanating from a craftsman-like reverence for simplicity and the use of "true" (natural) materials, or from efforts to "re-enchant" the industrial world by rendering it, and even its most mundane products such as dishware and radios, an "extension of German *Kultur*" (p. 50). Because Germany overcame its history of economic instability and shortages only by the turn of the 1960s, when it emerged as a stable and well-supplied consumer society (and then only in the West), both the Nazi state and its Cold War successors alike relied on the "magical power of modern design to manufacture fetching images of future prosperity" (p. 69). Common to the National Socialist and postwar periods was an ambivalence to American models of modernity. If the Third Reich produced a nationalized Nazi modernism that nonetheless assimilated international styles, the postwar transition to East and West Germany unleashed debates regarding each society's relationship to its Weimar and Nazi predecessors and to the Cold War superpowers that now flanked them. In charting this extended dialogue, Betts adds another dimension to our understanding of the cultural transition from fascist to postfascist Germany.

If, by the end of the 1950s, the West German Design Council opted to advertise its new liberal state at international exhibitions through examples of international and national modernism, such as Marcel Breuer's steel tube chairs, Bosch kitchens, and Braun phonographs, debates about the national implications of design during the first decade after the war were considerably more fraught (p. 192). Shortly after 1945, members of the reconstituted Werkbund in West Germany conceived of a moral approach to design that rejected both Nazi-era styling and the austere "use-value" associated with the Bauhaus-style functionalism of the Weimar era (p. 84). Their goal was to invest everyday objects with a postfascist, even antifascist, sensibility. Launching public education programs to train Germans in "tasteful designs" and a "healthy feeling for form," Werkbund members proved elitist and conservative in their cultural critique of mass consumption and, by extension, liberal values (pp. 98, 76). During the first decade after the war, then, the provincial style of the Black Forest house could be embraced for its "spiritual" potential, while American-style streamline could be denounced for its "bad form" (pp. 86, 87). When, in the mid-1950s, the stodgy if sturdy Gelsenkirchen Baroque furniture that survived the Third Reich finally gave way to the Nierentisch modern of kidney-shaped coffee tables, some—particularly at West Germany's premier design institute in

Ulm—condemned it as a "plastic challenge" that eroded German culture through its crass commercialism and lowbrow taste. Others, however, embraced the whimsical "swollen shapes" of Nierentisch as a liberating contrast to the "evil jagged edges of the swastika" (p. 116). Who knew that shapes could be so central to the renegotiation of national identities and ideologies?

Like the best cultural history, Betts's account transcends his nominally narrow topic by persuasively demonstrating that modernist industrial design and its politically mutable iconography were central to the self-understanding and self-representation of political regimes and their national citizenry. By thoroughly contextualizing his topic, Betts traces the twists, turns, and transformations in the aestheticized politics of fascist, postfascist, and, to a lesser extent, even post-socialist Germany. The result is a nuanced, well-illustrated history that documents how official, industry, and artistic prescriptions for modern living were infused with collective meaning and morality over the course of nearly a century of serial regime change. It suggests why and how consumer goods and notions of style have come to structure not only national narratives but also Germans' personal memories and sense of self.

HEIDE FEHRENBACH
Northern Illinois University

MICHAEL SCHWARTZ. *Vertriebene und "Umsiedlerpolitik": Integrationskonflikte in den deutschen Nachkriegs-Gesellschaften und die Assimilationsstrategien in der SBZ/DDR 1945–1961.* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, number 61.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2004. Pp. x, 1247.

The mining of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) archives continues to yield riches. Michael Schwartz's massive, detailed study of post-World War II refugees in East Germany rests primarily on research in the repositories of the Bundesarchiv Berlin, and three provincial archives (Mecklenburg, Saxony, and Thuringia). As a result of the war, approximately 15 million people fled, were expelled, or were forcibly resettled from Germany's eastern territories: lands transferred to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union. Of these 15 million, some 4.3 million landed in the Soviet Occupation Zone (SBZ), which, of course, later became the East German state. This is a revisionist work, insofar as it aims to correct the triumphalist West German version of a successful integration of the expellees into postwar society. Schwartz maintains that the expellee situation, like so many other aspects of postwar German history, needs to be considered as a *gesamtdeutsch* (whole German) development requiring examination of events in the "other" Germany. Historiographically, Schwartz's study is part of an on-going reconsideration and reorientation of postwar German history in light of newly available East German archives.

Readers up to date with recent research into the

SBZ and early GDR will encounter a depressingly familiar story in Schwartz's analysis of the twists and turns of Soviet and East German policy making, the machinations of the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED), and how the resettlement of expellees became engulfed in the politicized bureaucracy that came to dominate East German society. The German authorities' primary goal was to integrate the expellees into a social and political system that itself was in a formative stage. An immediate concern was providing for the day-to-day needs of people who often arrived completely dispossessed of the most basic necessities. The expellees burdened an already inadequate social system; Schwartz estimates, for example, that of the nearly one million people on public assistance in the province of Saxony at the end of 1947, nearly half were recently arrived expellees, over 76,000 of whom were elderly pensioners who would never be able to provide for themselves (p. 606).

One persistent roadblock to the expellees' successful integration came from locals who resented the newcomers' demands on already inadequate resources. Far from being welcomed with open arms, the expellees were often met with hostility and excluded from formal and informal social networks at the local level. A good example comes from the land reform program. Soviet and German authorities saw land reform as a solution to a host of social problems, including that of integrating the expellees. On paper at least, land reform looked like a "win-win" proposition: the political and social influence of reactionary large landowners would be eliminated through expropriation, and the expellees would be provided with land, housing, and household items through the redistribution of expropriated property. The expellees, however, were effectively shut out of the program: as outsiders they were often not represented on local land reform commissions where long-standing residents had control over redistribution of the spoils. As the land reform example shows, the challenge of integrating millions of expellees cannot be understood by simply examining policy development and the intentions of policy makers. The expellees had to negotiate, often without success, a complex web of social, political, and cultural "networks" and "sub-systems."

The expellees' experience in the land reform program is but one of many aspects of this study. Schwartz offers insightful analyses of how the challenge of integrating expellees became entangled in the evolving relationships between the Soviet occupation authorities and the SED leadership, between the leaders of the SED itself, and between the SED and the nonsocialist "bourgeois" political parties. Although much of this study is centered on bureaucratic policies and personnel, it offers more than the type of acronym-laden, dry as dust social history those familiar with German academic research might expect. To his credit, Schwartz rejects the notion that the expellees can be reduced to "simple helpless objects" in the implementation of policies handed down from above,

or, more generally, in the context of the creation of a Soviet-inspired dictatorship (p. 1119). Schwartz never loses sight of the human element in his story as he uncovers historical developments in all their complexity and contradiction. Although at times this study seems about to sink under the weight of its own detail and interpretive apparatus, Schwartz has a knack for stepping back at the right moment to summarize and reflect on the larger historical, sociological, and philosophical implications of his work. Those interested in the postwar expellee question in particular, or in SBZ/GDR history in general, will find here a lucid analysis based on exhaustive primary research. This book should be acquired by all major research libraries.

TIMOTHY R. VOGT
Independent Scholar

SANDER L. GILMAN. *Jurek Becker: A Life in Five Worlds*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 282.

This biography of East German writer Jurek Becker is perhaps not the best window on the world of high and mass culture and dissent in East Germany. Sander L. Gilman sticks fairly close to Becker's life, which was unusual—and his political views were often myopic. But a longtime observer and friend of Becker, Gilman painstakingly describes Becker's tumultuous experiences and private life, effectively demonstrating how they informed his work.

Becker was born in 1937 to a nonreligious Jewish family in Lodz that survived four years in the Lodz ghetto. Mother (Chana) and son were then shipped to Ravensbrück; Chana died of tuberculosis after liberation. Allegedly because he possessed an illegal radio in the ghetto, father Mordeha (later Max) had been arrested and sent to Auschwitz. After it was shut down, he was transferred to Sachsenhausen. An operator, Max Becker learned to describe the past creatively to cope with wartime and postwar chaos. Storytelling eventually became a family trait.

Reunited, Max and Jurek landed accidentally in the eastern sector of Berlin. For Max, the status of German Jew seemed better than that of Polish Jew, and he seized the opportunity to invent a new birthplace (Fürth). Jurek's obsession with the German language—he remembered little Polish or ghetto speech—became a sign of his new German identity, which was extended after 1949 into emotional affiliation with the new socialist German state. But Jurek Becker remained an outsider in a society where anti-semites were common. The East German anti-Zionist campaign of the mid-1950s made Becker an object of official suspicion, too. Whatever he did, he was stamped not only as a Jew but as a survivor of the Holocaust.

Suspended from the university, Becker made a go first as a television screenwriter, then as a serious novelist, where his outsider's perspective sharpened

his insight. Success gave him enough financial and psychological security that he was able, if with considerable political difficulty, to represent the Holocaust in his work, beginning with his 1969 novel *Jacob the Liar*. Until then the Holocaust was an open wound about which no one in East Germany spoke publicly. Representation of the Holocaust contradicted the official line that communists were the primary victims of the Nazis. Gilman illustrates the latter point, telling how Becker's six-year-old son once came home from school to ask: "Father, is it true that Hitler invaded the GDR?" (p. 61).

Jacob the Liar earned Becker a literary reputation inside and outside East Germany. More publications and screenplays followed, and he was allowed stays in West Germany and the United States. Becker was often pigeonholed as a Jewish writer, although his range of interests and work was much broader.

The metaphor of the broken marriage, with which Becker had plenty of experience, is more or less appropriate for Becker's relationship with East Germany. On the one hand, the authorities respected him (and selected others) for the ability to write quality works and achieve success. On the other hand, the tensions of living together were very great. After the Soviet Union crushed the Prague Spring, Becker's political views began to change, but he tried to avoid an outright divorce.

According to Gilman, Becker distrusted German society more than the communist state; for him, communist control served as a guarantee against what he had witnessed as a child. While in East Germany, he was vocally critical of government actions against dissidents, such as the expulsion of his friend Wolf Biermann. When abroad, however, Becker avoided direct attacks on the regime, regarding himself as a socialist living in West Germany or staying on fellowships in the United States. In 1979 he managed to extract from East Germany a unique ten-year visa allowing him to stay and publish in the West but to return to see family and conduct business in the East. Becoming an accepted member of the West German cultural elite, he was living in West Berlin when the wall was breached. He was never close enough to the authorities to be compromised by the regime's collapse.

The dedication of this book is to Stanley Fish, "who does not trust biographies." Walter Laqueur once said that he always learns something from a biography, whatever its quality. This good biography supplies much to ponder.

RICHARD BREITMAN
American University

EMLYN EISENACH. *Husbands, Wives, and Concubines: Marriage, Family, and Social Order in Sixteenth-Century Verona*. (Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, number 69.) Kirksville: Truman State University Press. 2004. Pp. xxiii, 240. \$36.95.

Recent years have seen an outpouring of scholarship based on marriage trial records in Italian church courts. Studies by Daniela Lombardi, Joanne Ferraro, and Daniela Hacke, and a series of volumes sponsored by the Istituto Italo-Germanico in Trent, have added accounts of marital dysfunction to the well-studied picture of early modern Italian marriage as social practice and as object of governmental and ecclesiastical regulation. Now Emlyn Eisenach excavates from church court records not only similar documentation of marriages disputed or gone wrong but also, and more interestingly, a sweeping ethnography of marital practice in sixteenth-century Verona. Surveying elite behavior, popular behavior, and interaction between the classes in the arenas of sex and marriage, Eisenach supplements her analysis of disputes before the ecclesiastical court with the visitation reports and behavioral treatises of Verona's reforming bishops, the famous Matteo Giberti and his successors. From their prescriptive writings she extracts an "ecclesiastical patriarchal ideology" aimed at regulating familial and overall social conduct. The uncertain workings of its precepts in marital practice is the main theme of the book.

Eisenach aligns her findings with recent scholarship "questioning the depiction of the patriarchal order as internally consistent and dedicated to subordinating women" (p. xix). Her approach is to focus on the authority assigned by moralists and institutions to the *padre di famiglia*. The disciplined family was the key to moral and social order, and responsible and honorable male headship was essential to achieving it. The substance of Eisenach's book is an examination of men's exercise of their authority, and in chapters on marriage, concubinage, and marital conflict, she tracks three stresses that weakened it. One came from the culture of the local nobility, which as a matter of honor flouted laws and principles designed to discipline their behavior, for example by maintaining concubines from the populace. In the process they inspired non-elite men to follow suit, to the detriment of their families' finances. A second stress came from the diffusion of male authority. Eisenach observes, for instance, that marriage rituals "expressed the father's continuing interests in his daughter and commitment to protecting her, even against her husband if need be" (p. 45). The abiding concern of fathers for their married daughters is a recurrent theme in the book, part of Eisenach's thesis that overlaps and contrasts between multiple *padri di famiglia* undermined in practice the patriarchal ideology by pitting fathers against husbands and elite men against non-nobles. The third stress on the ideology came from the discipline imposed on male heads of households. For the well-governed family to serve as the basis of social and moral order, Eisenach argues, husbands were obliged to follow defined protocols of honorable and responsible behavior. As in Augsburg, studied by Lyndal Roper, when men deviated from those codes—for example by adultery, physical abuse, prodigality with their wives' dowries, or

failure to provide for their families—they forfeited their honor and their prerogatives.

Eisenach examines the varieties of Veronese marriage from a solid grounding in contemporary jurisprudence as well as in the scholarship on marriage, to which she contributes some original suggestions. She views clandestine marriage not only as a male seduction ploy but also as offering social betterment for a woman's family, an escape from paternal authority for men, and the psychological security of love matches for women. That fits into Eisenach's broader category of "informal" marital practice. Admitting the difficulty of documenting the deliberately undocumented, she nonetheless offers a plausible argument suggesting widespread incidence of stable menages that enjoyed community acceptance although lacking ecclesiastical sanction and, more interestingly, of remarriage to new spouses by formally separated persons, in defiance of church prohibition.

This is an original, well-researched, and persuasively argued addition to the literature on early modern Italian marriage. The one missing aspect is the political one: Eisenach's unwavering focus on Verona and its territory has little to say about the influence on marriage, if any, of Verona's subject status within the Venetian state. On its own local terms, however, her synoptic account of marital precepts and practice among Veronese of different classes, in city and countryside, is broad and thorough. The book is clearly and agreeably written, marred only by persistent repetitiveness, which the Truman State University Press should have condensed, although footnotes instead of endnotes partially compensate. Editorial quibbles aside, this is a valuable and original contribution.

STANLEY CHOJNACKI
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill

MIREILLE PEYTAVIN. *Visite et gouvernement dans le royaume de Naples (XVI^e-XVII^e siècles)*. (Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez, number 24.) Madrid: Casa de Velázquez. 2003. Pp. x, 538. €56.00.

This book is based upon a French dissertation and possesses all the erudition and overload of details expected from such an endeavor. Its aim is to present an institutional history of the Kingdom of Naples under Spanish rule during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Mireille Peytavin's work is largely based on a systematic exploitation of the general visitations to Naples deposited in the archives at Simancas. The general visitations of the Kingdom of Naples were administrative inspections of all the institutions and their officeholders whose appointment was within the royal prerogative. They excluded elected officials of the cities, municipalities, and baronial territories, unless the matter in question affected the budget. There were seven such general visitations during the two centuries of Spanish rule. The visitations might last as long as ten years, producing careful

institutional, judicial, economic, and social records, in contrast to a viceroy's term of office that was only three years long. But the work broadens into an account of the system of government by councils, audiences, and tribunals typical of the Habsburg monarchy. The book is divided into two roughly equal parts. The first part deals mainly with Spanish institutions and their staffing, those of the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, from which the visitations emanated. The oldest and most venerable of these was the Chancery of Valladolid, whose rules and procedure became the model for others. Peytavin spends much space not only on procedure but also on the various officeholders. At times the book amounts to almost a prosopographical study. One of the purposes is to outline the careers of the men whose experience qualified them to be visitors. Most were either high ecclesiastics or auditors of chanceries.

The second part of the book concerns primarily the Kingdom of Naples. Spain classed Naples as one of its three Italian possessions, Sicily and Milan being the others. They were subject to the Council of Italy in Madrid, which was only established in 1558. Half of its staff consisted of Italians. Although there were earlier informal visitations, the first general visitations for the Italian possessions were organized in 1559. Each visitation built on the conclusions of the previous one. Naples, however, presented a special case. The country had experienced several dynasties: Hohenstaufen, Angevin, Aragonese. Its primary loyalty, therefore, was not to the Spanish Habsburgs, who only acquired it in 1503, but to its territory, which had a long and proud tradition of law. Its legists staffed the already existing councils, such as the Council of Santa Chiara, the superior tribunal of appeal for the most important law suits, especially feudal cases, and the Vicaria, a tribunal of appeal for all types of civil and criminal matters, as well as the Sommaria, the chamber of account. The latter was initially considered inferior because it was not run by lawyers. Yet with the examination into the financial and economic dimensions by repeated visitations, it gained in importance. Records of the information gathered by the visitors were kept by the Sommaria, so it became the memory of the kingdom. Ferdinand of Aragon added the Collateral Council over which the viceroy presided. The older autochthonous institutions were subject to it. The findings of the visitors were reported to Madrid with proposals for changes in procedure and penalties for malfeasance. Although visitors could deal directly with individual offenders, all major decisions were made in Madrid. At the local level, the elites were directly responsible to the crown and had to give an account of their administration, the *Sindacato*, at the end of their term of office, usually one year.

Various appendixes take up a fifth of the book. They include the listing of the rich harvest at the Simancas archives, twenty-five pages describing the estates of fifteen members of various high councils and audiences, as well as summaries of the work in French,

Spanish, Italian, and English. Whereas no one can dispute the author's immense diligence and scholarship, the turgidity of the book makes heavy reading. It is difficult to verify Peytavin's pioneering conclusions. Nevertheless, as a work of reference the book remains invaluable for the time being.

HANNS GROSS
Loyola University,
Chicago

ANDREAS HELMEDACH. *Das Verkehrssystem als Modernisierungsfaktor: Straßen, Post, Fuhrwesen und Reisen nach Triest und Fiume vom Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum Eisenbahnzeitalter*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 107.) München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag. 2002. Pp. 549. €64.80.

"Distance, the First Enemy" is the title of one of the key chapters in Fernand Braudel's *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, and the effort to overcome distance is the topic of Andreas Helmedach's impressive study of the traffic system as a core factor in the preindustrial modernization of the Habsburg monarchy in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. The book looks at the macro, meso, and even micro levels, at the changes in economy and society brought about by the intensified construction of new roads and canals as well as the considerable improvement of the existing network of highways, waterways, and means of transportation that connected the empire's landlocked cities, Vienna and Budapest, and the *Litorale Austriaco*, with the ports of Trieste and Fiume.

In contrast to many scholars interested in the history of infrastructure and communication in Central Europe, Helmedach perceives traffic history as a constituent part of the history of society. In his view, the structural changes of the traffic system under absolutism laid the foundations not only for the modernization of the the empire's "hardware" but also its "software." The book consists of a thorough theoretical introduction, ten chapters, and a short summary. The first half focuses on the actual effect of reforms in traffic infrastructure and traffic legislation; the second half looks at those people involved in it—government officials, coachmen, postillions, merchants, passengers, tourists, and others.

According to Helmedach, Viennese reform policy made the traffic system of the western part of the empire one of the finest in Europe. In his view, the metropolitan channel to the Adriatic caused two important economic changes. First, it connected the continental empire via the Mediterranean to world markets, including colonial markets. Second, it opened the door for Habsburg products to enter the lucrative markets of the Ottoman Empire and Italy. Helmedach relates the modernization of the traffic system to the emergence of civil society in Austria-Hungary: postal communications and exchanges of letters, educational travels, and tourism fostered *Bildungsbürgertum* and

bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit and thus challenged absolute rule.

The book is based on archival sources from Vienna, Budapest, and Ljubljana, on a large number of published sources including contemporary legislation, travel accounts, and economic handbooks, and on scholarly literature in almost all languages of the multiethnic empire and beyond. Of particular use are two detailed indexes as well as a number of maps, tables, and charts.

Helmedach's path-breaking study on the effects of the modernization of the traffic system on Habsburg society is a major achievement for the infrastructural, economic, social, and cultural history of Europe before the railway age. It is also an important contribution to the new meso-regional concept of the Adriatic as a unit of historical analysis.

STEFAN TROEBST
University of Leipzig

MACIEJ JANOWSKI. *Polish Liberal Thought Before 1918*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 282. \$44.95.

In 1816, a Warsaw journal posed the question, "What is the Meaning of Liberal Views?" and commenced etymologically: "The new political meaning given to the word 'liberal' comes from the Latin where *liberalis* means worthy of a free man" (p. 39). Thus, in the aftermath of Napoleon Bonaparte's defeat, and from the intellectual legacy of the Enlightenment, nineteenth-century liberalism would be articulated all over Europe, not just in London and Paris, but, as Maciej Janowski demonstrates in his book on Polish liberal thought, in Warsaw, Vilnius, Poznań, and L'viv, across the lands of partitioned Poland. The meaning of freedom for liberalism was particularly complex in those lands, since Poland was not an independent state in the nineteenth century, and liberal thought developed in cities subject to Russian, Prussian, or Austrian foreign rule. While Polish nineteenth-century political culture has often been characterized in terms of a polarization between aristocratic conservatism and insurrectionary nationalism, Janowski demonstrates the tremendous importance of liberalism for politics, economy, and culture and suggests that it was ideologically preeminent in the Polish lands for half a century between the 1830s and the 1880s. At the same time, Janowski recognizes that liberalism could not be comprehensively defined and clearly identified over the course of the century, and he therefore takes upon himself, as historian, the task of the Warsaw journal in answering the question "What is the Meaning of Liberal Views?"

Polish liberalism, Janowski discovers, diverged from the accepted model, as constructed in Western Europe, inasmuch as the state was permitted a much larger role in Polish liberal economics. This emphasis on the economic role of the state emerged as a response to the weak role of the state in the Common-

wealth before the partitions and was consolidated in the cameralist concerns of the Napoleonic Grand Duchy of Warsaw; such "etatism" continued in the nineteenth century in relation to perceptions of Polish backwardness, which liberals hoped to redress with the help of protective government. There was also a liberal sympathy for the role of the state in regulating religion, the legacy of late eighteenth-century Josephinism in Galicia (that is, Habsburg Poland). Yet, these interests in state protection and regulation crossed paradoxically with Polish distrust of the foreign governments of the partitioning powers. Initially proposing a study of "peripheral liberalism" (p. vii), Janowski eventually suggests that the Western model, and especially the English model, did not necessarily define the ideological paradigm. If Polish liberalism appears "strange and exceptional when compared with English liberalism," it appears "normal and familiar once we compare it with related formations of the same historical region," notably the German and Habsburg lands (p. 259).

Janowski discusses the influence of English thinkers like John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer on prominent Polish liberals like Aleksander Świętochowski: "the texts written in England as scientific analyses were transformed in Poland into reform programs," and "this idealized picture of Western societies—above all of England, to a smaller degree France and Germany—was 'normality,' the yardstick with which the poor and backward Polish society was compared" (p. 181). In this sense, nineteenth-century Polish liberalism largely accepted the Enlightenment's emphasis on the difference between Western Europe and Eastern Europe, based on the concepts of progress, development, and backwardness.

On account of the shifting and divergent conceptions of "liberalism," Janowski's attempts to delineate its contours are not always absolutely clear. The chapter on "Romantic Liberalism," for instance, is not altogether persuasively focused on analyzing the difference between liberal and radical Romanticism, while the chapter on "The Rise of Positivism" seems to suggest that Polish positivism was almost identical to liberalism. Janowski carefully analyzes liberalism's perspective on the Jews, in particular its insistence on cultural assimilation, going back to an article on the Jews by Stanisław Staszic published in Warsaw in 1816. Liberals were deeply critical of Jewish separateness in clothing, customs, and especially schools. One of Świętochowski's journals editorialized in 1879 against "cheders," that is, separate Jewish schools: "We only wish that the citizens of one country were brought up together, that their brotherhood would not be an empty word" (p. 173). This led to a sort of "progressive anti-semitism" at the end of the century, in which Jewish separatism was seen as an obstacle to Polish progress (p. 233). It would be a rather different brand of entirely illiberal antisemitism, entering into mass politics in the late nineteenth century, that would

contribute to the general crisis and ultimate decline of Polish liberalism.

Janowski has made an important contribution in analyzing the liberal thought of such figures as Świętochowski, Karol Libelt (citing Benjamin Franklin—"Time is money"—in Poznań), Stanisław Szczepanowski (analyzing the causes of Galician poverty), and Stanisław Herburt-Heybowicz (who argued that the state should protect the nationality of the individual, but not the collective nation). There is a subtle analysis of the liberal views of such prominent literary figures as Bolesław Prus and Eliza Orzeszkowa. Janowski convincingly demonstrates not only the prominence of liberalism in the Polish lands but also the contributions of Polish writers to the general movement of European liberalism. Unfortunately, the book is partly undermined by a poor translation into awkward and unidiomatic English that fails to do justice to the author's important research and interesting arguments. His contribution should be considered alongside those of such historians of Polish political culture as Jerzy Jedlicki, Andrzej Walicki, and Marcin Król. Janowski's book was originally published in Poland in 1998, and it is unfortunate that, in preparing the English edition, he was not able to take into account the intervening publication of parallel research by Brian Porter, whose important book, *When Nationalism Began to Hate: Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland*, appeared in 2000. Relating his work to contemporary politics, Janowski reminds the citizens of post-communist Poland that they possess a powerful liberal tradition, and reminds us all that "Polish thought was much closer to the West than it is sometimes supposed" (p. 267). The English translation of Janowski's book, published in the same year that Poland entered the European Union, further challenges historians to keep in mind that European history should be broadly conceived to include the full extent and complexity of Europe.

LARRY WOLFF
Boston College

JUKKA PARTANEN. *Isän tuvasta omaan tüpaan: Väestö ja kotitaloudet Karjalankannaksen maaseudulla 1750–1870* [From the Father's Cottage to One's Own Cottage: Population and Households in Rural Areas of the Karelian Isthmus, 1750–1870]. (Bibliotheca historica, number 86.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2004. Pp. 208.

In the eighteenth century, the land of the Finns was forced to serve as a buffer between the declining Swedish powerhouse and the ascendant Russian Empire. The Finnish politics and everyday mentality that evolved throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries combined rational, individualist, free market, internationalist ideas taught in the schools and universities, with sentimental, communal, social welfare, and isolationist inclinations. Although the neutrality of Finlandization both saved the country from the polit-

ical schizophrenia dominant throughout most of Eastern Europe in the twentieth century and expressed fully Finnish geographic destiny, it contributed to the characterization of Finland as unique and exceptional. Jukka Partanen's admirable demographic study of the Karelian Isthmus between 1750 and 1870 traces the historical roots of one aspect of Finnish identity by comparing population and household trends in this tiny slip of land to the familiar models of Central Russia and Western Europe. In so doing, Partanen rejects the idea of Finnish exceptionalism.

Partanen's argument is straightforward. He begins by placing his book in the context of the well-known work of Peter Czap, Peter Laslett, and John Hajnal. Demographers will appreciate Partanen's use of population records to reconstruct tendencies in the development of Finnish peasant household structures. Concluding that in large part family life in the Karelian Isthmus resembled the Central European-Russian model of young marriage rates and multiple families living in the same household, Partanen examines customs and social pressures that led in this direction. Among the consequences of the annexation of the Karelian Isthmus to the Russian Empire in 1811 was the restriction on household division. Very quickly the size of households in the Karelian Isthmus increased, a development with significant social repercussions. Using local court records, Partanen argues that family discord, along with land shortage, high taxation levels, and economic difficulties, encouraged wage labor on other farms and trade with neighboring St. Petersburg. Another consequence of restrictions on household division and increasingly disputatious relations among family members was the rise in landless households. By 1870, one third of all households held no land.

Local historians will also appreciate Partanen's middle chapters, which describe peasant marriage customs and household structures. Accompanied by illustrations, tables, maps, and thick ethnographic description, these chapters bring the reader into close proximity to everyday peasant life. Surprisingly, neither the Lutheran nor the Orthodox Church played a major role in marriage customs, a factor that Partanen could have explored given the strong hand of the Lutheran Church elsewhere in Finland. Additionally, the role of literacy, critical to the history of the Finnish peasantry in the nineteenth century, and intimately connected to religious instruction, is given short shrift. Another cultural factor that could have been explored was linguistic differentiation, whether dialectic or between Finnish-speaking Karelian peasants and the Russian-speaking Petersburgers who bought their products. The richness of Partanen's research efforts is seriously diminished by the absence of the peasant voice. A study of this nature that counts local court and church records among its major sources must present the peasantry, not only as others' constructed stereotypes but also in their own words. Still, Partanen has conducted an impressive amount of research and has organized demographic data in readable tables (sixty

in all) that can easily be deciphered with a basic Finnish dictionary. An English-language summary of the main arguments of the book provides the non-Finnish-reading audience a glimpse of this study's richness.

Partanen's book fits well with the already abundant demographic literature on the Finnish countryside and the Karelian Isthmus. Just as important is the contribution Partanen makes to the vast literature of micro-history, in which the tiny, remote Karelian Isthmus can take a place of prominence.

CHRIS J. CHULOS
Roosevelt University

ERNEST A. ZITSER. *The Transfigured Kingdom: Sacred Parody and Charismatic Authority at the Court of Peter the Great*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 221. \$39.95.

As a child, Peter the Great organized "play regiments" that helped enthrone him and ended up becoming a Russian Praetorian Guard. Peter also created another famous (or infamous) "play institution," the "Most Comical and All-Drunken Council"—frequently described as nothing more than a private club composed of the tsar's advisors and drinking buddies. The council's lewd rituals mocking the Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches definitely scandalized many of Peter's contemporaries. But did the All-Drunken Council, like Peter's "play regiments," have a serious purpose? Some have described it as a propagandistic device; by poking fun at religion the council supposedly aided Peter's efforts to secularize and reform the Russian Empire. In her magisterial biography of Peter, Lindsey Hughes concluded that the council was an "integral part of court life" that "requires further investigation." But she also warned that "it is a mistake to look for a consistent political or religious purpose" in that bizarre institution.

Ernest A. Zitser has written a fascinating book containing a startling thesis about Peter's All-Drunken Council. According to Zitser, the council and other "play" institutions and carnivalesque spectacles staged throughout Peter's reign had a decidedly serious purpose and should be viewed in "the context of the pan-European Baroque court culture" (pp. 12–14). Zitser painstakingly tracks the All-Drunken Council and other mock ecclesiastical and political institutions (along with the irreverent ceremonies and wild parties associated with them) and concludes that they were part of an effort by Peter and his acolytes to stage "sacred parodies" related to "the enactment of charismatic authority" at Peter's court. The tsar supposedly used "alternately sacred and sacrilegious male bonding rituals" to create a "countercultural play world" that "marked off those who had come to believe in Peter's personal gift of grace (charisma, in the original religious sense) from those who remained unconvinced or hostile to the tsar's leadership style" and reform agenda. Zitser claims that the "political sacraments" of

the All-Drunken Council "sought to elevate the tsar's persona above internal court factions and clan politics, to guarantee his prerogatives over ecclesiastical affairs, and to bind his entourage into an ecumenical community of true believers" (pp. 3–5).

Zitser challenges what he calls the "secularist bias" of studies of Peter's reforms by arguing that members of the All-Drunken Council presented themselves as an "antinomian elite, empowered by God" (p. 6) to help Peter break with the past and reform his realm. Zitser's highly original study of the religious allusions in texts associated with Peter and the council led him to conclude that those allusions were "fundamental to the rhetorical transfer of sacrality by which the members of Peter's entourage came to view themselves as a secular priesthood of believers in the tsar's charismatic authority" (p. 10). The notion that Peter the Great and his inebriated cronies used "sacred parodies" to build support for the tsar's reforms may be hard for some readers to swallow, but there is no denying that Zitser offers a sophisticated and spirited challenge to traditional interpretations of Peter's antics.

This reviewer found Zitser's book very interesting but unconvincing. Zitser admits that his interpretation of "the discursive practices employed by Peter and his courtiers" (using a methodology influenced by Michel Foucault) may be "controversial" (pp. 7–9). Unfortunately, the author makes no real effort to help the reader bridge the gap between his startling conclusions and the traditional view of Peter as a violent and impatient man with an ambitious secular agenda but little interest in religion. Zitser's attempts to relate the hidden meaning of Peter's "play world" to the real world are frustratingly perfunctory. For example, he states that "the flamboyant flaunting of royal charisma helped to promote . . . the ideals of modern bureaucracy" (pp. 6–7) but neglects to explain how. Curiously, Zitser's discussion of royal power itself seems oddly detached from recent scholarship on Russian autocracy, even though he claims to offer insight into "the ideological underpinnings of royal absolutism" (p. 17). I am also uneasy with Zitser's "anthropologically and semiotically informed" use of the term "sacred parody" (pp. 15–16) to describe the All-Drunken Council. The fact that some early modern rhetoric manuals defined "parody" as imitation instead of ridicule (p. 4 n. 10) does not necessarily tell us much about the purpose of Peter's bawdy, sometimes obscene council.

CHESTER DUNNING
Texas A&M University

JAMES CRACRAFT. *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Culture*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 560. \$49.95.

This volume is the third, final, and most synthetic of the massive study of Petrine culture that James Cracraft undertook nearly two decades ago. Taken together, the works amount to an unquestionable tour de

force by an outstanding historian of early modern Russia. The first two installments, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Architecture* (1988) and *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Imagery* (1997), developed the by now familiar argument that the reign of Peter the Great constituted a massive cultural revolution in Russia, one that was broad in both conception and in reach. Peter's reforms brought Western visual models, ideas, technologies, and notions of urban space and design to what Cracraft once termed (in discussing pre-Petrine cities) the "mess" that was Moscow. This volume extends the argument to reforms in language and to institutionalized print. Rather than breaking new empirical ground, it does so largely by revisiting and closely reading well-known materials. Simultaneously, it provides a running commentary that effectively unifies the three volumes while clarifying the overarching argument in response to earlier demurals. The narrative is devoid of polemics, private quarrels, or jargon. As ever, Cracraft is an elegant expositor whose points of view are equally accessible to specialists and general readers, the two audiences to which this book is directed.

The book includes two remarkable and helpful appendixes, running collectively to 166 pages, the first of which ("Texts") includes photo reproductions of the title pages of some of the more noteworthy Petrine imprints, as well as selected pages from several important textbooks of the day (Leontii Maginskii's *Arifmetika*, Fedor Polikarpov's *Bukvar*). The presumed purpose is to give the reader an immediate visual sense of these books, their formats, and the changes in type face. A second appendix ("Words") lists literally hundreds of loan words, mostly from Dutch and German, that entered the Russian lexicon by way of Peter's technological, bureaucratic, and military borrowings. Both the author and the publisher deserve our gratitude for including these addenda, especially in these days of cost-cutting and profit-driven planning that have become the unhappy norm in academic publishing.

Cracraft characterizes Russia's cultural transformation as a "top down revolution by decree" (p. 309), initiated by the ruler and then taking on a life of its own within state and society: "the revolutionary political context created by the sudden intervention of royal power in ever more sectors of public life engendered revolutionary texts, which promoted in turn an expanding cultural revolution that was verbal at its core even more than it was visual" (p. 305). He acknowledges that this revolution did not eliminate the vaunted "persistence of Muscovy" all at once but only gradually extended its reach ever deeper into society.

The organization of chapters reflects this model of the monarch as a generative agency. In turn, Cracraft examines the creation of the navy, military modernization, bureaucratization, science, and print and language. These categories, themselves a commonplace of Petrine studies, formed, in Cracraft's view, the institutional crucibles of cultural change, in particular the

sites out of which the many new words poured forth. For him, language was the key to cultural change, and he luxuriates, to great effectiveness I would add, in the words themselves. Indeed, each chapter includes long lists of technical terminology and neologisms that were simply transliterated and transferred into official discourses.

This viewpoint is deeply embedded in commentary on Petrine Russia, and it has been a mainstay of the historiography for nigh on two centuries. Recently, however, scholars have begun to reexamine this received wisdom on two broad grounds. Some question the sharp antinomian nature of this convention, whether it be articulated as Russia vs. Europe, Muscovy vs. modernity, or the progenitor state vs. society as receptor. A second strain of revisionism, reflected in recent works by Lindsey Hughes, Daniel Vaughn, Ernest Zitser, and others has called into question the secularization model that underlies the master narrative of a Petrine revolution. I, for one, find it difficult to accept in toto the idea that the state and monarch were the sole or primary agencies of cultural dynamism, even during Peter's reign. I also would prefer a more complicated view of religion, faith, and the Orthodox clergy's place in this dynamic. Russian culture remained overwhelmingly centered on religious ritual, faith, and the pursuit of salvation long after Peter's death. Surely this endurance amounted to something more vibrant and culturally productive than the mere persistence of tradition.

Cracraft is well aware of these arguments, of course, and he responds to most of them during the course of his narrative, a fact that makes the publication of this book particularly timely. What we have, then, is something more than the proverbial welcome addition to the field. Cracraft has provided us with a genuinely important work, the capstone of decades of study, that deserves a wide audience and discussion.

GARY MARKER
State University of New York,
Stony Brook

SERGEI I. ZHUK. *Russia's Lost Reformation: Peasants, Millennialism, and Radical Sects in Southern Russia and Ukraine, 1830–1917*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 457. \$60.00.

Religion and empire have emerged as correctives of twentieth-century historiography of Russia's pre-Bolshevik past since the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991. Sergei I. Zhuk pulls these two strands together to present a vivid study of Protestant sectarianism in the multiethnic regions of southern Russia and Ukraine. He covers the period from the 1780s to 1917, within a broad comparative context from the German Reformation to American evangelical movements. Zhuk argues that "Russian religious dissent . . . was an integral part of the universal development of the Reformation, which had begun in the sixteenth century

in Western Europe and reached the southern provinces of the Russian Empire only in the nineteenth century" (p. 399). He demonstrates that active and conscious faith defined rural communities among German colonists, displaced Russian and Ukrainian former state peasants and serfs, Cossacks, and New Testament Jews.

Zhuk's Soviet training is evident in his "theory and practice" approach. He frames the study in "the theories of . . . anthropologists of radical popular religion" (p. 18). The obligatory phrases of Soviet historiography—"As Marx explained" and "As Lenin wrote"—have been replaced here by "theories of colonization" and references to Clifford Geertz, Max Weber, and Victor Turner. But Zhuk provides considerable empirical evidence drawn from extensive research in Ukrainian and Russian archives to explore the phenomena within those frames. He opens with two chapters establishing his guiding theories, sources, and terms. He moves to chapters on the two major groups, the Shalaputs and the Stundists (explaining their links to Baptists), followed by an analysis of the "Protestant Ethic" in its manifestations among these evangelicals. He returns to a particular sect, the "Stundo-Shalaputs or the Maliovanttsy" and devotes his last two chapters to the sectarians' break with Orthodoxy and engagement in popular radical rebellions. The book concludes with an epilogue that briefly contemplates the transition "From Christian Millennium to Bolshevik Utopia."

The radical Reformation came to Russia with German colonists invited by Catherine the Great to settle her newly conquered southern territories in the late 1780s. Within two generations, Russian and foreign observers, and especially the Orthodox clergy, were consistent in their simultaneous recognition of the "exemplary model of industry and diligence" (p. 42) among the German colonists and their fears about the growing domination of the Germans in farming and society. The sectarians' sobriety, cleanliness, and prosperity attracted those Russian and Ukrainian peasants who turned away from Russian Orthodoxy when they found local priests to be corrupt and licentious.

Zhuk presents the search for religious community beyond Orthodox churches as a product of dislocation and encounters between diverse cultures in this ethnically mixed, "liminal" region. He delineates the ethnic groups in this borderland where local officials and Orthodox clergy grew positively frantic about the failure to install a dominant Russian culture. He includes useful demographic charts to display the proportions of ethnic groups and religions.

Sectarians offered an egalitarian, abstemious, and prosperous alternative to Russian Orthodox identity. They drew Orthodox peasants to their tidy homes for Bible lessons, prayer, and religious ecstasy. With their elevation of women and rejection of hierarchy in church activities, evangelicals attracted those who resented the close alliance among Orthodoxy, autocracy, and local powers. In the most extreme cases, radical

sectarians joined forces with populist revolutionaries against oppression and exploitation. Sectarians became agents of modernization, Zhuk explains, through their provision of literacy and the reading practice of Bible study, as well as their farming, markets, and trades. Zhuk thus draws direct parallels with the role of the Reformation in Western Europe, from expanding literacy to the "spirit of capitalism" and populist equivalents of the Peasant Wars.

Zhuk presents a convincing revision of Daniel Field's classic study of peasant disturbances in Chigirin after the emancipation of 1861, *Rebels in the Name of the Tsar* (1976), explaining that Stundist beliefs among the peasants of Chigirin had created a culture of millennialism, activism, and articulation of dissident views that was essential to their organized protest. He contributes to women's history by highlighting the roles women assumed in the Shalaput and Stundist movements, which recognized some women as prophets, divine truth incarnate, and Mothers of God. They achieved this status after episodes of religious ecstasy. Zhuk fails to include Christine Worobec's study of similar spirit possession among women at the same time in European Russia; this is a glaring omission from his bibliography.

Zhuk's unadorned style assumes a deadpan tone when he describes the sexual practices of sects within sects. Explaining that some sectarian men convinced believers that their penises were channels for Divine Love, which women could receive through copulation after confession to them, Zhuk flattens his writing to avoid sensationalizing this theme; it becomes as effective as a straight man's role in a comic act.

Stundists, Shalaputs, and Baptists did not disappear with the Bolshevik Revolution. They appeared as inmates in the gulag, where fellow prisoners noted their quiet ways. They populated Zhuk's childhood in Ukraine, where he and his buddies attended their services to see how high school musician friends combined rock with evangelical church music. Their post-Soviet revival in Russia continues to generate anxiety among Russian Orthodox officials and figures in the Russian government. The legacies of empire haunt the Kremlin still.

CATHY A. FRIERSON
University of New Hampshire

DAVID SHNEER. *Yiddish and the Creation of Soviet Jewish Culture, 1918–1930*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 300. \$45.00.

After the Bolshevik Revolution, many Hebrew writers fled the Soviet Union and some Yiddish writers joined them, but others stayed and continued to publish. While Yiddish writers in the rest of the world experimented with literary modernism, Soviet Yiddish writers, more or less, embraced the Socialist Realist precept that fiction needs to bring readers and their society closer to communism. Yiddish books, periodicals, theater, and schools flourished in the Soviet

Union through the 1920s and early 1930s. But the state's support for Yiddish writers began to wane in the early 1930s, and they suffered in the Great Purges of 1936–1939. The Holocaust meant the death of many of the consumers of Soviet Jewish culture, and Joseph Stalin's anti-Jewish campaigns of 1948–1952 culminated in the murder of the remaining Yiddish writers in prison on August 12, 1952.

Historians used to see the story of Soviet Jewish culture as an ongoing struggle between Jewish writers and the state, in which the commissars first banned Hebrew, then forced Yiddish writers and the Yiddish language itself to conform to draconian rules. Most obviously, they were blamed for forcing Soviet Yiddish literature to adopt a new orthography that eliminated the distinctive look of Yiddish words of Hebrew/Aramaic origin by spelling them out phonetically. Finally, in this narrative, the Soviet state decided that Jewish culture had little to offer the communist cause and eliminated it entirely. David Shneer is one of a number of recent scholars to question the division between Jewish cultural activists on the one hand and Soviet commissars on the other. Like Jeffrey Veidlinger in *The Moscow State Yiddish Theater: Jewish Culture on the Soviet Stage* (2000), or Yury Slezkine in *The Jewish Century* (2004), Shneer insists that Jews were not only the objects of Soviet policies but were subjects who sometimes authored and often had room to maneuver within those policies. Many of them, he reminds us, "had envisioned a new form of Jewish culture before the Russian Revolution and were now given access to state power to realize their dreams" (p. 99). He points out that the spelling reforms that visually "de-hebraicized" Yiddish were tried in New York as well as Moscow; he demonstrates the ever-shifting motivations of policy makers; and rather than blaming "the government," "the party," or even the Evseksiia (the Jewish Sections of the Communist Party), he traces each decision to smaller groups and individuals with their own agendas. He notes that even publishers who demanded political correctness maintained literary standards, quoting one who told an author, "Your play was rejected, not because it is ideologically problematic or dangerous. It was rejected because [it] has no plot, is terribly disjointed, and is boring" (p. 127).

Shneer provides a useful corrective to an outdated view, particularly since he is careful to point out the limitations of his own arguments. He recognizes the artificiality of ending his story in 1930 rather than later, but he notes correctly that by doing so, he can provide a more accurate picture of the development of Soviet Yiddish culture from the perspective of writers who, of course, had no idea how their story would end.

Shneer offers an innovative solution to the biggest challenge faced by historians of literary culture: how to integrate fiction and poetry into a larger narrative of intellectual history. Although five of his six chapters refer only glancingly to the poems, stories, and novels that his protagonists discuss, with few quotations or

plot summaries, he devotes the sixth chapter entirely to the life and work of a single author. In Izi Kharik's poems about the struggle to Sovietize a shtetl after the revolution, Shneer finds a record of the painful process of becoming a revolutionary, destroying and then rebuilding a part of oneself. When his lyric persona cries out, "pass on, you sad grandfathers!" (*fargeyt, ir umetike zeydes*), Shneer hears the voice of a youth who retains a tie to the past. The ambivalence in Kharik's poetry, according to Shneer, typified his generation of Soviet Yiddish writers. Even as they remade Jewish culture, they knew they might be losing something.

Overall, Shneer's book is enlightening and—though poorly edited by Cambridge University Press—enjoyable. As the works of Soviet Yiddish writers such as David Bergelson, Moyshe Kulbak, and Der Nister become available in English and in new Yiddish editions, this book should help readers orient themselves and help scholars reintegrate this literature, some of it brilliant, into the narratives of Soviet and Jewish cultural history.

GABRIELLA SAFRAN
Stanford University

SEAN MCMEEKIN. *The Red Millionaire: A Political Biography of Willi Münzenberg, Moscow's Secret Propaganda Tsar in the West*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 397. \$32.50.

New evidence culled from Soviet archives in the last decade has uncovered the extent to which the Kremlin underwrote foreign communist parties, workers' organizations, spies, and agents. Hard liners in the West cite these findings to justify their warnings about the Red danger to Western democracies and to vindicate the tough military containment of the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

Sean McMeekin's meticulously researched and stylishly written biography of Willi Münzenberg, one of the Comintern's top German operatives in Berlin after World War I, provides evidence that the Kremlin did not get what it paid for. Münzenberg's story reveals that the Comintern's promotion of scientific socialism was often crude, incoherent, and wasteful. Many of its agents, like Münzenberg, were crooked opportunists. Marxism-Leninism was a flawed end, but the means the Kremlin used corrupted its legitimacy anyway.

Münzenberg crossed paths with Vladimir Lenin and other "Old Bolsheviks" in Zurich during World War I. He made his name running the Communist Youth International and then headed the International Workers' Relief Fund (IAH) to combat the postwar famine in Russia. American Relief Administration (ARA) packages far outnumbered Münzenberg's contributions, but his talent for propaganda created the illusion that the workers of the world, through the IAH, had done more to feed starving Russians. He charged Herbert Hoover's ARA with a "counter-revolutionary" agenda. His expert lobbying kept his agency in good stead with Moscow, and he parlayed

the Kremlin's largesse into a complex network of agitprop organizations, newspapers, film distributors, and cinemas.

Münzenberg's Red enterprises were awash in red ink. He had an utter lack of concern for the financial viability of his empire, from relief efforts to "showcase" industrial enterprises in Russia. He distributed *Battleship Potemkin* in Germany, but Sergei Eisenstein's great film was a box office failure. Bloated bureaucracies and travel expenses burned much of Moscow's cash, and some outlays went straight into Münzenberg's pocket. It was good to have friends in high places, however, for as McMeekin comments, "[it was as if] the Kremlin had decided to let embezzlers be embezzlers, so long as they weren't caught red-handed" (p. 163). Detractors called him the "Communist [Alfred] Hugenberg" (the wealthy German financier of interwar right-wing newspapers), but Münzenberg himself liked "Red Millionaire," an open admission of his predilection for the luxuries of bourgeois life.

Münzenberg's unflagging loyalty to the Kremlin kept him in Joseph Stalin's good graces during the tumultuous period after Adolf Hitler took power in 1933. Münzenberg dutifully excoriated the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) until 1935, when the Kremlin finally approved of Popular Fronts to combat the growing fascist threat. The purges did not trouble the amoral Münzenberg either. He made a public declaration supporting the death sentence of his former mentor and benefactor, Grigori Zinoviev. That did not prevent his expulsion from the German Communist Party (KPD) Zentrale in 1938. Münzenberg finally mustered up the courage to condemn Stalin for the Nazi-Soviet Pact, which probably got him a death sentence.

McMeekin strains to cast Münzenberg as a key actor in the interwar German communist movement. In some lengthy passages on the political crises of the Weimar Republic in 1919, 1923, and 1933, however, Münzenberg is hardly mentioned. Münzenberg died while on the run from the German army in France in 1940; his body was found with a noose around his neck. McMeekin speculates that it was the work of the NKVD. The author's telling of the chase is captivating, but Münzenberg's death is certainly not "one of the great mysteries of twentieth-century politics" (p. 305).

The pace of the book slows in McMeekin's detailed coverage of Münzenberg's bureaucracies and connections to other communist organizations, but as a whole the author provides ample evidence that the international communist movement suffered from ideological disunity, profligacy, and tactical blundering. Some scholars have drawn parallels between the Communist front organizations and international terrorist groups today. If there are any lessons to be drawn from Münzenberg's case, it is that the terrorists will probably experience the same shortcomings.

The costs of Münzenberg's enterprises were small potatoes for the Kremlin in the interwar period, but

the burden of shoring up the Soviet Union's empire was too great in the long run. Mikhail Gorbachev cut off subsidies to the Warsaw Pact countries in the late 1980s and refused to intervene on behalf of their governments. Had the Kremlin taken Münzenberg off the dole in the interwar period, his businesses would have suffered the same fate. The "Red Millionaire" was emblematic of the open corruption that compromised Marxist ideology and bankrupted the communist economies.

SHELDON ANDERSON
Miami University

HUGH RAGSDALE, *The Soviets, the Munich Crisis, and the Coming of World War II*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xxii, 212. \$60.00.

During the Cold War, historical debate about the Munich crisis was dominated by two controversies: first, whether or not circumstances justified Anglo-French appeasement of Adolf Hitler, and, second, the Soviet role in events, in particular whether or not Joseph Stalin was prepared to go to war in defense of Czechoslovakia in 1938. Arguments about appeasement continue to rumble on, not least because of the constant invocation of the Munich analogy in contemporary debates about international politics. But now that the Cold War is over and the USSR no longer exists, the debate about Soviet policy has cooled somewhat. Based on the new evidence from Soviet archives, the scholarly consensus now runs something like this: Stalin wanted to avoid war in 1938, if possible, but was prepared to participate in a Soviet-Western war against Germany if necessary. At the same time, Stalin, deeply suspicious of Anglo-French motives and maneuvers, was determined not to be left fighting Hitler on his own. There was, therefore, little prospect of Stalin unilaterally declaring war on Germany in support of Czechoslovakia, should the latter have chosen to stand and fight. Substantial military supplies and other forms of assistance short of war were by no means ruled out, however, depending on the course of the Czechoslovak-German war.

Not everyone would accept the foregoing interpretation. Many continue to ascribe bad faith to the Soviets, including those who maintain that Stalin was actively manipulating the crisis in order to provoke a European war as part of his project of spreading revolution. This latter hypothesis can be traced back to the views of conservatives and others in the 1930s who believed in the "war-revolution" nexus—the view that the essence of Bolshevik foreign policy was a desire to see a new world war that would provide renewed opportunities for revolutionary advance. But, as Hugh Ragsdale points out, all the direct evidence adduced in support of this hypothesis turns out on close examination to be not just tendentious but false.

Ragsdale's own contribution to the debate has two main angles: the light that East European archival materials throw on Soviet policy and Moscow's mili-

tary mobilization during the crisis. Regarding the latter, the evidence from Soviet military archives and Polish sources is that there was a significant Red Army mobilization along the border with Poland in September 1939. The aims of this maneuver were twofold: first, to deter Poland (which had territorial claims on Czechoslovakia) from joining in a German attack, and, second, to prepare for the possibility of a general European war involving the USSR. Ragsdale also goes to great lengths to show that there was no commensurate Red Army mobilization along the Soviet-Romanian border. Romania posed no threat to Czechoslovakia since Bucharest, along with Belgrade, was allied to Prague in the Little Entente, which was dedicated to maintaining the territorial status quo. Equally important, Romania's rugged terrain and underdeveloped train system offered the Soviets neither an easy route to aid Czechoslovakia nor an effective means of grappling with the Germans directly. In this connection Ragsdale definitively dismantles the myth that the Romanians held out the possibility of Soviet military transit across their territory to Czechoslovakia. Like everyone else, the Romanians played their cards close to their chest during the Munich crisis and avoided making hard and fast commitments to anyone, including their Czech ally. For their part, the Soviets were interested in transit across Poland, not Romania. The same applied in August 1939 when the issue arose again in the context of the Anglo-Soviet-French military negotiations. The Soviets demanded right of military passage across both states but Soviet military planning and preparations focused on the Red Army's entry into Poland, the most direct route to Germany and the Wehrmacht.

Ragsdale has made an important, innovative contribution to the already vast literature on the Munich crisis, one that utilizes a lot of new material and much new thinking. His conclusions are judicious and at times suitably tentative. Of particular note is his focus on the neglected military dimensions of the crisis. No doubt there will be further revelations about the crisis, in particular from Soviet military archives. Even so, this book will remain indispensable reading.

GEOFFREY ROBERTS
University College Cork

ROBERT W. STEPHAN, *Stalin's Secret War: Soviet Counterintelligence against the Nazis, 1941–1945*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. xiv, 349. \$34.95.

The study of intelligence (espionage) systems demands a particular mindset from scholars undertaking this sort of research. Evidence is often contradictory, incomplete, and, worst of all, unreliable. It is the kind of subject that challenges historians' patience and tests their training. Perhaps this is why Gerald K. Haines in a recent review article wrote that few historians have tackled a field that has, until recently, often been left to talented amateurs, memoirists, political theorists,

and foreign affairs experts—with important exceptions of course (“An Emerging New Field of Study: U.S. Intelligence,” *Diplomatic History* 28: 3 [June 2004]: 441). This situation is changing.

Robert W. Stephan, in his significant new book, is in the forefront of that change. The author modestly claims that his research complements two important works that preceded his by quite a few years: David Kahn’s *Hitler’s Spies: German Military Intelligence in World War II* (1978) and David M. Glantz’s more recent *Soviet Military Deception in the Second World War* (1989). His work does much more than that. Stephan’s thorough and imaginative research, and his patient analysis and interpretation of the documents and memoirs he has unearthed, set a standard that other historians working on intelligence should emulate. The book examines Soviet counterintelligence operations against the German intelligence services that accompanied combat troops into the USSR. By focusing his attention on counterintelligence, Stephan has undertaken an especially difficult task. German records and American and British archives relating to espionage on the Eastern Front are more copious than one might expect, and Stephan uses these well, but it is the publication of Soviet material over the past decade or so that has made Stephan’s work possible. Available Soviet records remain spotty, however, and Stephan does a fine job in piecing together the available material.

The nature and balance of his data determine the organization of his work, which he has arranged topically according to the complexion of his research. The book concludes with a lengthy appendix that discusses in remarkable detail the organization and senior personnel of Soviet and German intelligence, counterintelligence, and security agencies. The specialist reader may have to spend some time absorbing the material in the appendix, but it will be a worthwhile exercise.

The structure of the book works well and clearly shows the importance and vastness of the clandestine intelligence-counterintelligence war on the Eastern Front. Stephan’s discussion of this war within a war is as much about German intelligence and counterintelligence organizations, operations, and personnel as it is about Soviet intelligence. He argues that the Soviet victory in this unseen war was based on several factors, some of which were beyond German control. After all, almost the entire war was fought on Soviet territory, where German intelligence agents, many of whom were inadequately trained and included in their number thousands of Russian turncoats, confronted a well-honed, deeply imbedded secret police counterintelligence culture based on a long tradition of striving to uncover real and imagined enemies of the state. The Germans confronted millions of informants for whom even the smallest out-of-place detail was enough to arouse intense suspicion. As a result, they found it impossible to penetrate Soviet political and military institutions, industrial complexes, and other vital targets critical to the stability of the USSR.

Perhaps most importantly, unlike the Germans, the Soviets early in the war linked counterintelligence and security to and coordinated them with military deception. They developed a highly centralized system of bureaus that worked together to achieve particular strategies making intelligence and counterintelligence an integral part of Soviet military planning. The Germans, given the rivalries and suspicions that dominated the relationships among their intelligence agencies and with the army, could not do this.

Stephan contends that with good intelligence the German High Command could have at best slowed the pace of Soviet victory, but the success of Soviet counterintelligence operations—such as the effectiveness of its “radio games”—denied the Germans this opportunity. So, overall, as Stephan shows, despite some famous victories such as the destruction of the Soviet spy network known as the Red Orchestra (*Rote Kapelle*), German intelligence and counterintelligence campaigns were, despite what some others have argued previously, an ignominious failure.

FREDRIC S. ZUCKERMAN
University of Adelaide

DOUGLAS NORTHROP. *Veiled Empire: Gender and Power in Stalinist Central Asia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 392. Cloth \$57.50, paper \$25.95.

The “veiled empire” of the title of Douglas Northrop’s remarkable and important book captures the ironies and paradoxes that he so persuasively describes. At one level, the new Bolshevik regime proclaimed itself the leader of the anticolonial struggle while pursuing colonial policies in Central Asia that were far more intrusive than tsarist Russian ones and not all that different from British and French policy in the Muslim world; hence, the Bolsheviks’ own empire was veiled from their own gaze by their liberationist and emancipationist rhetoric and worldview. At another level, the veiled empire refers to that considerable portion of the Bolsheviks’ subject populations that practiced the seclusion and veiling of women in the name of Islam. Northrop’s focus is on the Bolshevik party-state’s campaign to abolish the veil in Uzbekistan (and partly Tajikistan), the largest of the Soviet “Muslim” republics, during the so-called *hujum* (assault, in Uzbek) that began on International Women’s Day in March 1927 and lasted for roughly a year across different regions of the republic. Russian colonial authorities shared with scholars and travelers conventional orientalist images of veiled women as the very essence of the backwardness and barbarism of Islam. Not surprisingly, Soviet party and women’s activists brought very similar attitudes about the Soviet East, but they had more determination to transform the fundamental structures of Central Asian society than their Russian imperial predecessors. The campaign to eradicate the veil reveals more than irony, since Northrop argues that the *paranji* (a horsehair veil) spread from an urban, upper-class fashion to far more widespread

usage in both town and country, largely as a measure of resistance to Russian imperial incursions in local societies.

Northrop's study joins a growing body of literature by historians who were able to take advantage of a narrow window of opportunity in the early to mid-1990s, when archival access in the newly independent states was unprecedentedly open. (That window has since closed across much of the former Soviet Union, albeit to varying degrees.) These studies also share the distinction of spanning two literatures—Soviet and Middle Eastern—that had been previously kept apart by Cold War intellectual “iron curtains.” As such, this book should be read by historians not only of the Russian Empire and the Middle East but of colonial regimes more broadly, and, not least, of gender and women.

One of the dilemmas that Northrop shares with most of his colleagues in colonial history is that of teasing out of imperial documents the subaltern voices of the largely preliterate subject peoples. Northrop most effectively uses secret police and party reports from 1927–1928 (and reproduces one particularly revealing one in an appendix), but he also probes published accounts of party meetings and official congresses to reveal a confused and uncertain elite and the resistance that emerged at all levels of Uzbek society, from village clerics to Uzbek party officials. In one especially telling chapter, he traces the evolution of reporting on an episode (in the village of Chust) of violent resistance to the *hujum* from a story of local party officials bungling and provoking protests with their coercive measures to enforce unveiling into a tale of conspiracy by the enemies of Soviet power—the mullahs and boys (local aristocracy or village notables) who become the main instigators of the troubles. Northrop's reading of the multiple texts generated by this episode is one of the most sensitive and persuasive interpretations of Soviet sources available anywhere.

Northrop sees the project to transform Uzbek gender and family relations as a failure by the eve of World War II, despite the criminalization of several practices of everyday life, including underage marriage, polygyny, and bride payments. At three different moments (1927–1928, 1936–1937, and 1940), the Moscow and Tashkent political elites considered the possibility of a legal ban on the veil, but each time they stepped back from such a drastically intrusive measure. Northrop is at something of a loss to explain the hesitation to ban the veil, which had become so integrally identified with the success or failure of the Soviet project, while the same Soviet elites rushed headlong into a campaign of crash collectivization and dekulakization at nearly the same time. On the matter of postwar secularization of Uzbek society, Northrop speculates that World War II, with its large in-migration of nonindigenous groups and the evacuation of heavy industry to Central Asia from the European part of the Soviet Union, as well as generational change, were the causes of the changes, not party policy

consciously targeted at changing gender and family relations. But he acknowledges these to be plausible hypotheses in need of further research. In a similar vein, he suggests that it was in postwar Central Asia that a widely rooted Soviet Uzbek identity might have finally appeared, an hypothesis that is certainly most plausible and supported by other scholars of the region. But, how meaningful was a specifically Uzbek national identity in the 1920s and 1930s? Northrop refers to an Uzbek Muslim identity and culture, but largely asserts the Uzbek part of this formula without providing much evidence. Most of his accounts of Muslim resistance cast it not in terms of national resistance but as “traditional” Muslim explanations of apocalypse and Allah's wrath and punishment of his errant people for their sins of having abandoned the true faith of Muhammad. Establishing a more distinctive Uzbek identity—distinct from Central Asian Islam—would require more than Northrop attempts in this otherwise outstanding study. The category Muslim, by contrast, is much more persuasively presented, as is, for that matter, Soviet.

On this matter, Northrop, perhaps to the relief of many of the critics of much of the latest revisionist scholarship on Soviet history, takes Bolshevik ideology very seriously and tries to understand how it worked internally through its own statements as well as its silences. But he does not assume that such ideology was a helpful guide in ruling colonial Uzbekistan. Instead, he illustrates time and again how Soviet and Bolshevik terms of class analysis failed to help the largely urban, European, and secular elites understand the complex Uzbek society over which they ruled. On the contrary, such categories and assumptions produced contradictory and self-defeating readings and doomed their campaigns to virtually certain failure. Northrop does not limit his attempts to understand the power of ideas to the Bolshevik side; he makes a powerful case for Muslim resistance and shows how Bolshevik policies actually helped to consolidate that resistance and render it more articulate than it had been before the *hujum*. This attention to ideas helps Northrop explain why, until World War II, despite the presence of the Red Army and numerous plenipotentiaries from Moscow aided by a new, indigenous elite, the Soviet regime failed to establish hegemony in the cultural and political spheres.

This book challenges not only much of the revisionist literature in its focus on ideology and colonial power, but also a good deal of the counter-revisionist literature that, in Northrop's telling, argues too enthusiastically for the efficacy and widespread adoption of Bolshevik frameworks and concepts. It ought to provoke lively debate for years to come.

MARK VON HAGEN
Columbia University

VALERY TISHKOV. *Chechnya: Life in a War-Torn Society*. Foreword by MIKHAIL S. GORBACHEV. (California Series in Public Anthropology, number 6.) Berkeley and

Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 284. \$19.95.

The most dangerous conflicts in the world today are arguably those in which there are not two clearly delineated sides, where authority has been replaced by chaos, and spoilers are prepared to disrupt any resolution that more moderate actors propose. Chechnya, the breakaway region in the south of the Russian Federation, is a model of such a conflict. In this fascinating translation of a larger work in Russian, Valery Tishkov gives us both the precision and detail of local voices and his own broader analysis. The former are extraordinarily valuable, as well as moving and often depressing; the latter presents a clear advocacy for a certain reading of the events that will prove controversial, particularly outside of Russia.

Tishkov's book is a challenge to what he considers distorted accounts of the Chechen resistance by Western writers and Russian chauvinists. By reconstructing from locals the evolution of their political and emotional attitudes toward the Russian authorities, the author—formerly a government minister—seeks to intervene in the conflict in order to encourage ordinary Chechens and their leaders to oppose separatism and their own fanatics, whether radical nationalists or fundamentalist Islamists. Chechens, he insists, were not (and are not now) essentially anti-Russian, despite their history of struggle against tsarist conquest and Stalinist collectivization, not to mention Joseph Stalin's genocidal removal of Chechens from the Caucasus to Central Asia during World War II. Rather, they lived peacefully with Russians for many decades in late Soviet times and only turned against Russia after the ill-considered "invasion" of Chechnya ordered by Boris Yeltsin in 1994.

Violence here is the consequence not of native cultural norms (ethnicity plays little role in Tishkov's account) but of the foolish decisions by leaders like Yeltsin and the Chechen separatist Jokhar Dudaev and their refusal to negotiate. By allowing local actors to speak for themselves, the author presents a variety of perspectives that belie any simple cultural stereotype of "hearty mountain folk," "brave fighters for freedom," or senseless terrorists. What looks from far away as one ethnic group against another is less clear close up. As one young *boevik* (fighter) tells us, "I have no personal rancor or malice against the Russians—they were lads like me, just a little older. If not for the war, we could have served in the same army with them, would very likely be friends" (p. 100).

Ordinary people fought not for ideology or religion but for home and family. Only when Chechen society crumbled under the brutalities of war and factionalized politics did Islam provide a source of inspiration and identification. Chechnya was driven back into "demodernization," which Tishkov sees as a disintegrated society rather than one in which traditional structures and norms have been resurrected. Without an effective infrastructure and militants uncontrolled

by the elected president of the republic, Chechnya no longer presents a unified authority with which Moscow can negotiate. The problem today is how to bring order out of chaos in a situation where there is no legitimate leadership on the opposing side, a far more difficult problem than in other zones of conflict like Karabakh, Abkhazia, or Palestine.

Tishkov presents the strongest case for the sad necessity of the second Russian "invasion" of Chechnya, in 1999. By that time Chechnya had been completely criminalized, with kidnappings and terrorist attacks in other parts of Russia the preferred form of activity of some of the militants. Whereas Russian public and intellectual opinion had strongly opposed the war in the mid-1990s, by the end of the decade people favored strong action against the Chechens, now seen as savages and terrorists, and applauded Vladimir Putin's hard line against rebellion. Both sides had been radicalized, and the moderates in the middle had no choice but to retire from the field. Putin's forces essentially conquered the country, imposed an armed peace, and drove the dwindling number of Chechen fighters into the mountains. But like resisters in other places and times opposed to what they see as "occupation," the Chechen radicals took up their own "weapon of the weak" and took over buses and hospitals, a theater in Moscow, and a school in Beslan. Their callous brutality was met with equivalent responses from the Russian side.

New books on Chechnya appear almost each month. In Russia they are usually anti-Chechen, in the West just the opposite. Tishkov is telling a Russian story but one that is admirably fair-minded, without polemic or nationalist partisanship, and infused with the anguish that the author feels for the open wound in the Caucasus that neither side seems able to close.

RONALD GRIGOR SUNY
University of Chicago

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

DONALD R. REDFORD. *From Slave to Pharaoh: The Black Experience of Ancient Egypt*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 218. \$44.95.

The Sudan is Egypt's southern neighbor. It is the largest country in Africa, being the size of the whole of Western Europe, and there may be more than a hundred languages spoken within its boundaries. The northern part of this vast area is also known as Nubia, the biblical Cush. What we know of its early history comes largely from the records of its Pharaonic neighbor downstream. From the middle of the first millennium B.C., however, native voices increasingly came to be heard, and these turned out to be distinctive.

Egypt invariably sought to control trade along the Nile, and to affect Nubian politics accordingly. With the coming of the New Kingdom after 1500 B.C. a new solution was devised: Nubia and Cush were turned into history's first colony. Egyptian religion, architecture,

and language were introduced on a large scale, and agriculture, and the economy were redeveloped by Egyptian overlords. The Nubian reaction to this was understandably mixed. Periods of cooperation and assimilation were interspersed with outbreaks of cultural and political interdependence.

In 717 B.C., things reversed themselves dramatically. A Sudanese ruler, called Piye in Nubian or Piankhy in Egyptian, succeeded in conquering his northern neighbor. Far from acting as an avenger, Piye saw himself as a restorer of pure Egyptian ways, which had been preserved in Nubia while they had lapsed into decadence in their original home. (An analogy with conservative African bishops in the contemporary Anglican communion suggests itself here.) Nubian rule, known to Egyptologists as Dynasty Twenty-five, lasted until the 660s, when it was brought to a close by the invading Assyrians.

Donald R. Redford is a prolific historian of ancient Egypt who has never been afraid to reexamine the evidence and to suggest new lines of approach, even if these lines should prove to be controversial. It is characteristic of him to reopen the whole question of Egypt's relations with its African neighbors. This is an area that has sometimes been fought over by people with axes to grind and entrenched positions within which to grind them. Navigating between these pitfalls is not the easiest of options for a historian, but Redford succeeds in this complex task.

The Egyptians felt themselves to be distinct from the Nubians, who are invariably portrayed in art as blacker than their brown-skinned northerly neighbors. The Egyptians were not black Africans, as has sometimes been claimed, although their culture shares many features with their fellow Nile-dwellers to the south, and Nubians certainly succeeded in marrying into Egyptian families. It has to be said that the Egyptians did not have a very generous estimation of the Cushites who came into their view, although some of their dismissiveness may have been caused by apprehension of the Nubians' ability to outwit them at their own game when it came to Pharaonic culture.

Redford is determined to let Egyptian texts speak for themselves rather than to impose modern patterns on ancient thinking. As he wisely remarks, "It matters not a whit whether the ancients bolster or destroy our prejudiced positions: listening to their voices is the first thing we ought to do" (p. x). What Redford gives us is a skilled review of the evidence supported by interpretations that are clear. He always shows how he works, and most of the time he remembers what footnotes are for. His research is wide-ranging and impressively up to date, with a particularly good discussion of the implications for chronology of the new inscription of the Assyrian king, Sargon II, found at Tang-i Var. His treatment of the so-called Third Intermediate Period comes over as uninspiring, but this faithfully reflects the character of the period itself. Even here, Redford manages to maintain his readability in the midst of fragmentary and repetitious texts, such as the grandiose

throne names that were trumpeted by political nonentities. A particularly interesting chapter is the one devoted to the author's own excavations at the site of East Karnak. These are principally famous for the light they shed on the early years of the heretic Pharaoh Akhenaten, but they have also yielded important evidence for the period of Nubian rule over Egypt. A series of villas were unearthed here (domestic architecture is still rare in Egyptology, where most of the evidence comes from tomb or temple sites). The results of these excavations are unpublished, and their inclusion in a historical survey of this kind is all the more welcome.

The book is a detailed but spirited account of a theme that has often been marred by tendentiousness and partial thinking. No treatment of ancient Egypt and its relations with the rest of Africa can afford to ignore it, and our debt to its author is all the greater as a result.

JOHN RAY
University of Cambridge

J. H. CHAJES. *Between Worlds: Dybbuks, Exorcists, and Early Modern Judaism*. (Jewish Culture and Contexts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2003. Pp. 278. \$36.50.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, a sleepy town on a plateau overlooking the Sea of Galilee became a bustling center of trade and industry; there were textile mills and a dyeing industry, one of the first printing presses in Ottoman lands was established, and the Jewish population exceeded 10,000. This growth was driven by the arrival of immigrants, mostly Sephardic Jews, who chose to establish themselves in the Holy Land. Their destination, much more often than Jerusalem, was the town in question: Safed. Perhaps this was because unlike Jerusalem, Safed was sacred only to Jews and thus not the scene of Muslim-Christian-Jewish rivalries, or perhaps it was because of an ancient tradition that the Messiah would come from the Galilee, or perhaps it was because Safed, unlike Jerusalem, had good economic prospects—an agricultural hinterland and nearness to trade routes, especially linking it to the center in Damascus. The settlers tended to be young and possessors of capital; they came to work and to establish themselves in their new place of residence. Indeed, for almost a century, no emissaries were sent into the Diaspora to raise money for the poor of the Holy Land. This socioeconomic dimension of the context for the book under review is not explored or even much mentioned by the author.

J. H. Chajes instead develops one facet of another side of Safed's importance in Jewish history. The intellectual leaders of Safed's Jewish community sought to make it the center of the Jewish world. They evolved new systems of understanding of the cosmos steeped in mystical traditions, produced remarkable works of exegesis and homiletics, developed new prayers and rituals, and even attempted to establish a

supreme appellate court for the Jewish people. Indeed, as noted by Chajes, the aspirations of the Safed community, not unreasonably, can be described as megalomaniacal. And it enjoyed substantial success. In time, the teachings of Isaac Luria (1534–1572) and Moses Cordovero (1522–1570), the prayers of Solomon Alkabetz (ca. 1505–1584), the hymns of Israel Najara (ca. 1555–1625), and many other works produced by a galaxy of outstanding figures became well-known wherever Jews lived.

Chajes's book adds a dimension to this variegated tale of the influence of Safed: the reconceptualization and popularization of narratives of spirit possession—*dybbuks* and exorcists. Such tales had been exceedingly rare in Jewish culture for many centuries before their sudden appearance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This book is based on a collection of texts (provided in English translation in a forty-page appendix) that derive particularly from works by Joseph Sambari (1640–1703) and Hayyim Vital (1542–1620) as well as Manasseh ben Israel (1604–1657). Chajes shows how the key to this new development was the elaboration in Safed of the idea of *gilgul* (reincarnation) in the thinking of the kabbalists. He also puts the phenomenon in its Christian European context and, showing good control of the historical and anthropological literature, very often compares the Jewish cases under analysis to analogous developments elsewhere, especially in Christian Spain. And he spells out the differences and the similarities; Jewish possessing spirits, for example, were almost always ghosts and not demons or the devil.

There is an emphasis in the first three chapters on the teachings of Luria in the development of the new ideas about possession as they were mediated in the writings of Vital. In the third chapter we are even presented with the full text of a Lurianic exorcism procedure. Chapter four, "Dybbuk Possession and Women's Religiosity," is an innovative attempt to reinterpret the fact that, in these narratives, women were more often possessed than men. One particular text concerning a woman known only as the daughter of a certain rabbi is analyzed at length; five other such figures are also treated. Rejecting what he calls functionalist modes of explanation and psychopathological diagnoses, Chajes argues that the spiritual aptitudes of these women should be treated as just that—spiritual gifts—and that they and their followers were recognized and revered not only by other women, but by the male elite as well. The fifth and last chapter is equally innovative in its interpretation and analysis of the single largest collection of possession narratives in early modern Jewish culture: *Nishmat Hayyim* by Manasseh ben Israel, who lived in Amsterdam in the seventeenth century. Chajes puts the work not only in the context of the contemporary European debate with skepticism but also in the context of Sephardi society of the time. Former *conversos* in Western Europe were often drawn to skepticism, and Manasseh's book is presented as a polemic against their doubts as to the

immortality of the soul that marshals evidence from the realm of the spirit.

The collection and careful analysis of the texts presented here are important contributions to our understanding of early modern Jewish culture.

GERSHON DAVID HUNDERT
McGill University

MATT GOLDISH. *The Sabbatean Prophets*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 221. \$39.95.

Matt Goldish's book is a welcome addition to the growing scholarly literature on the Jewish mystical heretic Sabbatai Zvi and the Sabbatean movement in the seventeenth century. While utilizing past scholarship, Goldish paves a new path in the analysis of this important Jewish phenomenon. He argues, largely by implication, that others have too narrowly construed the heretical movement by focusing primarily on the personalities of Sabbatai Zvi and his disciple Nathan of Gaza, ignoring the larger European context and the popular Jewish sentiment out of which Sabbateanism arose.

There are five major elements I have isolated in Goldish's thesis. First, that Sabbateanism not only influenced Christian millenarianism (a notion that Gershom Scholem and Yehuda Liebes already examined) but was influenced by Christian millenarian thought in numerous ways—although Goldish acknowledges that he has little evidence for this observation (p. 117). Second, that *conversos* returning to Judaism in the seventeenth century en masse infused Sabbateanism with Christian ideas. Third, that the innovative (and subversive) element in Sabbateanism was not so much its messianism as its belief in the renewal of prophecy and that these prophetic revelations share much with the claims of some Christian groups at that time (p. 129). (On this point it is noteworthy that Goldish argues it was the minor "prophets" and not the major messianic figures who were central to the movement. In other words, as historians often like to argue, "the prosaic is the profound.") Fourth, that Sabbateanism was influenced by Islamic, particularly Sufi, thought, perhaps even before Sabbatai Zvi converted to Islam (pp. 34–40). Finally, that Sabbateanism succeeded when it did because rabbinic authority had already been weakened by the popularization of Kabbala beginning in the latter decades of the sixteenth century and the "converso influx" in the seventeenth century (p. 145).

Let me begin with the final point. Goldish examines what historians often argue is the classic historical question: not why did something happen at all, but why did it happen when it did? Speaking about the Sabbatean movement, Goldish offers two suggestions: that Jewish society was deeply affected by the fledgling scientific revolution and the way in which science was undermining traditional religious authority, that the popularization of Kabbala through the conduit of the printing press and the dissemination of Lurianic and

earlier mystical texts coupled with the influx of returning *conversos*, weakened the hierarchical structure of rabbinic authority. In short, the seventeenth century witnessed the beginning of the end of rabbinic hegemony via a literary tradition that sometimes subverted it (Kabbala) and a popular movement that had little emotional attachment to the rabbis (the *conversos*). Goldish notes that the process began in the sixteenth century and set the tone for the century to follow (p. 51). The response to this shift was not, as Scholem argued, the emergence of messianism, but the renewal of prophecy, an idea that more forcefully threatened rabbinic hegemony. This argument challenges both Scholem's basic assumption that Jewish messianism, especially at that time, was responding to particular historical phenomena, and Moshe Idel's claim that such messianism was not historical but an outgrowth of a community's engagement with earlier (mystical and messianic) texts. For Goldish, it was not any historical moment or reading of ancient literature that evoked Sabbateanism. Rather, Sabbateanism was an organic and natural outgrowth of the broader European trend that would eventually give birth to modernity.

Another revision to the standard thesis regarding Sabbateanism in this book is the place of Sabbatai Zvi in the movement. Scholem's magisterial work argues that the movement was largely the result of the latter's charisma and Nathan's talent in marketing and disseminating that charisma. Goldish does not view Sabbatai Zvi as the center of the movement but rather as its apotheosis. He focuses on the pre-Sabbatean claims of prophecy as the spark that created the conditions for Sabbatai Zvi. Goldish claims that Scholem was well aware of other European examples of prophetic activity but was unwilling to draw any connection between them. "But this outbreak [of prophetic vision at this time] was exceedingly important to the movement and was by its nature closely intertwined with the rest of Sabbatean history. At the same time, it was part and parcel of the contemporary Ottoman and European scene" (p. 109). In other words, Sabbateanism was as much a European as a Jewish phenomenon.

The weakness of this book is not in its claim but the author's unwillingness to acknowledge the radical implications of his argument. As I read Goldish's study, it tries to sever Sabbateanism from Sabbatai Zvi. Sabbatai Zvi is the consequence and not the origin of this movement. Against Scholem's famous quip about Sabbatai Zvi initiating European modernity, Goldish argues that he is, at best, a product of and not any progenitor to modernity. Moreover, he argues that this movement is little more than a Jewish instantiation of a popular trend in European society.

The constructive consequences of this observation are far-reaching. As a "mystical messiah," Scholem argued Sabbatai Zvi exhibited how the heretical was redemptive, thus creating the conditions for secular Zionism's claim more than two centuries later. On Goldish's reading, this connection is hard to substantiate for at least four reasons: it was not uniquely a

Jewish phenomenon; Sabbateanism was not as much messianic as it was about the renewal of prophecy (while these two are linked they are not identical); it was less about apostasy than Scholem claimed; and it may have been more interested in personal revelation than historical and historiosophic redemption. In short, Sabbateanism may have been a diasporic phenomenon hard to view as a cornerstone of Jewish nationalism.

For whatever reason, Goldish decides not to draw the very conclusions that seem to underlie his project. Given that caveat, this book is a welcome revision of this movement's history and its implications. It is appropriate that Sabbateanism continues to inspire scholarly inquiry into the history of early modern Jewish history and thought. Goldish has greatly aided the inquiry by providing us with a new lens with which to examine this important phenomenon.

SHAUL MAGID
Indiana University,
Bloomington

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

ALLEN F. ISAACMAN and BARBARA S. ISAACMAN. *Slavery and Beyond: The Making of Men and Chikunda Ethnic Identities in the Unstable World of South-Central Africa, 1750–1920*. (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth: Heinemann. 2004. Pp. xii, 370. Cloth \$99.95, paper \$29.95.

Just over three decades ago, Allen F. Isaacman authored a pioneering analysis of social and economic change in Mozambique. In a broad yet focused study of the prazos system, the Portuguese estates located along the Zambesi River, Isaacman helped establish an agenda for research on topics ranging from slavery to authority in southeastern Africa. Now Isaacman and his collaborator Barbara S. Isaacman return to many of the same issues in a study of one group and one gender, Chikunda men, and their history from the mid-eighteenth to the early twentieth century. The result is a rich, and perhaps above all an empathic, account that reminds us of what the best social history has to offer.

The Chikunda emerged as a social category during the eighteenth century in the context of an expanding prazos system. The Portuguese had made a series of land grants to settlers who traveled west from the Indian Ocean coast along the Zambesi River toward modern-day Zimbabwe and Malawi. These European settlers, many of whom took African wives, created a male slave army that commandeered resources from African communities living on the estates. Chikunda also engaged in slave raiding. Not surprisingly, as the Isaacmans document, many people feared the Chikunda, who celebrated their daring adventures and considerable martial skills.

It was only much later, with the decline of the prazos system, that Chikunda emerged as an ethnic identity

and not simply as an occupational category. In contrast to a considerable body of scholarship that has stressed the origins of ethnic identity in the era of formal colonial rule, the Isaacmans offer a deeper and ultimately more complicated rendering of ethnic group formation. At the center of this analysis are the manifold ways people define themselves and others, produce meaning, and offer powerful commentary on their world.

Most of the book explores the period after the middle of the nineteenth century. In this period, slavery came to a fitful end, the Indian Ocean slave trade declined, and the prazos system began disintegrating. There were other important changes in the regional political economy. International demand for ivory skyrocketed. The European powers scrambled into Africa. And, by the end of the century, Mozambique entered the orbit of the subcontinent's industrial revolution.

Feared and celebrated for their military prowess, many Chikunda turned their skills to hunting elephants. By the end of the century ivory had become the principal export from Mozambique. Elephant hunting led to new forms of social organization and, most obviously, relied heavily on access to weapons. The Isaacmans detail the rise and fall of the ivory trade, emphasizing the movement of Chikunda into new areas of the region and their relationship with local peoples. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Chikunda had spread far from the prazos area into what is today Zimbabwe. In the interior, Chikunda formed a number of warlord states tied to international trade and, ultimately, resting on their control of guns.

With rising levels of international commerce, Chikunda also became porters and canoe men and, ultimately, workers on white farms and in the gold mines of Zimbabwe. The Chikunda emerged from, and became the victims of, the incorporation of the region into a world economy over which they had no control. Many Chikunda had moved into the interior away from the prazos. But their ability to sustain lives they deemed worth living in the interior, especially on lands susceptible to drought, declined significantly in the late nineteenth and particularly in the twentieth centuries. Once plentiful elephant herds disappeared before the boom of guns, game supplies dwindled, and the social roles that had led to the emergence of the Chikunda people faded within the changing political economy of southern Africa.

The story the Isaacmans tell is ultimately a sad one, of victimizers as victims, a narrative of a people who today are marginal and poor celebrating a heroic past. Combining decades of archival and oral research, this richly documented study speaks to a number of important issues in African historical studies. It is particularly helpful in its analysis of the creation of ethnic identity, and especially the relationship between ethnicity, masculinity, and labor. The Isaacmans offer what is in effect a social history of ethnic group

formation tied to the labor process, a history that does not rely on the machinations of colonial rulers or the imaginative constructs of European missionaries. Instead we have a history of how men, poor men, have thought about themselves over the course of nearly two centuries of extraordinary change.

CLIFTON CRAIS
Emory University

TREVOR R. GETZ. *Slavery and Reform in West Africa: Toward Emancipation in Nineteenth-Century Senegal and the Gold Coast*. (Western African Studies.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, Oxford: James Currey, 2004. Pp. xix, 257. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$26.95.

Indigenous slavery in West Africa, especially in coastal areas with a history of long and relatively intense contact with European merchants, increased with the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade in the nineteenth century. With the conquest and imposition of colonial rule by West European powers, the question of the abolition of slavery in West Africa became a critical issue. Fearing considerable social and economic upheaval, colonial administrators were generally reluctant to move forcefully against indigenous slavery in areas under their control. Legal measures passed in the metropole were either ignored or applied sporadically by officials on the ground in West Africa. In both British and French West Africa, colonial administrators had to adapt to local conditions, including West African resistance to the abolition of slavery in the region. Masters sought vigorously to maintain control over servile labor.

Trevor R. Getz proposes to compare and contrast two coastal zones of prolonged and close European-African interaction, with particular emphasis on slavery and its abolition. Both British Gold Coast and French Senegal had been heavily involved for hundreds of years in the Atlantic slave trade, and with its abolition, local communities absorbed large numbers of indigenous captives, using this servile labor force to produce the cash crops needed by an industrializing Europe. Both coastal areas successfully made the transition from the illegitimate slave trade to legitimate commerce in agricultural goods, primarily peanuts in Senegal and cocoa in Gold Coast. Colonial administrators were then faced with abolishing slavery in these areas that were heavily dependent on slave labor. Getz endeavors to study the initiatives of European (external) and African (internal) agents and to examine whether emancipation represented continuity or transformation.

Over the past thirty years, many historians have written about slavery and emancipation, especially in these particular locales, providing interested scholars with a wealth of information from a variety of perspectives and sources, including archival and oral data. Getz focuses rather narrowly on the Wolof and Serer states of the immediate coast of French Senegal and the Akan and Ga-Adangme societies of coastal Gold

Coast. These zones are not characteristic of the vast majority of the region or even their respective colonies. The impact of abolition was distributed unevenly in West Africa, with profound differences even between coastal and interior parts of individual colonies. In addition, while Getz presents two detailed case studies where European-African interactions were long-lived and intense, he offers very limited comparisons between the two coastal communities as well as the pursuits of the colonial powers and their approaches to slavery and emancipation. The similarities and differences should have been more carefully examined in a pronounced comparative approach. Instead, the result is a presentation of two case studies, and the comparisons are largely left to the reader.

The most striking weakness of the book, however, is its almost exclusive reliance on select secondary sources that cover much of the same material in more comprehensive and sophisticated ways. Much of the earlier chapters of Getz's book consist of a literature review of familiar secondary works on slavery and emancipation. He often discusses published works that are widely divergent in perspective and quality without concluding which work he finds more convincing or accurate. Even with his reliance on published materials, rather than archives and oral data, Getz ignores numerous other secondary sources directly relevant to his topic. The total absence of any oral materials collected in the field or works in West African languages results in an emphasis on European activities and reactions to the neglect of West African agency.

This comparatively short book may contain some new insights for some readers, but anyone fairly well acquainted with the literature on this topic and these two frequently studied coastal areas will find little originality. The book functions more as a partial review of secondary sources and conventional wisdom than a groundbreaking or highly original work of comparative history. Finally, the material on British Gold Coast is considerably stronger and more detailed than that on French Senegal. Getz would have made a more substantial contribution if he had focused on coastal Gold Coast, using a combination of sources and with more emphasis on West African masters and slaves, and their critical roles in the transformation of slavery in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

ANDREW F. CLARK
University of North Carolina,
Wilmington

GACACA: LIVING TOGETHER AGAIN IN RWANDA? Directed by Anne Aghion. Produced by Philip Brooks, Laurent Bocahut, and Anne Aghion. 2002; color; 55 minutes. Distributed by First Run/Icarus Films.

IN RWANDA WE SAY . . . : THE FAMILY THAT DOES NOT SPEAK DIES. Directed by Anne Aghion. Produced by

Laurent Bocahut and Anne Aghion. 2004; color; 54 minutes. Distributed by First Run/Icarus Films.

These two films portray the challenges facing Rwanda as it tries to become an inclusive society. Perpetrators of crimes are returning from prison to the hillsides to live alongside their victims' kin, survivors who know who killed their family members. Interviews of offenders and victims enhance more general scenes about the launching of the *Gacaca*, a traditional tribunal to deal with the 80,000 cases remaining from the genocide.

Many of the imprisoned Rwandans are charged with the least serious category of offenses in the 1994 genocide, such as those who participated under duress. Planners and organizers of the genocide are in the hands of the International Tribunal in Arusha, or before government courts. Sexual offenders are also in specialized courts. *Gacaca* portrays cases of those who confessed to crimes as they are presented to the tribunal. Anyone present who knows anything about the accusations or the accused is invited to speak up. The court may release those who are cleared, or reconsider conflicting evidence and testimonies for future court determination. The government's rationale in resurrecting the popular tribunal is explained through film footage of the official announcement of the measure as well as the opening moments of a tribunal out on a hillside. Scenes show the arrival of trucks of detainees before the large crowd, how they are presented, and how accusers and witnesses come forward to speak for or against them. Although perhaps cathartic and economical, this process of popular justice is fraught with problems. Accusations are denied, charges are made of false identification, and it is suggested that there are instances of outright lying and misrepresentation to settle old grudges.

In Rwanda We Say . . . : The Family that does Not Speak Dies repeats scenes covered in the first film. It goes on to present the challenge to society where survivors must live alongside perpetrators, beginning with those who were released from prison in 2002 after they confessed to their crimes. The film follows one man, Rwanfizi, who returns home. As he approaches his hillside he tells how his night patrol killed Tutsi in 1994. The film narrative moves back and forth from his perspective as he reenters the community to the Tutsi survivors. Rwanfizi eventually meets and sits down with the group of survivors to explain his actions and ask their forgiveness. It is not clear whether this meeting is staged, but the stiffness with which all sit silently in each others' presence is poignant. Silence gives way to accusations and the admission that only by talking about the crimes and pains each feels can Rwandan society be rebuilt.

Anyone who has experienced the depth of the animosity that provoked the Rwandan genocide and the power struggle that it reflected may be cynical about efforts toward reconciliation. The survivors say that nothing will bring back their loved ones, or they suspect that perpetrators confess just to return home.

Yet many also acknowledge wearily that unless something like these talks occur, Rwanda will never recover. The film's title is drawn from a proverb uttered by an old Tutsi man who lost most of his family but, in the end, says he now understands what prompted Rwanfizi to kill. He does not actually forgive the man, but he says there must be acceptance on both sides. Particularly moving are the testimonies of school children on the prospects for overcoming rancor and feelings of revenge still present in the hearts and minds of Rwandans.

All narratives are in Kinyarwanda with English subtitles. This reviewer wished for more explicit accounting of the film project's methodology. Still, the films evidence progress in one of the most difficult post-conflict situations of the twentieth century. They

would be excellent material for secondary and college students, civic and discussion groups, and law enforcement and peace studies programs.

Rwandan Octave Mugaboniweza and Kenyan Juma Mwashuruti applaud the films' emphasis on justice and reconciliation, issues that confront communities emerging from genocide. *Gacaca*, however, comes across as stage managed because it is imposed by the state rather than rising from the communities. *In Rwanda We Say . . .* shows the power of communication and social interaction in overcoming suspicions and increasing community harmony without forgetting the past.

JOHN M. JANZEN
University of Kansas

Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

DANIEL J. WALKOWITZ and LISA MAYA KNAUER, editors. *Memory and the Impact of Political Transformation in Public Space*. (Radical Perspectives.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 326. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

ANDREW ROSS, Wallace's Monument and the Resumption of Scotland. CYNTHIA PACES, The Fall and Rise of Prague's Marian Column. KANISHKA GOONEWARDENA, Aborted Identity: The Commission and Omission of a Monument to the Nation, Sri Lanka, circa 1989. ANNA KRYLOVA, Dancing on the Graves of the Dead: Building a World War II Memorial in Post-Soviet Russia. MARY NOLAN, The Politics of Memory in the Bonn and Berlin Republics. DANIEL SELTZ, Remembering the War and the Atomic Bombs: New Museums, New Approaches. JAMES CARTER, Touring Harbin's Pasts. JOHN CZAPLICKA, The Palace Ruins and Putting the Lithuanian Nation into Place: Historical Stagings in Vilnius. TERESA MEADE, Holding the Junta Accountable: Chile's "Sitios de Memoria" and the History of Torture, Disappearance, and Death. IRINA CARLOTA SILBER, Commemorating the Past in Postwar El Salvador. Yael ZERUBAVEL, The Politics of Remembrance and the Consumption of Space: Masada in Israeli Memory. T. M. SCRUGGS, Music, Memory, and the Politics of Erasure in Nicaragua. BILL NASSON, Commemorating the Anglo-Boer War in Postapartheid South Africa.

COMPARATIVE WORLD

JAMES D. TRACY and MARGUERITE RAGNOW, editors. *Religion and the Early Modern State: Views from China, Russia, and the West*. (Studies in Comparative Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 415. \$80.00.

RICHARD SHEK, The Alternative Moral Universe of Religious Dissenters in Ming-Qing China. ROBERT O. CRUMMEY, Ecclesiastical Elites and Popular Belief and Practice in Seventeenth-Century Russia. WILLEM FRIJHOFF, The State, the Churches, Sociability, and Folk Belief in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic. CAROLINE J. LITZENBERGER, Com-

munal Ritual, Concealed Belief: Layers of Response to the regulation of Ritual in Reformation England. ROMEYN TAYLOR, Spirits of the Penumbra: Deities Worshipped in More Than One Chinese Pantheon. FRANK E. SYSYN, Orthodoxy and Revolt: The role of Religion in the Seventeenth-Century Ukrainian Uprising against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. RAYMOND A. MENTZER, The Huguenot Minority in Early Modern France. PAUL S. SEAVER, State Religion and Puritan Resistance in Early Seventeenth-Century England. EVE LEVIN, False Miracles and Unattested Dead Bodies: Investigations into Popular Cults in Early Modern Russia. SUSAN C. KARANT-NUNN, Liturgical Rites: The Medium, the Message, the Messenger, and the Misunderstanding. SARA T. NALLE, Self-correction and Social Change in the Spanish Counter-Reformation. EAMON DUFFY, The Disenchantment of Space: Salle Church and the Reformation. NICHOLAS ORME, Popular Religion and the Reformation in England: A View from Cornwall.

WALTER JOHNSON, editor. *The Chattel Principle: Internal Slave Trades in the Americas*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 389. \$35.00.

WALTER JOHNSON, The Future Store. ADAM ROTHMAN, The Domestication of the Slave Trade in the United States. DAINA RAMEY BERRY, "We'm Fus'Rate Bargain": Value, Labor, and Price in a Georgia Slave Community. ROBERT H. GUDMESTAD, Slave Resistance, Coffles, and the Debates over Slavery in the Nation's Capital. STEVEN DEYLE, The Domestic Slave Trade in America: The Lifeblood of the Southern Slave System. MICHAEL TADMAN, The Interregional Slave Trade in the History and Myth-Making of the U.S. South. LACY FORD, Reconsidering the Internal Slave Trade: Paternalism, Markets, and the Character of the Old South. EDWARD E. BAPTIST, "Cuffy," "Fancy Maids," and "One-Eyed Men": Rape, Commodification, and the Domestic Slave Trade in the United States. PHILLIP TROUTMAN, Grapevine in the Slave Market: African American Geopolitical Literacy and the 1841 *Creole* Revolt. SEYMOUR DRESCHER, The Fragmentation of Atlantic Slavery and the British Intercolonial Slave Trade. HILARY MCD. BECKLES, "An Unfeeling Traffick": The Intercolonial Movement of Slaves in the British Caribbean, 1807-1833. MANUEL BARCIA PAZ, The Kelsall Affair: A Black Bahamian Family's Odyssey in Turbulent 1840s Cuba. RICHARD GRAHAM, Another Middle Passage? The Internal Slave Trade in Brazil. ROBERT W. SLENES, The Brazilian Internal Slave Trade, 1850-1888: Regional Economies, Slave Experience, and the Politics of a Peculiar Market.

RICHARD C. K. BURDEKIN and PIERRE L. SIKLOS, editors. *Deflation: Current and Historical Perspectives*. (Studies in Macroeconomic History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xxii, 359. \$75.00.

RICHARD C. K. BURDEKIN and PIERRE L. SIKLOS, Fears of Deflation and the Role of Monetary Policy: Some Lessons and an Overview. HUGH ROCKOFF, Deflation, Silent Runs, and Bank Holidays in the Great Contraction. FORREST CAPIE and GEOFFREY WOOD, Price Change, Financial Stability, and the British Economy, 1870–1939. KLAS FREGERT and LARS JONUNG, Deflation Dynamics in Sweden: Perceptions, Expectations, and Adjustment During the Deflations of 1921–1923 and 1931–1933. MICHAEL D. BORDO and OLIVIER JEANNE, Boom-Busts in Asset Prices, Economic Instability, and Monetary Policy. CHARLES GOODHART, and BORIS HOFMANN, Deflation, Credit, and Asset Prices. MICHAEL D. BORDO and ANGELA REDISH, Is Deflation Depressing? Evidence From the Classical Gold Standard. MICHELE FRATIANNI and FRANCO SPINELLI, The Strong Lira Policy and Deflation in Italy's Interwar Period. MICHAEL M. HUTCHISON, Deflation and Stagnation in Japan: Collapse of the Monetary Transmission Mechanism and Echo From the 1930s. LANCE DAVIS, LARRY NEAL, and EUGENE WHITE, Deflation, the Financial Crises of the 1890s, and Stock Exchange Responses in London, New York, Paris, and Berlin. MARTIN T. BOHL and PIERRE L. SIKLOS, The Stock Market and the Business Cycle in Periods of Deflation, (Hyper-) Inflation, and Political Turmoil: Germany, 1913–1926. RICHARD C. K. BURDEKIN and MARC D. WEIDENMIER, Deflationary Pressures and the Role of Gold Stocks: 1929, 1987, and Today.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

LU ANN DE CUNZO and JOHN H. JAMESON, JR., editors. *Unlocking the Past: Celebrating Historical Archaeology in North America*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, in association with the Society for Historical Archaeology. 2005. Pp. x, 255. \$39.95.

JERALD T. MILANICH, Spaniards and Native Americans at the Missions of La Florida. CLARK SPENCER LARSEN, Bioarchaeology of the Spanish Missions. LELAND FERGUSON, from *Uncommon Ground*, adapted by LU ANN DE CUNZO, African Americans on Southern Plantations. TERRANCE WEIK, Black Seminole Freedom Fighters on the Florida Frontier. ROBERTA S. GREENWOOD, The Chinese in the Cities of the West. WILLIAM FITZHUGH, Early Encounters with a "New" Land: Vikings and Englishmen in the North American Arctic. ANDREW EDWARDS, Jamestown, Virginia. JAMES E. BRUSETH, The Shipwreck of La Salle's *La Belle*. R. SCOTT BAXTER and REBECCA ALLEN, Mining the West. WILLIAM MOSS, Quebec City, Canada. DIANA DI ZEREGA WALL and NAN A. ROTHCHILD, New York City. PAMELA J. CRESSEY, Community archaeology in Alexandria, Virginia. MARTHA ZIERDEN, Urban Life in Colonial Charleston, South Carolina. LU ANN DE CUNZO and MARY PRAETZELLIS, "A Place to Start From": West Oakland, California. SARA MASCIA, The Archaeology of Agricultural Life. DAVID R. STARBUCK, The Archaeology of Rural Industry. DAVID R. STARBUCK, The Archaeology of America's Colonial Wars. SARAH McDOWELL, with contributions by MARK WILDE-RAMSING, The Civil War Under Water. RICHARD A. FOX, Native and "Newcomer": Battle of Little Bighorn. DANIEL LENIHAN, GARY CUMMINS, James Delgado, DAVID CLARK, and LU ANN DE CUNZO, A Global Contest:

World War II. LISA YOUNG, Conserving Our Past. MARIA FRANKLIN, Historical Archaeology That Matters Beyond Academics. JOHN TRIGGS, The Past Belongs to Us All. AUDREY HORNING, Does Historical Archaeology Really Matter in Today's World?

AMELIA MARÍA DE LA LUZ MONTES and ANNE ELIZABETH GOLDMAN, editors. *María Amparo Ruiz de Burton: Critical and Pedagogical Perspectives*. (Postwestern Horizons.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. x, 303. \$35.00.

JOSÉ F. ARANDA JR., Returning California to the People: Vigilantism in *The Squatter and the Don*. VINCENT PÉREZ, Remembering the Hacienda: Land and Community in California Narratives. JENNIFER S. TUTTLE, The Symptoms of Conquest: Race, Class, and the Nervous Body in *The Squatter and the Don*. ANNE ELIZABETH GOLDMAN, Beasts in the Jungle: Foreigners and Natives in Boston. JESSE ALEMÁN, "Thank God, Lolita Is Away From Those Horrid Savages": The Politics of Whiteness in *Who Would Have Thought It?* JULIE RUIZ, Captive Identities: The Gendered Conquest of Mexico in *Who Would Have Thought It?* GRETCHEN MURPHY, A Europeanized New World: Colonialism and Cosmopolitanism in *Who Would Have Thought It?* JOHN M. GONZÁLEZ, The Whiteness of the Blush: The Cultural Politics of Racial Formation in *The Squatter and the Don*. ANDREA TINNEMEYER, Rescuing the Past: The Case of Olive Oatman and Lola Medina. Beth Fisher, PRECARIOUS PERFORMANCES: RUIZ DE BURTON'S THEATRICAL VISION OF THE GILDED AGE FEMALE CONSUMER. AMELIA MARÍA DE LA LUZ MONTES, "Mine Is the Mission to Redress": The New Order of Knight-Errantry in *Don Quixote de la Mancha: A Comedy in Five Acts*.

PAUL SPICKARD and G. REGINALD DANIEL, editors. *Racial Thinking in the United States: Uncompleted Independence*. (African American Intellectual Heritage Series.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 361. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$20.00.

PAUL SPICKARD and G. REGINALD DANIEL, *Independence Possible*. G. REGINALD DANIEL, *Either Black or White: Race, Modernity, and the Law of the Excluded Middle*. STEPHEN A. SMALL, *Mustefinos Are White by Law: Whites and People of Mixed Racial Origins in Historical and Comparative Perspective*. HANNA WALLINGER, *Not Color but Character: Alice Dunbar-Nelson's Uncompleted Argument*. PAUL SPICKARD, *The Power of Blackness: Mixed-Race Leaders and the Monoracial Ideal*. LORI PIERCE, "The Whites Have Created Modern Honolulu": Ethnicity, Racial Stratification, and the Discourse of Aloha. RALPH ARMBRUSTER-SANDOVAL, *Looking Backward, Moving Adelante: A Critical Analysis of the African American and Chicana/o Civil Rights Movements*. WILLIAM WEI, *The Asian American Movement: A Quest for Racial Equality, Social Justice, and Political Empowerment*. G. REGINALD DANIEL, *Black Essentialism and the Afrocentric Idea: The Demise of Eurocentrism or Eurocentrism in New Guise?* PAUL SPICKARD, *What's Critical about White Studies*. G. REGINALD DANIEL, *Black No More or More Than Black? Multiracial Identity Politics and the Multiracial Movement*. MICHAEL C. THORNTON, *Race and Multiraciality: Multiracial Challenges to Monoracialism*. ZIPPORAH G. GLASS, *The Language of Mestizaje in a Renewed Rhetoric of Black Theology*.

GLENN FELDMAN, editor. *Before Brown: Civil Rights and White Backlash in the Modern South*. (The Modern South.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 430. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$27.95.

RAYMOND ARSENAULT, "You Don't Have to Ride Jim Crow": CORE and the 1947 Journey of Reconciliation. DAVID T. BEITO and LINDA ROYSTER BEITO, T. R. M. Howard: Pragmatism over Strict Integrationist Ideology in the Mississippi Delta, 1942-1954. PAMELA TYLER, "Blood on Your Hands": White Southerners' Criticism of Eleanor Roosevelt during World War II. ANDREW M. MANIS, "City Mothers": Dorothy Tilly, Georgia Methodist Women, and Black Civil Rights. ADAM FAIRCLOUGH, Louisiana: The Civil Rights Struggle, 1940-1954. SARAH HART BROWN, Communism, Anti-Communism, and Massive Resistance: The Civil Rights Congress in Southern Perspective. JOHN WHITE, E. D. Nixon and the White Supremacists: Civil Rights in Montgomery. JOHN A. SALMOND, "Flag-bearers for Integration and Justice": Local Civil Rights Groups in the South, 1940-1954. JENNIFER E. BROOKS, Winning the Peace: Georgia Veterans and the Struggle to Define the Political Legacy of World War II. GLENN FELDMAN, Ugly Roots: Race, Emotion, and the Rise of the Modern Republican Party in Alabama and the South.

DARWIN H. STAPLETON, editor. *Creating a Tradition of Biomedical Research: Contributions to the History of The Rockefeller University*. New York: The Rockefeller University Press. 2004. Pp. 314. \$30.00.

DARWIN H. STAPLETON, The Rockefeller (University) Effect: A Phenomenon in Biomedical Science. J. ROGERS HOLLINGSWORTH, Institutionalizing Excellence in Biomedical Research: The Case of the Rockefeller University. BERT HANSEN, New Images of a New Medicine: Visual Evidence for the Widespread Popularity of Therapeutic Discoveries in America after 1885. OLGA AMSTERDAMSKA, Research at the Hospital of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. JULES HIRSCH, Rufus Cole and the Clinical Approach. SHELLEY MCKELLAR, Innovation in Modern Surgery: Alexis Carrel and Blood Vessel Repair. HANNAH LANDECKER, Building "A new type of body in which to grow a cell": Tissue Culture at the Rockefeller Institute, 1910-1914. BERNARD UNTI, "The doctors are so sure that they only are right": The Rockefeller Institute and the Defeat of Vivisection Reform in New York, 1908-1914. TON VAN HELVOORT, The Start of a Cancer Research Tradition: Peyton Rous, James Ewing, and Viruses as a Cause of Cancer. ELIZABETH HANSON, Women Scientists at the Rockefeller Institute, 1901-1940. AYA TAKAHASHI, Hideyo Noguchi, the Pursuit of Immunity and the Persistence of Fame: A Reappraisal. ABIGAIL TIERNEY, Gasser, Bronk, and the International Network of Physiologists. CAROL L. MOBERG, James B. Murphy, the Rous Sarcoma Agent, and Origins of Modern Cell Biology. ROBERT OLBY, The Rockefeller University and the Molecular Revolution in Biology. SABINE BRAUCKMANN, Paul A. Weiss, 1898-1989: The Cell Engineer.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

AZIZ AL-AZMEH and JÁNOS M. BAK, editors. *Monotheistic Kingship: The Medieval Variants*. (CEU: Medievalia.) Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2004. Pp. 297.

AZIZ AL-AZMEH, Monotheistic Kingship. GYÖRGY GERÉBY, Carl Schmitt and Erik Peterson on the Problem of Political Theology: A Footnote to Kantorowicz. CRISTIAN GAȘPAR, The King of Kings and the Holy Men: Royal Authority and Sacred Power in the Early Byzantine World. ILDIRAR GARIPZANOV, *David imperator augustus*. . . Changing Iconography of Carolingian Rulership. NIKOLAUS GUSSONE, Religion in a Crisis of Interregnum: The Role of Religion in Bridging the Gap Between Otto III and Henry II. ÁGOSTON SCHMELOWSZKY, Messianic Dreams and Political Reality: The Case of Don Isaac Abravanel. STEVEN H. RAPP, Images of Royal Authority in Early Christian Georgia: The Impact of Monotheism? IRMA KARLAULASHVILI, King Abgar of Edessa and the Concept of a Ruler Chosen by God. GEORGES TAMER, Monotheismus und Politik bei Alfarabi. ZBIGNIEW DALEWSKI, *Vivat principes in eternum!* Sacrality of Ducal Power in Poland in the Earlier Middle Ages. ELOD NEMERKÉNYI, The Religious Ruler in the *Institutions* of St. Stephen of Hungary. OLEKSYI TOLOCHKO, Problems of Religious Legitimization of the Rurikides of Rus'. VLADIMIR JA. PETRUKHIN, A Note on the Sacral Status of the Khazarian Khagan: Tradition and Reality. GERSON MORENO-RIÑO, Marsilius of Padua on Rulership.

FRANCES ANDREWS, CHRISTOPH EGGER, and CONSTANCE M. ROUSSEAU, editors. *Pope, Church and City: Essays in Honour of Brenda M. Bolton*. (The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1500, number 56.) Boston: Brill. 2004. Pp. xxxvii, 398. \$161.00.

CHRISTOPH EGGER, *The Growling of the Lion and the Humming of the Fly*: Gregory the Great and Innocent III. CONSTANCE M. ROUSSEAU, Produced in Sin: Innocent III's Rejection of the Immaculate Conception. JOHN C. MOORE, Pope Innocent III and Usury. PETER D. CLARKE, The Interdict and Medieval Theories of Popular Resistance. JOHN DORAN, Innocent III and the Uses of Spiritual Marriage. DAMIAN SMITH, The Resignations of Bishop Bernat de Castelló (1195-8) and the Problems of la Seu d'Urgell. PASCAL MONTAUBIN, Bastard Nepotism: Niccolò di Anagni, a Nephew of Pope Gregory IX, and *camerarius* of Pope Alexander IV. ANNE DUGGAN, Thomas Becket's Italian Network. SUSAN TWYMAN, The *Romana Fraternitas* and Urban Processions at Rome in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. ANDREA SOMMERLECHNER, *Mirabilia, munitiones fragmenta*: Rome's Ancient Monuments in Medieval Historiography. JOAN E. BARCLAY-LLOYD, The Church and Monastery of S. Pancrazio, Rome. PATRICK ZUTSHI, Letters of Honorius III (1216-1227) Concerning the Order of Preachers. MARIA PIA ALBERZONI, *Quiddam minus catholicum sapiebat: Consuetudines* and Rule among the Humiliati of the Milanese House of the Brera. LOUISE BOURDUA, Guarieto's Crucifix for Maria Bovolini in San Francesco, Bassano: Women and Franciscan Art in Italy during the Later Middle Ages. KATHERINE L. JANSEN, Florentine Peacemaking: The Oltrarno, 1287-1297. JAMES M. POWELL, The *Misericordia* of Bergamo and the Frescoes of the *Aula diocesana*: A Chapter in Communal History. FRANCES ANDREWS, Regular Observation and Communal Life: Siena and the Employment of Religious.

PATRICK BOUCHERON and JACQUES CHIFFOLEAU, editors. *Les Palais dans la ville: Espaces urbains et lieux de la puissance publique dans la Méditerranée médiévale*.

(Collection d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales, number 13.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de Lyon. 2004. Pp. 341. €23.00.

ANDREA AUGENTI, *Luoghi e non luoghi: Palazzi e città nell'Italia tardoantica e altomedievale*. PIERRE GUICHARD, *Du Qasr à la madina palatine*. MICHÈLE BOIS, *Les palais des Adhémar à Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux et à Montélimar, du milieu de XII^e au milieu du XIII^e siècle*. JEAN-MARIE MARTIN, *Le cas du royaume de Sicile: traditions et influences occidentales*. MARCO FRATI, *La civitas e la sua guida: I luoghi del potere vescovile a Vercelli fra X e XII secolo*. GABRIELLA GARZELLA, *I palazzi pubblici a Pisa nel medioevo come specchio dell'evoluzione politico-istituzionale e delle vicende urbanistiche*. MARIA LUISA CECCARELLI LEMUT, *Palazzo comunale e città a Volterra nel medioevo*. PIERRE-YVES LE POGAM, *Emplacement marginal des palais pontificaux et "recentrage urbain" dans la Rome du XIII^e siècle*. VALÉRIE THEIS, *Les stratégies d'implantation palatiale dans la région d'Avignon de Jean XXII à Clément VI (1316–1352)*. DOMINIQUE CARRU, *Le palais des papes d'Avignon, essai de morphogénèse*. JEAN-MICHEL POISSON, *Le palais des papes d'Avignon: structures défensives et références symboliques*. ELISABETH CROUZET-PAVAN, *Le palais des doges et Venise: les problématiques d'un effet de représentation*. PATRICK BOUCHERON, *Non domus ista sed urbs: Palais princiers et environnement urbain au Quattrocento* (Milan, Mantoue, Urbino). ANTONIO MALPICA CUELLO, *La Alhambra y Granada: de fortaleza a ciudad palatine*. RAFAEL COMEZ, *El Alcazar de Sevilla al fino de la edad media*. MARIANNE BARRUCAND, *Les relations entre ville et ensemble palatial dans les "villes impériales" marocaines: Marrakech et Meknès*.

NICOLA F. McDONALD and W. M. ORMROD, editors. *Rites of Passage: Cultures of Transition in the Fourteenth Century*. (York Medieval Press.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell & Brewer. 2004. Pp. vii, 176. \$75.00.

JOEL BURDEN, *Re-writing a Rite of Passage: The Peculiar Funeral of Edward II*. W. M. ORMROD, *Coming to Kingship: Boy Kings and the Passage to Power in Fourteenth-Century England*. P. H. CULLUM, *Boy/Man into Clerk/Priest: The Making of the Late Medieval Clergy*. SHARON WELLS, *Manners Maketh Man: Living, Dining and Becoming a Man in the Later Middle Ages*. HELEN PHILLIPS, *Rites of Passage in French and English Romances*. JANE GILBERT, *Becoming Woman in Chaucer: "On ne naît pas femme, on le meurt"*. ISABEL DAVIS, *John Gower's Fear of Flying: Transitional masculinities in the Confessio Amantis*. SARAH KAY, *"Le moment de conclure": Intitiation as Retrospection in Froisart's Diis amoureux*.

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

ANDRÉE CORVOL-DESSERT, editor. *Les Forêts d'Occident du Moyen Âge à nos jours*. (Vingt quatrièmes Journées d'Histoire de Flaran.) Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail. 2004. Pp. 300. €28.00.

PIERRE GRESSER, *Nature et montant des recettes forestières du Comté de Bourgogne au XIV^e siècle, d'après les comptes de Gruerie*. FRANÇOIS DUCEPPE-LAMARRE, *Une économie de l'imaginaire: Le cas de la réserve cynégétique d'Hesdin (Artois, XIII^e-XV^e siècles)*. DANIEL BERNI, *Les forêts au service*

des Salines en Lorraine au XIII^e siècle. CHRISTINE BRU-MALGRAS, *Les bois de Port-Royal: Une "solitude bien proche de Versailles"*. MURIEL GENY-MOTHE, *Aménagement direct des forêts, propriété des ecclésiastiques (la gruerie de Fleurance, 1669–1789)*. EMMANUEL GARNIER, *La gestion d'une forêt rhénane: Le Rheinwald sous l'Ancien Régime*. EDUARDO RICO BOQUETE, *Les reboisements en Espagne (1875–1975)*. ANTON SCHULER, *La forêt Suisse et les inondations au XIX^e siècle*. ALINE DURANT and MARIE-PIERRE RUAS, *La forêt languedocienne (fin VIII^e siècle-XI^e siècle)*. DELPHINE BROCAS and AMAIA LEGAZ, *Iraty, de la forêt mythique à la forêt sylvo-pastorale*. JÉRÔME BURIDANT, *Du "modèle" à la pratique: la gestion des peuplements caducifoliés dans la France moderne, XVI^e-XVIII^e siècle*. JEAN BOISSIÈRE, *Milieux paysans et exploitation forestière à partir des pratiques du Nivernais-Morvan à l'époque moderne*. ANDRÉE CORVOL, *Connaître la forêt occidentale*. PAUL ARNOULD, *Nouvelles forêts, vieilles forêts, forêts de l'entre-deux, (XIX^e et XX^e siècles): Rationalité économique et fertilité symbolique*. PIERRE-ALAIN TALLIER, *Entre déboisement, boisement et reboisement, deux siècles d'histoire des forêts belges*.

RANDALL LESAFFER, editor. *Peace Treaties and International Law in European History: From the Late Middle Ages to World War One*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xxii, 481. \$130.00.

RANDALL LESAFFER, *Peace treaties from Lodi to Westphalia*. HEINZ DUCHHARDT, *Peace treaties from Westphalia to the Revolutionary Era*. HEINARD STEIGER, *Peace treaties from Paris to Versailles*. CHRISTIAN BALDUS, *Vestigia pacis*. The Roman peace treaty: structure or event? KARL-HEINZ ZIEGLER, *The influence of medieval Roman law on peace treaties*. HANNA VOLLRATH, *The kiss of peace*. ALAIN WIFFELS, *Martinus Garatus Laudensis on treaties*. DOMINIQUE BAUER, *The importance of medieval canon law and the scholastic tradition for the emergence of the early modern international legal order*. LAURENS WINKEL, *The Peace Treaties of Westphalia as an instance of the reception of Roman law*. MARC BÉLISSA, *Peace treaties, bonne foi and European civility in the Enlightenment*. INGO HUECK, *Peace, security and international organizations: the German international lawyers and the Hague Conferences*. MATHIAS SCHMOECKEL, *Consent and caution: Lassa Oppenheim and his reaction to World War I*. ANDREAS OSIANDER, *Talking Peace: social science, peace negotiations and the structure of politics*. RONALD G. ASCH, *The ius foederis re-examined: the Peace of Westphalia and the constitution of the Holy Roman Empire*. KARL-HEINZ ZIEGLER, *The peace treaties of the Ottoman Empire with European Christian powers*. STEPHEN NEFF, *Peace and prosperity: commercial aspects of peacemaking*. CHRISTIAN TOMUSCHAT, *The 1871 Peace Treaty between France and Germany and the 1919 Peace Treaty of Versailles*.

HEINZ DUCHHARDT and CLAUS SCHARF, editors. *Interdisziplinarität und Internationalität: Wege und Formen der Rezeption der französischen und der britischen Aufklärung in Deutschland und Rußland im 18. Jahrhundert*. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, number 61.) Mainz: Philipp von Zabern. 2004. Pp. x, 312. €39.90.

MANFRED HILDERMEIER, Traditionen der Aufklärung in der russischen Geschichte. HEINZ DUCHARDT, "Europa" und "Aufklärung". ALEKSANDR MYL'NIKOV, Die russische Aufklärung des 18. Jahrhunderts: Probleme der Typologie im Licht der historisch-kulturellen Traditionen. JOCHEN SCHLOBACH, Vom guten zum aufgeklärten Herrscher. SERGEJ KARP, Die aufgeklärte Monarchie in Rußland: Historiographische Kollisionen der Zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts. IRENE DINGEL, Die Rezeption Pierre Bayles in Deutschland am Beispiel des *Dictionnaire historique et critique*. JÜRGEN VOSS, Zur deutschen Voltaire-Rezeption bis 1815. PETR ZABOROV, Voltaire im Rußland des 18. Jahrhunderts. NIKOLAJ KOPANEV, Franz Lefort, Voltaire und Avraam Pavlovič Veselovskij. CLAUS SCHARF, Strukturbedingungen politischer Freiheit: Ein Forschungsbericht zum "Geist der Gesetze" in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert. NADEŽDA PLAVINSKAJA, Montesquieu in Rußland in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. und zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts. MARTIN FONTIUS, Rousseau in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert. ALLA ZLATOPOL'SKAJA, Die religiös-moralischen und sozialphilosophischen Ideen Rousseaus im Kontext des russischen Denkens in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. und im ersten Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts. HERMANN STAUFFER, Lyrischer Wettstreit der Europäer: Antike und Moderne in Klopstocks Odendichtung. NADEŽDA ALEKSEEVA, Boileau in Rußland. MICHAEL MAURER, Shakespeare-Rezeption in Deutschland. GALINA KOSMOLINSKAJA, Zur Rezeption David Humes in Rußland: Nikolaj Karamzin. MICHEL KOWALEWICZ, Eine "gute Aufzucht" als Aufgabe der Aufklärung oder als Staatsangelegenheit? Zur Rezeption einiger französischer und britischer Ansätze der Pädagogik in Deutschland und Rußland im 18. Jahrhundert. MANFRED AGETHEN, Dreißig Jahre deutsche Freimaurerforschung zum 18. Jahrhundert: Eine Bilanz.

PETER GRAY, editor. *Victoria's Ireland? Irishness and Britishness, 1837–1901*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2004. Pp. 188. \$55.00.

PETER GRAY, *Victoria's Ireland? Irishness and Britishness, 1837–1901*. JAMES H. MURPHY, Fashioning the Famine Queen. G. K. PEATLING, Victorian Imperial Theorist? Goldwin Smith and Ireland. JAMES MCCONNEL, The Irish Parliamentary Party in Victorian and Edwardian London. CORA KAPLAN, White, Black and Green: Racialising Irishness in Victorian England. PATRICK MAUME, Music Hall Unionism: Robert Martin and the Politics of the Stage-Irishman. TOM HAYES, "God Save the Green, God Save the Queen, and the Usual loyal toast": Supporting and Dining for Ireland and/or the Queen. JENNIFER RIDDEN, Britishness as an Imperial and Diasporic Identity: Irish Elite Perspectives, c.1820–1870s. PANDELEIMON HIONIDIS, Fenian Rebels and Cretan Insurgents, 1866–1869: Unlawful Subjects or "Lovers of Freedom"? CARLA KING, Michael Davitt, Irish Nationalism and the British Empire in the Late Nineteenth Century. MELISSA FEGAN, "Something so utterly unprecedented in the annals of human life": William Carleton and the Famine. YVONNE SIDDLE, Anthony Trollope's Representation of the Great Famine. PETER GRAY, The Making of Mid-Victorian Ireland? Political Economy and the Memory of the Great Famine. VIRGINIA CROSSMAN, "With the experience of 1846 and 1847 before them": The Politics of Emergency Relief, 1879–84.

SABINE WICHERT, editor. *From the United Irishmen to Twentieth-Century Unionism: A Festschrift for A. T. Q.*

Stewart. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2004. Pp. 224. \$65.00.

ARTHUR AUGHEY, Stewart on History. NINI RODGERS, Making History in Belfast: The tale of Francis Joseph Bigger, Samuel Shannon Millin and Waddell Cunningham. MARY O'DOWD, The Women in the Gallery: Women and Politics in Eighteenth-century Ireland. MARIANNE ELLIOTT, The Kent Treason Trials of 1798: A Window on the United Irishmen. ALLAN BLACKSTOCK, The Rector and the Rebel. PETER JUPP, Dr Duigenan Reconsidered. D. GEORGE BOYCE, Moral Force Unionism: A. V. Dicey and Ireland, 1885–1922. DIANE URQUHART, Pillar of Unionism: The Politics of Theresa, sixth Marchioness of Londonderry. OWEN DUDLEY EDWARDS, Carson as Advocate: Marjoribanks and Wilde. PAUL BEW, "The Ulster crisis": Some Ideological Questions Revisited. ALVIN JACKSON, Militant Opposition to Home Rule: The After-life. MARC MULHOLLAND, Why did Unionists Discriminate? RICHARD ENGLISH, Unionist Intellectuals and the Politics of Northern Ireland.

ROBERT M. SCHWARTZ and ROBERT A. SCHNEIDER, editors. *Tocqueville and Beyond: Essays on the Old Regime in Honor of David D. Bien*. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 2003. Pp. 300. \$52.50.

FRANÇOIS FURET, Tocqueville and the Old Regime. JAY M. SMITH, Recovering Tocqueville's Social Interpretation of the French Revolution: Eighteenth-Century France Rethinks Nobility. RAN HALÉVI, The Illusion of "Honor": Nobility and Monarchical Construction in the Eighteenth Century. RAFAEL BLAUFARB, Nobles, Aristocrats, and the Origins of the French Revolution. ROBERT DESCIMON, Reading Tocqueville: Property and Aristocracy in Modern France. GAIL BOSSENGA, Status, Corps, and Monarchy: Roots of Modern Citizenship in the Old Regime. CAROLYN CHAPPELL LOUGEE, Cross Purposes: The Intendant of La Rochelle and Protestant Policy at the Revocation. ROBERT M. SCHWARTZ, Tocqueville and Rural Politics in Eighteenth-Century France. ROBERT A. SCHNEIDER, Self-Censorship and Men of Letters: Tocqueville's Critique of the Enlightenment in Historical Perspective. ANDRÉ BURGUIÈRE, Monarchical Centralization and the Birth of Social Sciences: Voyagers and Statisticians in Search of France at the End of the Eighteenth Century. WAYNE TE BRAKE, The Old Régime and the Dutch Revolutions.

JULIAN BOURG, editor. *After the Deluge: New Perspectives on the Intellectual and Cultural History of Postwar France*. (After the Empire: The Francophone World and Postcolonial France.) Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2004. Pp. vii, 426. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$29.95.

ALAN D. SCHRIFT, Is There Such a Thing as "French Philosophy"? or Why Do We Read the French So Badly? WILLIAM GALLOIS, Against Capitalism? French Theory and the Economy after 1945. WARREN BRECKMAN, The Post-Marx of the Letter. CHRISTOPHE PREMAT, A New Generation of Greek Intellectuals in Postwar France. STUART ELDEN, Kostas Axelos and the World of the *Arguments* Circle. DAVID BERRY, "Un contradicteur permanent": The Ideological and Political Itinerary of Daniel Guérin. RON HAAS, Guy Hocquenghem and the Cultural Revolution in France after May 1968. ETHAN

KLEINBERG, The Myth of Emmanuel Levinas. LUCIA BONFRESCI, Raymond Aron: Nationalism and Supranationalism in the Years Following the Second World War. MICHAEL SCOTT CHRISTOFFERSON, French Intellectuals and the Repression of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956: The Politics of a Protest Reconsidered. SAMUEL MOYN, From *l'Univers Concentrationnaire* to the Jewish Genocide: Pierre Vidal-Naquet and the Treblinka Controversy. PHILIPPE POIRRIER, French Cultural Policy in Question, 1981–2003. MICHAEL BEHRENT, Religion, Republicanism, and Depoliticization: Two Intellectual Itineraries—Régis Debray and Marcel Gauchet.

LEENDERT F. GROENENDIJK and BENJAMIN B. ROBERTS, editors. *Losbandige jeugd: Jongeren en moraal in de Nederlanden tijdens de late Middeleeuwen en de Vroegmoderne Tijd* [Rebellious Youth: Youth and Morality in the Netherlands during the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period]. Foreword by ILANA KRAUSMAN BEN-AMOS. Hilversum: Verloren. 2004. Pp. 115.

ILANA KRAUSMAN BEN-AMOS, Inleiding: Trends en thema's in de historiografie van de jeugd. AD TERVOORT, Studeren van huis: Strategieën voor de bescherming van studenten (dertiende tot zestiende eeuw). CHRISTOPH BURGER Jean Gerson (1363–1429): Zonder strenge seksuele opvoeding van de jeugd geen hervorming van de kerk. BENJAMIN ROBERTS, Rokende soldaten: Mannelijke rolmodellen voor de jeugd in de vroege zeventiende eeuw? JOHN EXALTO, Het geode voorbeeld: Zeventiende-eeuwse jeugdcultuur en het exemplar in de gereformeerde opvoeding. LEENDERT GROENENDIJK, Jeugd en deugd: Een onderzoek van preken en andere stichtelijke literatuur uit de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw.

CHRISTOF MAUCH, editor. *Nature in German History*. New York: Berghahn Books. 2004. Pp. 136.

DAVID BLACKBOURN, "Conquests from Barbarism": Taming Nature in Frederick the Great's Prussia. MARC CIOC, The Political Ecology of the Rhine. LINDA PARSHALL, Landscape as History: Pückler-Muskau, The "Green Prince" of Germany. JOACHIM WOLSCHKE-BULMAHN, All of Germany a Garden? Changing Ideas of Wilderness in German Garden Design and Landscape Architecture. SANDRA CHANEY, For Nation and Prosperity, Health and a Green Environment: Protecting Nature in West Germany, 1945–1970. FRANZ-JOSEF BRÜGGE-MEIER, *Waldsterben*: The Construction and Deconstruction of an Environmental Problem.

HEINRICH AUGUST WINKLER, editor. *Griff nach der Deutungsmacht: Zur Geschichte der Geschichtspolitik in Deutschland*. Göttingen: Wallstein. 2004. Pp. 267. €34.00.

HILMAR SACK, Wiederkehr des Dreißigjährigen Krieges? Über die politische Dimension der Erinnerung an die Jahre 1618–1648 in der Revolution von 1848/49. BETTINA EFFNER, Das schwierige Erbe der Revolution: Die Auseinandersetzung mit 1848/49 in liberaler Politik und Publizistik der Bismarckzeit. KAY WENZEL, Befreiung oder Freiheit? Zur politischen Ausdeutung der deutschen Kriege gegen Napoleon von 1913 bis 1923. DANIEL BUSSENIUS, Eine ungeliebte Tradition: Die Weimarer Linke und die 48er Revolution 1918–1925. ROBERT

GERWARTH, Republik und Reichsgründung: Bismarcks klein-deutsche Lösung im Meinungsstreit der ersten deutschen Demokratie (1918–1933). FRIEDERIKE SCHUBART, Zehn Jahre Weimar—Eine Republik blickt zurück. JENS HACKE, Die Rechte und die Revolution: Erwartung und Deutung der "Zeitenwende" von 1933. SEBASTIAN ULLRICH, Im Schatten einer gescheiterten Demokratie: Die Weimarer Republik und der demokratische Neubeginn in den Westzonen 1945–1949. CLAUDIA ROTH, Das trennende Erbe: Die Revolution von 1848 im deutsch-deutschen Erinnerungsstreit 100 Jahre danach. SEBASTIAN SCHUBERT, Abschied vom Nationalstaat? Die deutsche Reichsgründung 1871 in der Geschichtspolitik des geteilten Deutschlands von 1965 bis 1974.

MICHAEL CHERLIN, HALINA FILIPOWICZ, and RICHARD L. RUDOLPH, editors. *The Great Tradition and Its Legacy: The Evolution of Dramatic and Musical Theater in Austria and Central Europe*. (Austrian History, Culture, and Society, number 4.) Paperback edition. New York: Berghahn Books. 2004. Pp. xiii, 274.

ERNST WANGERMANN, "By and By We Shall Have an Enlightened Populace": Moral Optimism and the Fine Arts in Late-Eighteenth-Century Austria. HALINA FILIPOWICZ, Taming a Transgressive National Hero: Tadeusz Kościuszko and Nineteenth-Century Polish Drama. CARL WEBER, Nestroy and His Naughty Children: A Plebeian tradition in the Austrian Theater. HAROLD B. SEGEL, Pantomime, Dance, *Sprachskepsis*, and Physical Culture in German and Austrian Modernism. MICHAEL PATTERSON, Populism versus Elitism in Max Reinhardt's Austrian Productions of the 1920s. CHRISTINE KIEBUZ-INSKA, Elfriede Jelinek's *Nora* Project; or, What Happens When Nora Meets the Capitalists. HANS-PETER BAYERDÖRFER, George Tabori's Return to the Danube, 1987–1999. ALFRED PFABIGAN, Thomas Bernhard's *Heldenplatz*: Artists and Societies beyond the Scandal. JEANETTE R. MALKIN, Pulling the Pants Off History: Politics and Postmodernism in Thomas Bernhard's *Eve of Retirement*. SIBYLLE DAHMS, Vienna as a Center of Ballet Reform in the Late Eighteenth Century. EVA BADURA-SKODA, The Viennese Singspiel, Haydn, and Mozart. GRETCHEN A. WHEELLOCK, Displaying (Out)Rage: The Dilemma of Constancy in Mozart's Operas. PETER REVERS, Karl Goldmark's Operas during the Directorship of Gustav Mahler. EVAN BAKER, A Break in the Scenic Traditions of the Vienna Court Opera: Alfred Roller and the Vienna Secession. MICHAEL CHERLIN, Schoenberg's Music for the Theater.

SILVANA SEIDEL MENCHI and DIEGO QUAGLIONI, editors. *Trasgressioni: Seduzione, concubinato, adulterio, bigamia (XIV-XVIII secolo)*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, Quaderni, number 64; I processi matrimoniali degli archive ecclesiastici italiani, number 3.) Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2004. Pp. 686. €40.00.

ANNA ESPOSITO, Adulterio, concubinato, bigamia: Testimonianze dalla normativa satutaria dello Stato pontificio (secoli XIII–XVI). GIULIANO MARCHETTO, "Primus fuit Lamech": La bigamia tra irregolarità e delitto nella dottrina di diritto comune. LUCIA FERRANTE, "Consensus concubinaris": Un'invenzione giuridica per il principe? ANDREA MARCHISELLO, "Alieni thori violatio": L'adulterio come delitto carnale

in Prospero Farinacci (1544–1618). MARCO BELLABARBA, I processi per adulterio nell'Archivio Diocesano Tridentino (XVII–XVIII secolo). ERMANNO ORLANDO, Il matrimonio delle beffe: Unioni finte, simulate, per gioco; Padova e Venezia, fine secolo XIV–inizi secolo XVI. EMLYN EISENACH, "Femine e zentilhomini": Concubinato d'élite nella Verona del Cinquecento. LAURA TURCHI, Adulterio, onere della prova e testimonianza: In margine a un processo correggese di età tridentina. DANIELA LOMBARDI, Il reato di stupor tra foro ecclesiastico e foro secolare. SARA LUPERINI, Il gioco dello scandalo: Concubinato, tribunali e comunità nella diocesi di Pisa (1597). CRISTINA GALASSO, "La moglie duplicate": Bigamia e levirato nella comunità ebraica de Livorno (secolo XVII). PIERROBERTO SCARAMELLA, Controllo e repressione ecclesiastica della poligamia a Napoli in età moderna: Dalle cause matrimoniali al crimine de fede (1514–1799). KIM SIEBENHÜNER, "M'ha mosso l'amore": Bigami e inquisitori nella documentazione del Sant'Uffizio romano (secolo XVII). SILVANA SEIDEL MENCHI, Il matrimonio finto: Clero e fedeli post-tridentini tra sperimentazione liturgica e registrazione di stato civile. ALESSANDRA CONTINI, Verso nuove forme di regolazione dei conflitti: La vicenda di Marianna Scartabelli (Firenze, 1783). GEORGIA ARRIVO, Storie ordinarie di matrimoni difficili: Assunta Tortolini e Giuseppe Mazzanti di fronte al Supremo Tribunale di Giustizia di Firenze.

TIMO VIHAVAINEN, editor. *O. W. Kuusinen ja Neuvostoliiton ideologinen kriisi vuosina 1957–64* [O. W. Kuusinen and the Struggle over Stalin's Legacy 1957–64]. (Historiallinen Arkisto, number 117.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2003. Pp. 274.

TIMO VIHAVAINEN, Takaisin Leniniin? Ideologinen Tilanne Stalinin Jälkeen ja O. W. Kuusisen Näkemykset. TAUNO SAARELA, Sosiaalidemokratista Kommunistiksi—Otto Wille

Kuusisen Käsitysten Muutoksista Ennen Stalinin Kautta. KIMMO RENTOLA, Sitkeä Välimies O. W. Kuusinen. AAPPO KÄHÖNEN, Ideologisten Uudistusten Merkitys Neuvostoliiton Ulkopoliitikalle 1956–1962. JUKKA RENKAMA, Kuusinen ja Neuvostovaltion Käsitteen Uudistaminen Vuosina 1957–1961. SERGEI ZHURAVLJOV, Otto Kuusinen NKP:n Keskuskomiteassa 1950–Luvun Puolivälistä 1960–Luvun Alkuun.

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

DOMINIQUE TRIMBUR, editor. *Europäer in der Levante: Zwischen Politik, Wissenschaft und Religion (19.-20. Jahrhundert)/Des Européens au Levant: Entre politique, science et religion (XIX^e-XX^e siècles)*. (Pariser Historische Studien, number 53.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2004. Pp. 188.

DOMINIQUE TRIMBUR, Aperçu historique du Levant, 1840–1948. MARKUS KIRCHHOFF, Deutsche Palästinawissenschaft im letzten Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts: Die Anfänge und Programmatik des Deutschen Vereins zur Erforschung Palästinas. JÉRÔME BOCQUET, Missionnaires Français et allemands au Levant: Les Lazaristes français de Damas et l'Allemagne, du voyage de Guillaume II à l'instauration du Mandat. ROLAND LÖFFLER, Die langsame Metamorphose einer Missions- und Bildungseinrichtung zu einem sozialen Dienstleistungsbetrieb: Zur Geschichte des Syrischen Waisenhauses der Familie Schneller in Jerusalem 1860–1945. BERTRAND LAMURE, Les pèleriages français en Palestine au XIX^e siècle: Croisade catholique et patriotique. BARBARA HAIDER-WILSON, Das Generalkommissariat des Heiligen Landes in Wien—eine Wiederentdeckung des 19. Jahrhunderts. ELENA ASTAFIEVA, Imaginäre und wirkliche Präsenz Rußlands im Nahen Osten in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts.

Documents and Bibliographies

Books listed were recently received in the *AHR* office. Works of these types cannot normally be reviewed by the *AHR*.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

HACKER, BARTON C. *World Military History Annotated Bibliography: Premodern and Nonwestern Military Institutions (Works Published before 1967)*. (History of Warfare, number 27.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. vii, 305. \$134.00.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

AMADOR, JOSÉ MARÍA, and LORENZO ASISARA. *Californio Voices: The Oral Memoirs of José María Amador and Lorenzo Asisara*. Translated and Edited by GREGORIO MORA-TORRES. (Al Filo: Mexican American Studies Series, number 3.) Denton: University of North Texas Press. 2005. Pp. x, 262. \$29.95.

BARAGA, FREDERIC. *Frederic Baraga's Short History of the North American Indians*. Translated and edited by GRAHAM MACDONALD. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 228. \$34.95.

BAXTER, JUDITH, editor. *Clifton Royal: The Wetmores and Village Life in Nineteenth-Century New Brunswick*. (Mercury Series, number 53.) Gatineau, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization. 2004. Pp. xvi, 414. \$35.95.

BURROUGHS, EDGAR RICE, and HERBERT T. WESTON. *Brother Men: The Correspondence of Edgar Rice Burroughs and Herbert T. Weston*. Edited by MATT COHEN. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 310. \$21.95.

FLOYD, CHARLES. *Exploring with Lewis and Clark: The 1804 Journal of Charles Floyd*. Edited and with an introduction by JAMES J. HOLMBERG. Foreword by GARY E. MOULTON. (The American Exploration and Travel Series.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, in cooperation with The Friends of the Wisconsin Historical Society. 2004. Pp. xiv, 98. \$45.00.

FRASER, GEORGE C. *Journeys in the Canyon Lands of Utah and Arizona, 1914–1916*. Edited by FREDERICK H. SWANSON. Foreword by HAL K. ROTHMAN. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2005. Pp. xxxviii, 224. \$19.95.

GOLD, HARRIETT, and ELIAS BOUDINOT. *To Marry an Indian: The Marriage of Harriett Gold and Elias Boudinot in Letters, 1823–1839*. Edited by THERESA STROUTH GAUL. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 222. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$21.95.

MCCORMICK, VANCE. *Citizen Extraordinaire: The Diplomatic Diaries of Vance McCormick in London and Paris, 1917–1919*. With Other Documents from a High-Minded American Life. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 2004. Pp. xv, 400. \$39.95.

RICH, CHARLES C. *Charles C. Rich DVD Library*. Edited by the

Brigham Young University Studies staff. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press. 2005. DVD. \$25.00.

SIZER, LYDE CULLEN, and JIM CULLEN, editors. *The Civil War Era: An Anthology of Sources*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2005. Pp. xxviii, 434. \$34.95.

SPRENGEL, M. C. *1700s in America: Historical Genealogical Calendar or Yearbook of the Most Noteworthy Recent Worldwide Events for the 1784 Fair at Leipzig*. Cape Girardeau, Mo.: Southeast Missouri State University Press. 2004. Pp. 276. \$30.00.

VLCHEK, FRANK. *The Story of My Life*. Edited by WINSTON CHRISLOCK. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press with the Western Reserve Historical Society. 2004. Pp. xvi, 392. \$29.95.

WASHINGTON, GEORGE. *The Papers of George Washington*. Edited by PHILANDER D. CHASE, et al. (The Presidential Series, number 12: January–May, 1793.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2005. Pp. xxxi, 708. \$75.00.

WISEMAN, SAMUEL. *Samuel Wiseman's Book of Record: The Official Account of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia*. Edited by MICHAEL LEROY OBERG. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2005. Pp. vii, 296. \$70.00.

ZEISBERGER, DAVID. *The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisberger: 1772–1781*. Edited by HERMAN WELLENREUTHER and CAROLA WESSEL. Translated by JULIE TOMBERLIN WEBER. (The Max Kade German-American Research Institute Series.) University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 666. \$65.00.

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

FRAZIER, E. FRANKLIN, and ERIC WILLIAMS, editor. *The Economic Future of the Caribbean*. Forewords by ERICA WILLIAMS CONNELL and TONY MARTIN. (Caribbean Classics, number 2.) Dover, Mass.: The Majority Press. 2004. Pp. xxxvii, 101. \$19.95.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

Bibliografías de Historia de España. In two volumes. (Los Reyes Católicos y su tiempo, number 12.) Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Fundacion Cultural de la Nobleza Espanola. 2004. Pp. xix, 815.

CÁRCEL ORTÍ, M. MILAGROS, editor. *Un formulari i un registre del bisbe de València En Jaume d'Aragó (segle XIV)*. (Fonts històriques valencianes, number 17.) Valencia, Spain: Universitat de València. 2005. Pp. 439.

DEVRIES, KELLY. *A Cumulative Bibliography of Medieval Military History and Technology: Update 2004*. CD-ROM version. Boston: Brill. 2005. \$250.00.

DEVRIES, KELLY. *A Cumulative Bibliography of Medieval Military History and Technology: Update 2004*. (History of

- Warfare, number 26.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xxii, 325. \$149.00.
- GROSSI, ADA, editor. *Il Liber iurum del Comune di Lodi*. (Pubblicazioni degli archivi di stato, number 42.) Rome: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali. 2004. Pp. xc, 518.
- MALATERRA, GEOFFREY. *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily and of His Brother Duke Robert Guiscard*. Translated by KENNETH BAXTER WOLF. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 225. \$75.00.
- Year by Year with the Early Jesuits (1537–1556): Selections from the "Chronicon" of Juan de Polanco, S.J.* Translation and foreword by JOHN PATRICK DONNELLY, S.J. (Jesuit Primary Sources, number 21.) Saint Louis, Mo.: Institute of Jesuit Sources. 2004. Pp. xxi, 480. \$37.95.
- EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN**
- BELLONI, CRISTINA, and MARCO LUNARI, editors. *I notai della curia arcivescovile di Milano (Secoli XIV–XV)*. Rome: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali. 2004. Pp. ciii, 509.
- BROGI, MARIO, editor. *L'Archivio comunale di Poggibonsi: Inventario della Sezione storica*. Rome: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali. 2004. Pp. 332.
- CATHCART, KEVIN J., editor. *The Letters of Peter Le Page Renouf (1822–1897). Volume 4, London (1864–1897)*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press. 2004. Pp. xxix, 433. \$124.95.
- DARWIN, CHARLES. *The Correspondence of Charles Darwin: Volume 14, 1866*. Edited by FREDERICK BURKHARDT et al. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xxxvii, 655. \$120.00.
- FERRARA, PATRIZIA, editor. *Censura teatrale e fascismo (1931–1944): La storia, l'archivio, l'inventario*. Rome: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali. 2004. Pp. xiii, 542.
- GLASER, HERMANN. *1945—Beginn einer Zukunft: Bericht und Dokumentation*. (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus.) Revised edition. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer. 2005. Pp. 396. €9.90.
- GORSHKOV, BORIS B., editor. *A Life under Russian Serfdom: The Memoirs of Savva Dmitrievich Purlevskii, 1800–1868*. Translated by BORIS B. GORSHKOV. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 119. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$17.95.
- HESS, MOSES. *The Holy History of Mankind and Other Writings*. Edited, translated, and foreword by SHLOMO AVINERI. (Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xxxv, 148. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$23.99.
- KHRUSHCHEV, SERGEI, editor. *Memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev. Volume 1: Commissar, 1918–1945*. Translated by GEORGE SHRIVER. Hanover, N.H.: Brown University Press. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2004. Pp. xxxvi, 935. \$55.00.
- LEGG, MARIE-LOUISE, editor. *The Census of Elphin 1749*. Assisted by BRIAN GURRIN. Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission. 2004. Pp. xlii, 597. €75.00.
- NAPOLETANO, FRANCESCA BERNARDINI, editor. *L'Archivio di Paola Masino: Inventario*. (Studi e ricerche, Archivi del novecento; Quaderni della rassegna degli archivi di stato, number 105.) Rome: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali. 2004. Pp. 228.
- SCHMITT, CARL. *On the Three Types of Juristic Thought*. Translated by JOSEPH W. BENDERSKY. (Contributions in Political Science, number 397.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2004. Pp. viii, 124.
- SMITH, MARK, and STEPHEN TAYLOR, editors. *Evangelicalism in the Church of England, c. 1790–c. 1890: A Miscellany*. (Church of England Record Society, number 12.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press for the Church of England Record Society. 2004. Pp. xii, 339. \$85.00.
- ST. CLAIR SEGURADO, EVA M.A., editor. *Flagellum Iesuitarum: La polémica sobre los jesuitas en México (1754–1767)*. Alicante, Spain: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante. 2004. Pp. 125.
- SÜß, PETER, editor. *1945: Befreiung und Zusammenbruch; Erinnerungen aus sechs Jahrzehnten*. Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch. 2005. Pp. 175. €8.50.
- SWEDBERG, RICHARD. *The Max Weber Dictionary: Key Words and Central Concepts*. Assisted by OLA AGEVALL. (Stanford Social Sciences.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 344. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$22.95.
- VITELLI, ÉTIENNE. *Commentaires sur la guerre civile de France: De la surprise de Meaux à la bataille de Saint-Denis (1567)*. Translated by ANNE LOMBARD-JOURDAN. Assisted by MARC H. SMITH. (Études et rencontres de l'École des Chartes, number 17.) Paris: École Nationale des Chartes. 2005. Pp. 142. €20.00.

Other Books Received

The following books were recently received in the *AHR* office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

METHODS/THEORY

- BABEROWSKI, JÖRG. *Der Sinn der Geschichte: Geschichtstheorien von Hegel bis Foucault*. Munich: C. H. Beck. 2005. Pp. 249. €12.90.
- HERZFELD, MICHAEL. *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State*. 2d ed. New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. xiii, 280.
- TAMANAH, BRIAN Z. *On the Rule of Law: History, Politics, Theory*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 180. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$28.99.
- KEEGAN, JOHN. *The Second World War*. Reprint. New York: Penguin. 2005. Pp. 608. \$22.00.
- KREIKE, EMMANUEL, and WILLIAM CHESTER JORDON, editors. *Corrupt Histories*. (Studies in Comparative History.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 482. \$65.00.
- LIONNET, FRANÇOISE, and SHU-MEI SHIH, editors. *Minor Transnationalism*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. 359. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.
- LLOYD, ELISABETH A. *The Case of the Female Orgasm: Bias in the Science of Evolution*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. 311. \$27.95.
- LUKACS, JOHN. *Democracy and Populism: Fear and Hatred*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 248. \$25.00.
- MARTIN, GEOFFREY J. *All Possible Worlds: A History of Geographical Ideas*. 4th ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 605. \$79.95.
- MOULINIER, LAURENCE, et al. *La Juste Mesure: Quantifier, évaluer, mesurer entre Orient et Occident (VIII^e-XVIII^e siècle)*. (Temps et Espaces.) Saint-Denis, France: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes. 2005. Pp. 200. €22.00.
- PALMER, MICHAEL A. *Command at Sea: Naval Command and Control since the Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. 377. \$29.95.
- PRICE, ALFRED. *Instruments of Darkness: The History of Electronic Warfare, 1939-1945*. Rev. ed. London: Greenhill. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 2005. Pp. 272. \$34.95.
- ROSEN, DAVID M. *Armies of the Young: Child Soldiers in War and Terrorism*. (The Rutgers Series in Childhood Studies.) New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 199. \$22.95.
- SURI, JEREMI. *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Detente*. Paperback edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 355. \$18.95.
- VALE, LAWRENCE J., and THOMAS J. CAMPANELLA, editors. *The Resilient City: How Modern Cities Recover from Disaster*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 376. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.
- WILLBANKS, JAMES H. *The Battle of An Loc*. (Twentieth-Century Battles.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xxi, 226. \$29.95.
- YE'OR, BAT. *Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis*. Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 2005. Pp. 384. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$23.95.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

- AMITAI, REUVEN, and MICHAL BIRAN, editors. *Mongols, Turks, and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World*. (Brill's Inner Asian Library, number 11.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xx, 550. \$147.00.
- ARNASON, JOHANN P., and BJÖRN WITTRÖCK, editors. *Eurasian Transformations, Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries: Crystallizations, Divergences, Renaissances*. (Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue, number 10.) Boston: Brill. 2004. Pp. xii, 375. \$134.00.
- BLACK, JEREMY. *War Since 1945*. (Contemporary Worlds.) Reprint. London: Reaktion Books. 2005. Pp. 215. \$24.95.
- BUDIANSKY, STEPHEN. *Air Power: The Men, Machines, and Ideas That Revolutionized War, from Kitty Hawk to Iraq*. New York: Penguin. 2004. Pp. x, 518. \$18.00.
- BURUMA, IAN, and AVISHAI MARGALIT. *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies*. New York: Penguin. 2004. Pp. 165. \$14.00.
- DAVIS, KENNETH C. *Don't Know Much About World Myths*. New York: HarperCollins. 2005. Pp. 144. \$15.99.
- DEAN, CHARLES L. *Soldiers and Sled Dogs: A History of Military Dog Mushing*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 129. \$24.95.
- HALPERN, SYDNEY A. *Lesser Harms: The Morality of Risk in Medical Research*. (Morality and Society Series.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 232. \$37.50.
- HARINCK, GEORGE, and HANS KRABBENDAM, editors. *Amsterdam-New York: Transatlantic Relations and Urban Identities Since 1653*. (European Contributions to American Studies, number 59.) Amsterdam: VU University Press. 2005. Pp. 199. \$29.95.
- JAENE, CORNELIUS J. *The Apostles' Doctrine and Fellowship: A Documentary History of the Early Church and Restorationist Movements*. New York: Legas. 2003. Pp. 556. \$39.95.
- ASPINALL, EDWARD. *Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance, and Regime Change in Indonesia*. (Contemporary Issues in Asia and the Pacific.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 328. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$22.95.

ASIA

- BROBST, PETER JOHN. *The Future of the Great Game: Sir Olaf Caroe, India's Independence, and the Defense of Asia.* (Series on International, Political, and Economic History.) Akron, Ohio: University of Akron Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 199. \$39.95.
- CLARK-DECÈS, ISABELLE. *No One Cries for the Dead: Tamil Dirges, Rowdy Songs, and Graveyard Petitions.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. x, 242. \$24.95.
- ETCHESON, CRAIG. *After The Killing Fields: Lessons from the Cambodian Genocide.* Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2005. Pp. xii, 256. \$45.00.
- HARDY, GRANT, and ANNE BEHNKE KINNEY. *The Establishment of the Han Empire and Imperial China.* (Greenwood Guides to Historic Events of the Ancient World.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2005. Pp. xxx, 170. \$45.00.
- HORNE, GERALD. *Race War: White Supremacy and the Japanese Attack on the British Empire.* New York: New York University Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 409. \$37.95. Madani, Maulana Hussain Ahmad. *Composite Nationalism and Islam.* Translated by MOHAMMAD ANWER HUSSAIN and HASAN IMAM. New Delhi: Manohar. 2005. Pp. 152. Rs. 300.00.
- JHA, D. N. *Early India: A Concise History.* New Delhi: Manohar. 2004. Pp. 269. Rs. 395.00.
- POO, MU-CHOU. *Enemies of Civilization: Attitudes toward Foreigners in Ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and China.* (SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 211. Cloth \$81.50, paper \$29.95.
- ROSSABI, MORRIS. *Modern Mongolia: From Khans to Commissars to Capitalists.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 397. \$24.95.
- SARDESAI, D. R. *Vietnam: Past and Present.* 4th ed. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 2005. Pp. xv, 270. \$26.00.
- SATYA, LAXMAN D. *Ecology, Colonialism, and Cattle: Central India in the Nineteenth Century.* New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 204. Rs. 875.00.
- VARADARAJAN, LOTIKA, editor. *The Rahmani of M.P. Kunhikunhi Malmi of Kavaratti: A Sailing Manual of Lakshadweep.* New Delhi: Manohar. 2004. Pp. xiv, 284. Rs. 750.00.
- WICKREMESEKERA, CHANNA. *Kandy at War: Indigenous Military Resistance to European Expansion in Sri Lanka, 1594–1818.* New Delhi: Manohar. 2004. Pp. 228. Rs. 500.00.
- CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES**
- ACKERMAN, KENNETH D. *Boss Tweed: The Rise and Fall of the Corrupt Pol Who Conceived the Soul of Modern New York.* New York, NY: Carroll & Graf Publishers. 2005. Pp. x, 437. \$27.00.
- ADAMS, PETER. *The Bowery Boys: Street Corner Radicals and the Politics of Rebellion.* Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2005. Pp. xxii, 168. \$39.95.
- AMORY, HUGH. *Bibliography and the Book Trades: Studies in the Print Culture of Early New England.* Edited by DAVID D. HALL. (Material Texts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 174. \$49.95.
- BARAKSO, MARYANN. *Governing NOW: Grassroots Activism in the National Organization for Women.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 192. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.
- BARNES, LINDA L., and SUSAN S. SERED, editors. *Religion and Healing in America.* New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 535. Cloth \$74.00, paper \$29.95.
- BERKIN, CAROL. *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2005. Pp. xviii, 194. \$24.00.
- BOSCO, MARK. *Graham Greene's Catholic Imagination.* (American Academy of Religion Academy Series.) New York: Oxford University Press for the American Academy of Religion. 2005. Pp. viii, 205. \$45.00.
- BOWNE, ERIC E. *The Westo Indians: Slave Traders of the Early Colonial South.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2005. Pp. 144. Cloth \$48.00, paper \$24.95.
- BOYLE, PETER G., editor. *The Eden-Eisenhower Correspondence, 1955–1957.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. 230. \$45.00.
- BROFEN, ELISABETH. *Home in Hollywood: The Imaginary Geography of Cinema.* (Film and Culture.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2004. Pp. 310. Cloth \$64.50, paper \$24.50.
- BROWN, KENT MASTERSON. *Retreat from Gettysburg: Lee, Logistics, and the Pennsylvania Campaign.* (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 534. \$34.95.
- BROWN, TAMARA L., GREGORY S. PARKS, and CLARENDIA M. PHILLIPS, editors. *African American Fraternities and Sororities: The Legacy and the Vision.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2005. Pp. viii, 496. \$39.95.
- BRYAN, PATRICIA L., and THOMAS WOLF. *Midnight Assassin: A Murder in America's Heartland.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill. 2005. Pp. xv, 278. \$23.95.
- BUDNEY, STEPHEN P. *William Jay: Abolitionist and Anticolonialist.* Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2005. Pp. viii, 170. \$44.95.
- BUNDY, CAROL. *The Nature of Sacrifice: A Biography of Charles Russell Lowell, Jr., 1835–64.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 2005. Pp. viii, 548. \$30.00.
- CALLCOTT, GEORGE H. *The University of Maryland at College Park, A History.* Baltimore, Maryland: Noble House. 2005. Pp. 177. \$24.95.
- CHERNOW, RON. *Alexander Hamilton.* New York: Penguin. 2004. Pp. 818. \$18.00.
- CHRISTIAN, SHIRLEY. *Before Lewis and Clark: The Story of the Chouteaus, the French Dynasty That Ruled America's Frontier.* Paperback edition. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 2004. Pp. 509. \$15.00.
- COHEN, NORM, editor. *Folk Music: A Regional Exploration.* (Greenwood Guides to American Roots Music.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2005. Pp. xliii, 335. \$75.00.
- CONROY, JASON. *Heavy Metal: A Tank Company's Battle to Baghdad.* Assisted by RON MARTZ. Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2005. Pp. xxi, 288. \$26.95.
- COSKI, JOHN M. *The Confederate Battle Flag: America's Most Embattled Emblem.* Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 401. \$29.95.
- CUNNINGHAM, CHET. *The Frogmen of World War II: An Oral History of the U.S. Navy's Underwater Demolition Teams.* New York: Pocket Books. 2005. Pp. 375. \$7.99.
- DE BLIJ, H. J., editor. *Atlas of North America.* New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. 320. \$125.00.
- DELUE, RACHAEL ZIADY. *George Inness and the Science of Landscape.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 317. \$55.00.
- DERICKSON, ALAN. *Health Security for All: Dreams of Universal Health Care in America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 240. \$30.00.
- DILWORTH, RICHARDSON. *The Urban Origins of Suburban Autonomy.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 267. \$49.95.
- DUNN, WALTER S., JR. *People of the American Frontier: The Coming of the American Revolution.* Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2005. Pp. xi, 235. \$44.95.
- DURHAM, ROGER S. *High Seas and Yankee Gunboats: A Blockade-Running Adventure from the Diary of James Dickson.* (Studies in Maritime History.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 185. \$29.95.

- ENGLE, STEPHEN D. *Struggle for the Heartland: The Campaigns from Fort Henry to Corinth*. (Great Campaigns of the Civil War.) Paperback edition. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2001. Pp. xxi, 251. \$16.95.
- EUBANKS, W. RALPH. *Ever is a Long Time: A Journey into Mississippi's Dark Past, A Memoir*. Paperback edition. New York: Basic Books. 2003. Pp. xvii, 234. \$14.95.
- EVANS, ELI N. *The Provincials: A Personal History of Jews in the South*. Foreword by WILLIE MORRIS. Rev. ed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xxii, 391. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$21.95.
- FARBER, DAVID. *Sloan Rules: Alfred P. Sloan and the Triumph of General Motors*. Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 292. \$15.00.
- FARRINGTON, LISA E. *Creating Their Own Image: The History of African-American Women Artists*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. 354. \$55.00.
- FELDMAN, JAY. *When the Mississippi Ran Backwards: Empire, Intrigue, Murder and the New Madrid Earthquakes*. New York: Free Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 307. \$27.00.
- FERGUSON, NIALL. *Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire*. Paperback edition. New York: Penguin. 2004. Pp. xxix, 386. \$16.00.
- FRADKIN, PHILIP L. *The Great Earthquake and Firestorms of 1906: How San Francisco Nearly Destroyed Itself*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 418. \$27.50.
- FRANKUM, RONALD B., JR. *Like Rolling Thunder: The Air War in Vietnam, 1964-1975*. (Vietnam: America in the War Years, number 3.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 207. \$24.95.
- FRUCHTMAN, JACK, JR. *Atlantic Cousins: Benjamin Franklin and His Visionary Friends*. New York, N.Y.: Thunder's Mouth Press. 2005. Pp. 404. \$26.00.
- GENDREAU, BIANCA. *Mailboxes: Urban Street Furniture in Canada*. (Mercury Series, number 3.) Gatineau, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization. 2004. Pp. vii, 51. \$16.95.
- GOODRICH, THOMAS. *The Darkest Dawn: Lincoln, Booth, and the Great American Tragedy*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 362. \$35.00.
- GRANT, ZALIN. *Over The Beach*. Paperback edition. New York: W. W. Norton. 1986. Pp. 311. \$14.95.
- GROSSMAN, JAMES R., ANN DURKIN KEATING, and JANICE L. REIFF, editors. *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press with the Newberry Library and the Chicago Historical Society. 2004. Pp. xxix, 1117. \$65.00.
- HALAAS, DAVID FRIDTJOF, and ANDREW E. MASICH. *Halfbreed: The Remarkable True Story of George Bent—Caught Between the Worlds of the Indian and the White Man*. Paperback edition. Cambridge: Da Capo Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 458. \$17.95.
- HAMMETT, KINGSLEY. *Santa Fe: A Walk Through Time*. Layton, Utah: Gibbs Smith. 2004. Pp. 166. \$39.95. Harrison, Robert. *Congress, Progressive Reform, and the New American State*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 293. \$75.00.
- HERSPRING, DALE R. *The Pentagon and the Presidency: Civil-Military Relations from FDR to George W. Bush*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2005. Pp. xiii, 490. \$45.00.
- HESS, EARL J. *Field Armies and Fortifications in the Civil War: The Eastern Campaigns, 1861-1864*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xix, 428. \$45.00.
- HOFSSOMMER, DON L. *The Tootin' Louie: A History of the Minneapolis & St. Louis Railway*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 374. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$39.95.
- HOLIDAY, JOHN, and ROBERT S. MCPHERSON. *A Navajo Legacy: The Life and Teachings of John Holiday*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2005. Pp. xxii, 394. \$29.95.
- HOLIFIELD, E. BROOKS. *Theology in America: Christian Thought from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War*. Paperback edition. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 617. \$22.00.
- HOOD, J. LARRY. *Visions of Zion: Christianity, Modernization and the American Pursuit of Liberty Progressivism in Rural Nelson and Washington Counties Kentucky*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 2005. Pp. vi, 292. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$40.00.
- HORTON, JAMES OLIVER. *Landmarks of African American History*. (American Landmarks.) New York: Oxford University Press, in consultation with the National Register of Historic Places, et al. 2005. Pp. 207. \$30.00.
- HOWARD, WALTER T. *Forgotten Radicals: Communists in the Pennsylvania Anthracite, 1919-1950*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 2005. Pp. xiv, 268. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$38.00.
- JACOBS, JAAP. *New Netherland: A Dutch Colony in Seventeenth-Century America*. (The Atlantic World: Europe, Africa, and the Americans, 1500-1830, number 3.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xix, 559. \$195.00.
- JACOBY, RUSSELL. *Picture Imperfect: Utopian Thought for an Anti-Utopian Age*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 211. \$24.95.
- JACOBY, TAMAR, editor. *Reinventing the Melting Pot: The New Immigrants and What it Means To Be American*. New York: Basic Books. 2004. Pp. ix, 335. \$17.95.
- JOHNSON, JOHN W. *Griswold v. Connecticut: Birth Control and the Constitutional Right of Privacy*. (Landmark Law Cases & American Society.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2005. Pp. xiii, 266. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$15.95.
- JONES, RANDELL. *In the Footsteps of Daniel Boone*. Winston-Salem: John F. Blair. 2005. Pp. xxviii, 244. \$14.95.
- KASHIMA, TETSUDEN. *Judgement Without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment during World War II*. (The Scot and Laurie Oki Series in Asian American Studies.) Paperback edition. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 316. \$18.95.
- KELLY, CYNTHIA C., editor. *Remembering the Manhattan Project: Perspectives on the Making of the Atomic Bomb and its Legacy*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Company. 2004. Pp. xi, 188. \$45.00.
- KENNETT, DOUGLAS J. *The Island Chumash: Behavioral Ecology of a Maritime Society*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 298. \$60.00.
- KINK, STEVE and JOHN CAHILL. *Class Wars: The Story of the Washington Education Association 1965-2001*. Federal Way, Wash.: Washington Education Association with the University of Washington Press. 2004. Pp. 215. \$19.95.
- LAFANTASIE, GLENN W. *Twilight at Little Round Top: July 2, 1863—The Tide Turns at Gettysburg*. Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley. 2005. Pp. xix, 315. \$27.95.
- LANG, WILLIAM L., and CARL ABBOTT. *Two Centuries of Lewis and Clark: Reflections on the Voyage of Discovery*. Portland, Oreg.: Oregon Historical Society Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 145. \$18.00.
- LEE, MORDECAI. *The First Presidential Communications Agency: FDR's Office of Government Reports*. (SUNY Series on the Presidency: Contemporary Issues.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 278. \$70.00.
- LEHRACK, OTTO J. *America's Battalion: Marines in the First Gulf War*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 236. \$29.95.
- LEVERING, RALPH B. *The Cold War: A Post-Cold War History*. (The American History Series.) 2nd ed. Wheeling, Ill.: Harlan Davidson. 1994. Pp. xv, 212. \$16.95.
- LINEBAUGH, DONALD W. *The Man Who Found Thoreau: Roland W. Robbins and the Rise of Historical Archaeology in*

- America*. (Revisiting New England: The New Regionalism.) Hanover: University of New Hampshire. 2005. Pp. xii, 294. \$24.95.
- LOWE, RICHARD. *Walker's Texas Division C.S.A.: Greyhounds of the Trans-Mississippi*. (Conflicting Worlds: New Dimensions of the American Civil War.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 339. \$39.95. Lowry, Thomas P. *Venereal Disease and the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 117. \$21.95.
- MAIER, THOMAS. *The Kennedys: America's Emerald Kings*. Paperback edition. New York: Basic Books. 2003. Pp. xxi, 676. \$16.95.
- MANCINI, J. M. *Pre-Modernism: Art-World Change and American Culture from the Civil War to the Armory Show*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. 256. \$45.00.
- MATTHEWS, EDWARD C. III. *Matthews: The Historic Adventures of a Pioneer Family*. Cape Girardeau, Mo.: Southeast Missouri State University Press. 2004. Pp. 305. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$19.00.
- MAYHEW, ROBERT. *Ayn Rand and Song of Russia: Communism and Anti-Communism in 1940s Hollywood*. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow. 2005. Pp. xv, 213. \$29.95.
- MERCER, BILL. *People of the River: Native Arts of the Oregon Territory*. Seattle: University of Washington Press in association with the Portland Art Museum, Oreg. 2005. Pp. 191. \$49.95.
- MERLI, FRANK J. *Great Britain and The Confederate Navy, 1861-1865*. Foreword by HOWARD JONES. Reprint. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. xxii, 342. \$21.95.
- MIECZKOWSKI, YANEK. *Gerald Ford and the Challenges of the 1970s*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2005. Pp. xi, 455. \$39.95.
- MILLER, DONALD L. *D-Days in the Pacific*. Rev. ed. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2001. Pp. xi, 426. \$15.00.
- MINCHIN, TIMOTHY J. *Fighting Against the Odds: A History of Southern Labor Since World War II*. Foreword by JOHN DAVID SMITH. (New Perspectives on the History of the South.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2005. Pp. xiv, 232. \$59.95.
- MOSER, HAROLD D., editor. *Daniel Webster: A Bibliography*. (Bibliographies of American Notables.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2005. Pp. xxx, 707. \$119.95.
- MYERS, MINOR, JR. *Liberty without Anarchy: A History of the Society of the Cincinnati*. Paperback edition. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 1983. Pp. xvi, 280. \$16.95.
- NAISON, MARK. *Communists in Harlem During the Depression*. (Blacks in the New World.) Paperback edition. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1983. Pp. xxi, 355. \$25.00.
- NEIL, J. M. *To the White Clouds: Idaho's Conservation Saga, 1900-1970*. Pullman: Washington State University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 215. \$21.95.
- NORDIN, DENNIS S., and ROY V. SCOTT. *From Prairie Farmer to Entrepreneur: The Transformation of Midwestern Agriculture*. (Midwestern History and Culture.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 356. \$65.00.
- O'BRIEN, MICHAEL. *John F. Kennedy: A Biography*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books. 2005. Pp. xviii, 971. \$40.00.
- OKIHIRO, GARY Y. *The Columbian Guide to Asian American History*. (The Columbia Guides to American History and Cultures.) Paperback edition. New York: Columbia University Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 323. \$24.00.
- O'TOOLE, PATRICIA. *When Trumpets Call: Theodore Roosevelt After the White House*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2005. Pp. x, 494. \$30.00.
- PATLER, NICHOLAS. *Jim Crow and the Wilson Administration: Protesting Federal Segregation in the Early Twentieth Century*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado. 2004. Pp. xviii, 236. \$31.95.
- PATTERSON, BENTON RAIN. *The Generals: Andrew Jackson, Sir Edward Pakenham, and the Road to the Battle of New Orleans*. New York: New York University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 289. \$32.95.
- PEACE, WILLIAM J. LESLIE A. WHITE. *Evolution and Revolution in Anthropology*. (Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 282. \$55.00.
- PIERCE, JOHN R. and JOHN WRITER. *Yellow Jack: How Yellow Fever Ravaged America and Walter Reed Discovered Its Deadly Secrets*. New York: John Wiley & Sons. 2005. Pp. ix, 278. \$24.95.
- PRICE, RUTH. *The Lives of Agnes Smedley*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 498. \$35.00.
- PURSELL, CARROLL, editor. *A Companion to American Technology*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2005. Pp. x, 463. \$134.95.
- QUIGLEY, DAVID. *Second Founding: New York City, Reconstruction, and the Making of American Democracy*. Paperback edition. New York: Hill and Wang. 2004. Pp. xv, 238. \$14.00.
- QUIROZ, ANTHONY. *Claiming Citizenship: Mexican Americans in Victoria, Texas*. (Claiming Citizenship, number 3.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2005. Pp. xxv, 166. \$32.95.
- RIDLON, FLORENCE. *A Black Physician's Struggle for Civil Rights: Edward C. Mazique, M.D.*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2005. Pp. xxii, 391. \$29.95.
- RYAN, SUSAN M. *The Grammar of Good Intentions: Race and the Antebellum Culture of Benevolence*. Paperback edition. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 235. \$21.95.
- A Sacred Challenge: Violet Oakley and the Pennsylvania Capitol Murals*. Harrisburg, Penn.: Pennsylvania Capitol Preservation Committee. 2002. Pp. 168. \$39.95.
- SCHELLEKENS, M. H. M. *Electronic Signatures: Authentication Technology from a Legal Perspective*. (Information Technology and Law Series, number 5.) Hague, Netherlands: T.M.C. Asser Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 150. £34.00.
- SCHOONOVER, THOMAS. *Uncle Sam's War of 1898 and the Origins of Globalization*. Paperback edition. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2003. Pp. xiii, 180. \$22.00.
- SHAPIRO, LAURA. *Something from the Oven: Reinventing Dinner in 1950s America*. Paperback edition. New York: Penguin. 2004. Pp. xxiii, 306. \$15.00.
- SHWEDER, RICHARD A., and BYRON GOOD, editors. *Clifford Geertz by His Colleagues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 145. \$15.00.
- SKIBA, KATHERINE M. *Sister in the Band of Brothers: Embedded with the 101st Airborne in Iraq*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2005. Pp. xvi, 257. \$29.95.
- SMEDLEY, R. C. *History of the Underground Railroad in Chester and the Neighboring Counties of Pennsylvania*. Foreword by CHRISTOPHER DENSMORE. Reprint. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 2005. Pp. xx, 407. \$14.95.
- SOUTHERN, DAVID W. *The Progressive Era and Race: Reaction and Reform, 1900-1917*. (The American History Series.) Wheeling, Ill.: Harlan Davidson. 2005. Pp. xi, 239. \$15.95.
- SPURGEON, ALAN L. *Waltz the Hall: The American Play Party*. (American Made Music Series.) Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2005. Pp. 238. \$45.00.
- TUCKER, TOM. *Bolt of Fate: Benjamin Franklin and His Electric Kite Hoax*. Paperback edition. New York: PublicAffairs. 2003. Pp. xx, 297. \$12.00.
- UPCHURCH, THOMAS ADAMS. *A White Minority in Post Civil-Rights Mississippi*. Lanham, Md.: Hamilton Books. 2005. Pp. x, 79. \$18.00.

- VLASICH, JAMES A. *Pueblo Indian Agriculture*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2005. Pp. xix, 363. \$34.95.
- WAKELYN, JON L. *Birth of the Bill of Rights: Encyclopedia of the Antifederalists*. Volume One: Biographies; Volume Two: Major Writings. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2004. Pp. xxiii, 262; xiv, 420. \$199.95, the set.
- WALLENSTEIN, PETER, and BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN, editors. *Virginia's Civil War*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 303. \$35.00.
- WALSH, GEORGE. *"Whip the Rebellion": Ulysses S. Grant's Rise to Command*. New York: Forge, a Tom Doherty Associates Book. 2005. Pp. 480. \$25.94.
- WEINSTEIN, CINDY. *Family, Kinship, and Sympathy in Nineteenth-Century American Literature*. (Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 243. \$75.00.
- WERT, JEFFRY D. *The Sword of Lincoln: The Army of the Potomac*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2005. Pp. xii, 559. \$30.00.
- WHITLOCK, FLINT. *Given Up for Dead: American GI's in the Nazi Concentration Camp at Berga*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 2005. Pp. xvi, 283. \$26.00.
- WILLIAMSON, JOHN A. *Antisubmarine Warrior in the Pacific: Six Subs Sunk in Twelve Days*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2005. Pp. x, 232. \$29.95.
- WITT, DORIS. *Black Hunger: Soul Food and America*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1999. Pp. 292. \$18.95.
- WOLENSKY, ROBERT P., NICOLE H. WOLENSKY, and KENNETH C. WOLENSKY. *Voices of the Knox Mine Disaster: Stories, Remembrances, and Reflections on the Anthracite Coal Industry's Last Major Catastrophe, January 22, 1959*. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. 2005. Pp. xi, 268. \$16.95.
- WOLFE, ALAN. *Return to Greatness: How America Lost Its Sense of Purpose and What It Needs to Do to Recover It*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 239. \$22.95.
- WOLFE, ALAN. *The Transformation of American Religion: How We Actually Live Our Faith*. Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 309. \$16.00.
- WOODARD, COLIN. *The Lobster Coast: Rebels, Rusticators, and the Struggle for a Forgotten Frontier*. Paperback edition. New York: Penguin. 2004. Pp. viii, 372. \$15.00.
- YELLIN, EMILY. *Our Mothers' War: American Women at Home and at the Front During World War II*. Paperback edition. New York: Free Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 447. \$14.00.

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

- ASSELBERGS, FLORINE G.L. *Conquered Conquistadors: The Lienzo de Quauhquechollan: A Nahuatl Vision of the Conquest of Guatemala*. Leiden: CNWS Publications. 2004. Pp. 312.
- BOOT, ERIK. *Continuity and Change in Text and Image at Chichén Itzá, Yucatán, Mexico: A Study of the Inscriptions, Iconography, and Architecture at a Late Classic to Early Postclassic Maya Site*. Leiden: CNWS Publications. 2005. Pp. xvii, 579.
- LAZO, RODRIGO. *Writing to Cuba: Filibustering and Cuban Exiles in the United States*. (Envisioning Cuba.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. x, 252. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.
- LOPEZ ROPERO, M.^A LOURDES. *The Anglo-Caribbean Migration Novel: Writing from the Diaspora*. Alicante, Spain: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante. 2004. Pp. 215. €20.00.
- METCALF, ALIDA C. *Family and Frontier in Colonial Brazil:*

Santana de Parnaíba, 1580–1822. Paperback edition. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2005. Pp. xxi, 280. \$22.95.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

- AYTON, ANDREW, and PHILIP PRESTON, editors. *The Battle of Crécy, 1346*. (Warfare in History.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 390. \$49.95.
- BULL, MARCUS, and CATHERINE LÉGLU, editors. *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France between the Eleventh and Thirteenth Centuries*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2005. Pp. 189. \$75.00.
- CARPENTER, DAVID. *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain 1066–1284*. (The Penguin History of Britain, number 3.) Paperback edition. New York: Penguin. 2004. Pp. xxiv, 615. \$18.00.
- EVANS, G. R. *Breaking the Bounds: An Inaugural Lecture given in the University of Cambridge; 16 February 2004*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. 43. \$11.00.
- FRAIOLI, DEBORAH A. *Joan of Arc and the Hundred Years War*. (Greenwood Guides to Historic Events of the Medieval World.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2005. Pp. lxvii, 185. \$45.00.
- JAMROZIAK, EMILIA. *Rievaulx Abbey and Its Social Context, 1132–1300: Memory, Locality, and Networks*. (Medieval Church Studies, number 8.) Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols. 2005. Pp. xii, 252. €60.00.
- McKITTERICK, ROSAMOND, editor. *Atlas of the Medieval World*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. 304. \$45.00.
- MEWS, CONSTANT J. *Abelard and Heloise*. (Great Medieval Thinkers.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 308.
- NICOLAI, GIOVANNA, editor. *La diplomazia dei documenti giudiziari (dai placiti agli acta-secc. XII–XV)*. (Pubblicazioni degli Archivi de Stato, number 83.) Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato. 2004. Pp. xv, 555.
- NISSE, RUTH. *Defining Acts: Drama and the Politics of Interpretation in Late Medieval England*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2005. Pp. x, 226. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$23.00.
- PHILLIPS, JONATHAN. *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople*. New York: Penguin. 2004. Pp. xxii, 374. \$15.00.
- ROBINSON, CYNTHIA, and LEYLA ROUHI, editors. *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*. (The Medieval and Early Modern World, number 22.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xiii, 332. \$159.00.
- RUBIN, MIRI. *The Hollow Crown: A History of Britain in the Late Middle Ages*. (The Penguin History of Britain, number 4.) New York: Penguin. 2005. Pp. xx, 379. \$16.00.
- RUNCIMAN, STEVEN. *The First Crusade*. Reprint. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. vi, 201.

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

- BEGG, PAUL. *Mary Celeste: The Greatest Mystery of the Sea*. New York: Longman. 2005. Pp. viii, 230. \$21.95.
- BEISEL, DAVID R. *The Suicidal Embrace: Hitler, the Allies, and the Origins of the Second World War*. Nyack, N.Y.: Circumstantial Productions. 2003. Pp. xvi, 399. Cloth \$30.00, paper \$18.00.
- BERTRAM, JÜRGEN. *Das Drama von Brettheim: Eine Dorfgeschichte am Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges*. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer. 2005. Pp. 181. €8.90.
- BINCHI, CARMELA, and TIZIANA DI ZIO, editors. *Storia, archivi, amministrazione: Atti delle giornate di studio in onore di Isabella Zanni Rosiello*. (Pubblicazioni degli archivi di stato, number 81.) Rome: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali. 2004. Pp. 389.

- BLAIR, ALASDAIR. *The European Union since 1945*. (Seminar Studies in History.) London: Pearson Education Limited. 2005. Pp. xxx, 166. £12.99.
- BOGATYREV, SERGEI, editor. *Russia Takes Shape: Patterns of Integration from the Middle Ages to the Present*. (Academia Scientiarum Fennica Humaniora, number 335.) Tuusula, Finland: Academia Scientiarum Fennica. 2004. Pp. 289.
- BROOKS, JOHN. *Dreadnought Gunnery and the Battle of Jutland: The Question of Fire Control*. Foreword by ANDREW LAMBERT. (Cass Series: Naval Policy and History, number 32.) New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. xiv, 321. \$60.00.
- BROWN, JACQUELINE NASSY. *Dropping Anchor, Setting Sail: Geographies of Race in Black Liverpool*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 306. Cloth \$59.50, paper \$21.95.
- BRUCKER, GENE. *Living on the Edge in Leonardo's Florence: Selected Essays*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xxvi, 211.
- BURGHARTZ, SUSANNA, editor. *Inszenierte Welten: Die west- und ostindischen Reisen der Verleger de Bry, 1590–1630/ Staging New Worlds: De Brys' Illustrated Travel Reports, 1590–1630*. Basel: Schwabe & Co. 2004. Pp. 199.
- BURKARDT, ALBRECHT. *Les clients des saints: Maladie et quête du miracle à travers les procès de canonisation de la première moitié du XVII^e siècle en France*. (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, number 338.) Rome: École française de Rome. 2004. Pp. viii, 623. €66.00.
- CAMIC, CHARLES, PHILIP S. GORSKI, and DAVID M. TRUBEK, editors. *Max Weber's Economy and Society: A Critical Companion*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 403. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$27.95.
- CHARMASSON, THÉRÈSE, editor. *Formation au travail, enseignement technique et apprentissage*. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques. 2005. Pp. 299. €22.00.
- CLARK, MARTIN. *Mussolini*. (Profiles in Power.) London: Pearson Education Limited. 2005. Pp. xii, 359.
- DENLINGER, ELIZABETH CAMPBELL. *Before Victoria: Extraordinary Women of the British Romantic Era*. Foreword by LYNDALL GORDON. New York: Columbia University Press with the New York Public Library. 2005. Pp. xii, 188. \$39.50.
- DUNN, DENNIS J. *The Catholic Church and Russia: Popes, Patriarchs, Tsars and Commissars*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate/Lund Humphries Publishing Company. 2004. Pp. x, 260. \$89.95.
- ENGLUND, STEVEN. *Napoleon: A Political Life*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 575. \$18.95.
- FEINGOLD, MORDECHAI. *The Newtonian Moment: Isaac Newton and the Making of Modern Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press with the New York Public Library. 2004. Pp. xv, 218. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$22.50.
- FELLNER, GENE, editor. *Life of an Anarchist: The Alexander Berkman Reader*. Foreword by HOWARD ZINN. Reprint. New York: Seven Stories. 2005. Pp. xv, 341. Cloth \$23.95, paper \$16.95. Finocchiaro, Maurice A. *Retrying Galileo, 1633–1992*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 485. \$50.00.
- GLANTZ, DAVID M. *Colossus Reborn: The Red Army at War, 1941–1943*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2005. Pp. xix, 807. \$39.95.
- GOSMAN, MARTIN, ALASDAIR MACDONALD, and ARJO VANDERJAGT, editors. *Princes and Princely Culture 1450–1650, Volume 1*. (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, number 118/1.) Boston: Brill. 2003. Pp. viii, 376. \$105.00.
- GRAFF, HARVEY J., et al., editors. *Looking Backward and Looking Forward: Perspectives on Social Science History*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 235. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.
- GRUNDBERG, MALIN. *Ceremoniernas makt: Maktöverföring och genus i Vasatidens kungliga ceremonier* [The Power of Ceremonies: Power and Gender in the Royal Ceremonies of the Vasa Era]. Lund, Sweden: Nordic Academic Press. 2005. Pp. 334.
- GULLACE, NICOLETTA F. *"The Blood of Our Sons": Men, Women, and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship during the Great War*. Paperback edition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Pp. 284. \$24.95.
- HAIMSON, LEOPOLD H. *Russia's Revolutionary Experience, 1905–1917: Two Essays*. Foreword by DAVID McDONALD. New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xxxii, 265. \$39.50.
- HALL, MARCIA B, editor. *Michelangelo's Last Judgment*. (Masterpieces of Western Painting.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 194. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$23.99.
- HAMILTON, RICHARD F., and HOLGER H. HERWIG. *Decisions for War, 1914–1917*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 266. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$17.99.
- HERZOG, DAGMAR, editor. *Sexuality and German Fascism*. Paperback edition. New York: Berghahn Books. 2005. Pp. vi, 352. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$25.00.
- THE ISTER. In two videocassettes. Written and directed by David Barison and Daniel Ross. Australia. In English; 2004; color; 189 minutes. Distributed by First Run/Icarus Films. \$490.00.
- JOAS, HANS and KLAUS WIEGANDT, editors. *Die kulturellen Werte Europas*. (Forum für Verantwortung, number 16402.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 2005. Pp. 522. €13.90.
- KAMBEROVIĆ, HUSNIA. *Begovski Zemljišni Posjedi U Bosni I Hercegovini* [The Property Holdings of the Begs in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1878–1918]. Zagreb: Croatian Institute for History. 2003. Pp. 551.
- KASCHUBA, WOLFGANG. *Die Überwindung der Distanz: Zeit und Raum in der europäischen Moderne*. (Europäische Geschichte, number 60145.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 2004. Pp. 280. €10.90.
- KATAJALA, KIMMO. *Suurvallan rajalla: Ihmisiä Ruotsin ajan Karjalassa* [On the Border of a Great Power: People in Karelia of the Swedish Era]. (Historiallinen Arkisto, number 118.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2005. Pp. 265.
- KIESEWETTER, HUBERT. *Industrielle Revolution in Deutschland: Regionen als Wachstumsmotoren*. 2d ed. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2004. Pp. 307. €24.00.
- KÖNIGSEDER, ANGELIKA, and JULIANE WETZEL. *Lebensmut im Wartesaal: Die jüdischen DP's (Displaced Persons) im Nachkriegsdeutschland*. (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus.) Revised edition. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer. 2004. Pp. 277. €9.90.
- KOTILAINE, J. T. *Russia's Foreign Trade and Economic Expansion in the Seventeenth Century: Windows on the World*. (The Northern World, number 13.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xvii, 611. \$198.00.
- KOUZMINOV, ALEXANDER. *Biological Espionage: Special Operations of the Soviet and Russian Foreign Intelligence Services in the West*. Foreword by NIGEL WEST. London: Greenhill. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 2005. Pp. 192. \$19.95.
- LAASONEN, PENTTI. *Novgorodin imu: Miksi ortodoksit muuttivat Käkisalmen läänistä Venäjälle 1600-luvulla?* [Pull of Novgorod: The Reasons for the Orthodox Migration from Käkisalmen Province to Russia in the Seventeenth Century]. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 222.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2005. Pp. 171.
- LANG, BEREL. *Post-Holocaust: Interpretation, Misinterpretation, and the Claims of History*. (Jewish Literature and Culture.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 200. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$21.95.
- LORD, EVELYN. *The Stuarts' Secret Army: English Jacobites*,

- 1689–1752. New York: Longman. 2004. Pp. xxi, 286. \$27.95.
- MACNEIL, ANNE. *Music and Women of the Commedia dell'Arte in the Late Sixteenth Century*. (Oxford Monographs on Music.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 360.
- MANVELL, ROGER, and HEINRICH FRAENKEL. *Goering*. Paperback edition. London: Greenhill and Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 2005. Pp. 442. \$22.95.
- MILWARD, ALAN S. *Politics and Economics in the History of the European Union*. (The Graz Schumpeter Lectures.) New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. ix, 127. \$55.00.
- MOBERG, VILHELM. *A History of the Swedish People*. Volume 1, *From Prehistory to the Renaissance*. Foreword by GUNNAR MYRDAL. Translated by PAUL BRITTEN AUSTIN. Paperback edition. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2005. Pp. 210. \$16.95.
- MOBERG, VILHELM. *A History of the Swedish People*. Volume 2, *From Renaissance to Revolution*. Translated by PAUL BRITTEN AUSTIN. Paperback edition. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2005. Pp. x, 268. \$16.95.
- MÖRKE, OLAF. *Die Reformation: Voraussetzungen und Durchsetzung*. (Enzyklopädie Deutscher Geschichte, number 74.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2005. Pp. x, 174.
- NYGÅRD, HENRY. *Bara ett ringa obehag? Avfall och renhållning i de finländska städernas profylaktiska strategier 1830–1930* [Merely a Slight Inconvenience? Garbage and Garbage Collection in the Prophylactic Strategies of the Finnish Charwomen 1830–1930]. Åbo: Åbo Akademi. 2004. Pp. 402.
- PALAZZI, MAURA, and ILARIA PORCIANI, editors. *Storiche di ieri e di oggi: Dalle autrici dell'Ottocento alle riviste di storia delle donne*. (I libri di Viella, number 44.) Rome: Viella. 2004. Pp. 268. €24.00.
- PÉREZ-MALLAÍNA, PABLO E. *Spain's Men of the Sea: Daily Life on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth Century*. Translated by CARLA RAHN PHILLIPS. Paperback edition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 289. \$19.95.
- POP, IOAN-AUREL and MARIUS PORUMB. *Transilvania: Patrimoniul cultural al Romaniei [Transylvania: The Cultural Heritage of Romania]*. Cluj-Napoca: Institutul Cultural român. 2004. Pp. 292.
- PRIOR, ROBIN, and TREVOR WILSON. *The Somme*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. vi, 358. \$35.00.
- ROBERTS, ANDREW. *Waterloo: June 18, 1815: The Battle for Modern Europe*. (Making History.) New York: HarperCollins. 2005. Pp. 143. \$21.95.
- RUBACK, ULINKA. *Reformation Europe*. (New Approaches to European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 208. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$22.99.
- SANDER, HELKE, and BARBARA JOHR, editors. *BeFreier und Befreite: Krieg, Vergewaltigungen, Kinder*. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer. 2005. Pp. 228. €9.90.
- SAPERSTEIN, MARC. *Exile in Amsterdam: Saul Levi Morteira's Sermons to a Congregation of "New Jews"*. (Monographs of the Hebrew Union College, number 32.) Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 2005. Pp. xxii, 585. \$49.95.
- SCHMIDT, RAINER F., editor. *Deutschland und Europa: Außenpolitische Grundlinien zwischen Reichsgründung und Erstem Weltkrieg*. (Historische Mitteilungen im Auftrage der Ranke-Gesellschaft, number 58.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2004. Pp. 159. €30.00.
- SCHNEER, JONATHAN. *The Thames*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 330. \$35.00.
- SCHÖRKEN, ROLF. *Jugend 1945: Politisches Denken und Lebensgeschichte*. (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer. 2005. Pp. 214. €9.90.
- SCHRIJVERS, PETER. *The Unknown Dead: Civilians in the Battle of the Bulge*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2005. Pp. xviii, 430. \$35.00.
- SHOWALTER, DENNIS. *Patton and Rommel: Men of War in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Berkley Books. 2005. Pp. 441. \$22.95.
- SPECTOR, ROBERT M. *World without Civilization: Mass Murder and the Holocaust, History and Analysis*. In two volumes. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 520; 522–1002. \$99.00.
- THORNTON, HELEN. *State of Nature or Eden? Thomas Hobbes and His Contemporaries on the Natural Condition of Human Beings*. (Rochester Studies in Philosophy.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2005. Pp. 251. \$75.00.
- VALABREGA, ROBERTO. *Un Anti-illuminista: Dalla cattedra alla porpora; Giacinto Sigismondo Gerdil, professore, precettore a corte e cardinale*. (Miscellanea di storia italiana, series 5; Studi e fonti per la storia della Università di Torino, number 13.) Torino: Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria. 2004. Pp. 421.
- WEMPE, BEN. T. H. *Green's Theory of Positive Freedom: From Metaphysics to Political Theory*. (British Idealist Studies Series 3; Green, number 3.) Rev. ed. Exeter, UK: Imprint Academic. 2004. Pp. viii, 240. \$49.90.

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

- DAVIDSON, HERBERT A. *Moses Maimonides: The Man and His Works*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 567. \$45.00.
- DORRONSORO, GILLES. *Revolution Unending: Afghanistan, 1979 to the Present*. Translated by JOHN KING. (The CERI Series in Comparative Politics and International Studies.) New York: Columbia University Press in association with the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 370. \$29.50.
- GABRIEL, RICHARD A. *Empires at War*. Volume 1, *A Chronological Encyclopedia from Sumer to the Persian Empire*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 368. \$225.00 the set.
- GABRIEL, RICHARD A. *Empires at War*. Volume 2, *A Chronological Encyclopedia from Carthage to the Normans*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 749. \$225.00 the set.
- GABRIEL, RICHARD A. *Empires at War*. Volume 3, *A Chronological Encyclopedia from the Medieval Realm to the Ottoman Empire*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 1136. \$225.00 the set.
- HALIOUA, BRUNO, and BERNARD ZISKIND. *Medicine in the Days of the Pharaohs*. Translated by M. B. DeBEVOISE. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 276. \$24.95.
- HUNT, HANNAH. *Joy-Bearing Grief: Tears of Contrition in the Writings of the Early Syrian and Byzantine Fathers*. (The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1500, number 57.) Boston: Brill. 2004. Pp. xv, 269. \$122.00.
- JOANNÈS, FRANCIS. *The Age of Empires: Mesopotamia in the First Millennium BC*. Translated by ANTONIA NEVILL. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2004. Pp. vii, 292. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$30.00.
- SARTRE, MAURICE. *The Middle East under Rome*. Translated by CATHERINE PORTER and ELIZABETH RAWLINGS with JEANNINE ROUTIER-PUCCI. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 665. \$39.95.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

- MICHAEL, SARAH. *Undermining Development: The Absence of Power among Local NGOs in Africa*. (African Issues.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Oxford: James Currey. 2004. Pp. xi, 206. \$22.95.

MITCHELL, PETER. *African Connections: An Archaeological Perspective on Africa and the Wider World*. (The African Archaeology Series, number 7.) Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 309. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$34.95.

WALKER, ALAN, and PAT SHIPMAN. *The Ape in the Tree: An Intellectual and Natural History of Proconsul*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 288. \$26.95.

Communications

A letter to the editor will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editors' discretion. The AHA disclaims responsibility for statements, of either fact or opinion, made by the writers. Letters should not exceed one thousand words for articles and seven hundred words for reviews. They can be submitted by e-mail to ahr@indiana.edu, or by postal service to Editor, American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401. For detailed information on the policies for this section, see <http://www.historycooperative.org/ahr/communpo.html>.

ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

Professional historians, especially those with tenure, would do well to insist that college mission statements be readily available and written in standard grammatical English. Only after addressing that issue will the profession be successful addressing the ancillary issue of what historians actually do during classroom teaching, as David Pace, "The Amateur in the Operating Room" (*AHR*, October 2004), proposes.

RAYMOND J. JIRRAH

Thomas Nelson Community College

David Pace did not wish to respond.

THE EDITORS

TO THE EDITOR:

Patrick Manning's review of the Gutenberg-e project (*AHR*, December 2004) was thorough and useful, but as an assessment of the state of the historical profession, it was also disconcerting. I have in mind the increasing narrowness of the younger scholars, which was noted in the Gutenberg-e competition winners. This result implies that an innovation in book format, however interesting, cannot of itself be expected to change the dynamics of the profession. The review asks, "How will historians handle the interdisciplinary and transregional developments in inquiry?" To make

a solution more evident, I would rephrase it this way: How can the young be exposed to, and draw sustenance from, work outside the range of their inevitable initial specialization? I think it might help if the general and comparative aspects of specialized work, as presently published, were not lost to readers in other specialties. To achieve this in a useful degree, perhaps no new publishing venture is required. It might suffice to have one person, by preference a senior scholar with the requisite experience and job security, perform an overview function: surveying publications, identifying work of special comparative or general interest, and making the resulting list available as a feature of the *AHR*, or online, or both. The stipend of such a position, being in addition to a senior salary or pension, could be modest, and thus easily endowed by corporate or private generosity. An AHA commitment to such a function might enhance the breadth which the field desires, but which, in the nature of things, is going to be less and less evident in even the best new scholars' first books.

E BRUCE BROOKS

*University of Massachusetts,
Amherst*

PATRICK MANNING RESPONDS:

E Bruce Brooks suggests that a senior scholar might accept the task of surveying scholarship crossing the boundaries of historical subfields, and that the *AHR* or online resources could convey this information for the general interest of historians and especially for younger scholars. As a result, "the general and comparative aspects of specialized work, as presently published," might not be "lost to readers in other specialties."

I think this is a helpful and economical suggestion. It can help resolve the contradiction between localized historical discourses and the interdisciplinary, transregional aspects of historical studies. But dissertation research too might be broadened, so that the "inevitable initial specialization" of doctoral students could nevertheless be in a field of considerable breadth. Further, between senior and dissertation levels, one might imagine programs of postdoctoral study that

would add disciplines and historical fields to the specializations of historians. The Gutenberg-e project is itself part of the solution, both because it draws attention to dissertation research and because it provokes discussion on broader needs for generational succession in history.

More generally, I think historians need a concerted effort at all levels to link the growing range of historical studies to the inherited strength of specificity in historical analysis.

PATRICK MANNING
Northeastern University

REVIEWS

TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of my book *Wandering Paysanos* (AHR, December 2004), Ariel de la Fuente offers an assessment that I consider misleading. To begin with, my book does not claim that Rosas established and supported "the rule of law." I am aware that a dictatorial regime, however popular, does not qualify for upholding the rule of law in the juridical-constitutional sense. My book presents the "law" as an important dimension of Federalist ideology and shows how state functionaries tried to disseminate the idea that in a republic, the law is the main regulator of social interactions. In spite of the regression of elite political and civil rights, peasants and peons experienced some progress in terms of greater equality before the law and increased accessibility to the justice system. As state authorities became more systematic about enforcing existing decrees and circulars, the subaltern classes learned to respect these "laws." Folks in rural towns who provided evidence to help solve a murder case present a good example of this interaction. Of course, there were others who defied the authority of judges and people who asserted older notions of "justice" based on "privilege" and paternalism. De la Fuente picked up one of these cases (a peon who claimed to have been pardoned by Rosas's daughter) to reject my whole argument.

De la Fuente also dismisses my proposition about the predictability of Rosas's penal policies, presenting Rosas's confiscation of *unitario* properties as a counterexample. This is a misleading criticism, for my argument relates only to penal policies concerning common delinquents. Rosas's penal policies were "predictable"—not proportional, adequate, or just, but merely predictable. He gave similar sentences for various types of felonies (desertion, theft, murder) and was systematic about their implementation. With regard to political crimes, Rosas was also inflexible. When confronted with an infrequent political crime (the Southern Rebellion of 1839), he responded with a severe and unusual punishment.

My argument about deserters' views of the "father-

land" is also misconstrued in this review. My argument relates to republican values, as understood by the subalterns, not to notions of territorial patriotism. Deserters complained about the unfair punishments and the privations imposed by the army as unfitting for free men and citizens. Their "reasons" articulated a form of republican discourse about rights. They felt themselves to be members of a new imagined community—the "Federation," a land with shifting borders. To dismiss my argument by stating that two of the voices were not really "Argentine" reveals little understanding of the nature of the argument.

De la Fuente is not persuaded by my suggestion about the effacement of the Independence Epic in popular memory. My evidence tells me that soldiers who showed a remarkable memory of civil war events were unable to remember the great battles and generals of the Independence period. Rosista official rhetoric and representations only deepened this ongoing process of "forgetting." De la Fuente wonders whether the *filiaciones* are good sources for assessing the collective memory about past wars. My answer is yes. These documents provide multiple fragments of evidence that point in this direction.

The reviewer states that I never discuss the methodological problems associated with voices and stories recuperated in the context of an interrogation. This is simply not true. In different parts of the book, I discuss how the state used these interrogations to classify and control the population; how the voices of subalterns were "prefaced" by ritualized legal discourse; and how they strategically used an apparent conformity to be able to articulate protests about the system of recruitment and about particular authorities. And here is the novelty of my work: the subaltern was able to and did speak to power, sometimes with a defiant voice.

Historians of oral cultures have found that acts of remembering and telling stories are assisted by the use of "signposts," dramatic moments or crucial historical events around which the narrative is organized. After reading more than five hundred stories told by ex-soldiers, I am convinced that (a) most of them were quite aware of the Federalist great moments or *gestas*, and (b) they ordered their stories (and hence their memory) in relation to these signposts. For some reason, de la Fuente found this argument unconvincing.

RICARDO D. SALVATORE
Universidad Torcuato Di Tella
Buenos Aires, Argentina

ARIEL DE LA FUENTE RESPONDS:

Ricardo Salvatore says that my review was "misleading" or that I "misconstrued" his argument, which I cannot accept. Actually, I do think that part of his work makes a contribution to the field (which he does not mention in his letter). In other instances, as he himself accepts, I was simply "not persuaded" by

certain aspects of his argument or simply “found it unconvincing.” I also understand that in some cases his work is just wrong, as I made clear in the review. Authors should know that readers do not read their works exactly and exclusively as they wish.

ARIEL DE LA FUENTE
Purdue University

ERRATA

The illustration on p. 1422 of the December 2004 issue was mistakenly accompanied by the wrong caption. The caption should have read “Transporting cotton to market, India, 1870. Reproduced with kind permission

of Volkart Stiftung, Winterthur, Switzerland.” The editors regret the error.

The illustration on p. 378 of the April 2005 issue should have appeared on p. 364, above the caption for Figure 1. The illustration that should have been accompanied by the caption for Figure 2 was inadvertently omitted. The illustration on p. 364 was included in error. Its correct caption would have read “The signature of one of Cuzco’s earliest known indigenous scribes, Pedro Quispe (see right side of photo), with a flourish next to it and the word *escrivano*, ‘notary,’ underneath. ARC/PN, Pedro de la Carrera Ron, protocolo 4 (1586–1596). Reproduction with kind permission of the Archivo Regional de Cusco.” The editors regret the errors.

Index to *American Historical Review*, June 2005

The titles of articles and films in the *AHR* are printed in italics, and titles of books reviewed are in quotation marks. Books of collected essays are designated by (E). The reviewer of a book or film is designated by (R), the author of a letter for the Communications section by (C).

- Adams, James Eli (R), 868
Adeleke, Tunde (R), 799
"African-American Exploration in West Africa," edited by Fairhead, *et al.*, 762
"After the Deluge," edited by Bourg (E), 920
"After the Glory," by Shaffer, 798
Aghion, Anne, 914
Aguilar Rivera, José Antonio (R), 836
Ahmad, Abu Talib, and Tan Liok Ee, editors, "New Terrains in Southeast Asian History," 776
Al-Azmeh, Aziz, and János M. Bak, editors, "Monotheistic Kingship: The Medieval Variants" (E), 918
Alexander, Robert, "Re-Writing the French Revolutionary Tradition," 883
Allen, James B. (R), 810
Allen, James Smith (R), 884
Allen, Judith A. (R), 808
Aly, Götz (R), 890
"American Machiavelli," by Harper, 784
"America's Culture of Terrorism," by Clymer, 807
Anderson, Sheldon (R), 905
Andrés-Gallego, José, "El Motín de Esquilache, América y Europa," 875
Andrews, Frances, Christoph Egger, and Constance M. Rousseau, editors, "Pope, Church and City: Essays in Honour of Brenda M. Bolton" (E), 918
Angevine, Robert G., "The Railroad and the State: War, Politics, and Technology in Nineteenth-Century America," 791
"Animal Sacrifice and Religious Freedom," by O'Brien, 830
"Any Friend of the Movement," by Meyer, 815
Armstrong, Charles K. (R), 767
Armstrong, Megan C., "The Politics of Piety: Franciscan Preachers During the Wars of Religion, 1560–1600," 879
Ash, Mitchell G. (R), 885
Aston, Nigel (R), 880
"The Authority of Everyday Objects," by Betts, 894
Bak, János M., and Aziz Al-Azmeh, editors, "Monotheistic Kingship: The Medieval Variants" (E), 918
Bannerji, Himani (R), 754
Barlow, Philip (R), 811
Barlow, Tani E., "The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism," 775
Barnes, Kenneth C., "Journey of Hope: The Back-to-Africa Movement in Arkansas in the Late 1800s," 761
Barreto, Amílcar Antonio (R), 833
Baumgarten, Elisheva, "Mothers and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe," 850
Beattie, Peter M. (R), 844
Beatty, Bess (R), 794
"The Beecher Sisters," by White, 808
"Before Brown," edited by Feldman (E), 918
Bellany, Alastair (R), 867
Ben-Atar, Doron S., "Trade Secrets: Intellectual Piracy and the Origins of American Industrial Power," 787
Bengtsson, Tommy, Cameron Campbell, James Z. Lee, *et al.*, "Life Under Pressure: Mortality and Living Standards in Europe and Asia, 1700–1900," 763
Bergin, Joseph, "Crown, Church and Episcopate under Louis XIV," 880
Berkowitz, Edward D., "Robert Ball and the Politics of Social Security," 822
Berman, Harold J., "Law and Revolution," 855
Betts, Paul, "The Authority of Everyday Objects: A Cultural History of West German Industrial Design," 894
"Between Resistance and Adaptation," by Williams, 840
"Between Worlds," by Chajes, 910
Beyan, Amos J. (R), 761
Bickers, Robert (R), 757
Birnbaum, Michele, "Race, Work, and Desire in American Literature, 1860–1930," 801
"Black Inventors in the Age of Segregation," by Fouché, 805
"Black Power on Campus," by Williamson, 827
Blanchard, Peter (R), 842
Blumenthal, Uta-Renate (R), 848
"Bodies Politic," by Sweet, 793
Bogger, Tommy L. (R), 760
Boissellier, Stéphane, "Le peuplement médiéval dans le sud du Portugal: Constitution et fonctionnement d'un réseau d'habitats et de territoires XII–XV siècles," 849
Bonhoeffer, directed by Doblmeier, reviewed by Spicer, 889
"Books on the Frontier," by Clement, 790
Bothwell, J. S., "Edward III and the English Peerage: Royal Patronage, Social Mobility and Political Control in Fourteenth-Century England," 851
Boucheron, Patrick, and Jacques Chiffolleau, editors,

- "Les Palais dans la ville: Espaces urbains et lieux de la puissance publique dans la Méditerranée médiévale" (E), 918
- Bourg, Julian, editor, "After the Deluge: New Perspectives on the Intellectual and Cultural History of Postwar France" (E), 920
- Boyer, Christopher R. (R), 837
- Bradley, Phillip, "On Shaggy Ridge: The Australian Seventh Division in the Ramu Valley Campaign: From Kaiapit to the Finisterres," 781
- Brandon, George (R), 830
- Breitman, Richard (R), 896
- Brenneis, Donald, and Sally Engle Merry, editors, "Law and Empire in the Pacific: Fiji and Hawai'i," 780
- "British Naturalists in Qing China," by Fan, 757
- Broggi, Alessandro (R), 768
- Brooks, E. Bruce (C), 933
- Brown, Thomas J. (R), 798
- Browne, Stephen Howard, "Jefferson's Call for Nationhood: The First Inaugural Address," 785
- Browning, Christopher R., "The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939-March 1942," 890
- Bruce, Robert B., "A Fraternity of Arms: America and France in the Great War," 767
- Buchena, Jürgen, "Tools of Progress: A German Merchant Family in Mexico City, 1865-Present," 835
- "Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou," by Meyer-Fong, 772
- Burdekin, Richard C. K., and Pierre L. Siklos, editors, "Deflation: Current and Historical Perspectives" (E), 917
- Burnard, Trevor, "Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World," 832
- "Burning and Building," by Platt, 776
- Burton, Antoinette, "Dwelling in the Archive: Women, Writing, House, Home and History in Late Colonial India," 754
- Butler, Matthew, "Popular Piety and Political Identity in Mexico's Cristero Rebellion: Michoacán, 1927-29," 837
- Byrne, Julie, "O God of Players: The Story of the Immaculata Mighty Macs," 829
- "C. F. Martin and His Guitars, 1796-1873," by Gura, 790
- "Calculating the Value of the Union," by Huston, 792
- Campbell, Cameron, Tommy Bengtsson, James Z. Lee, et al., "Life Under Pressure: Mortality and Living Standards in Europe and Asia, 1700-1900," 763
- Campt, Tina, "Other Germans: Black Germans and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Memory in the Third Reich," 892
- Castelli, Elizabeth A., "Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making," 847
- "Censorship of the American Theatre in the Twentieth Century," by Houchin, 823
- Chajes, J. H., "Between Worlds: Dybbuks, Exorcists, and Early Modern Judaism," 910
- "Challenging the Boundaries of Slavery," by Davis, 795
- Chang, Gordon H. (R), 819
- Chapman, Sara E., "Private Ambition and Political Alliances: The Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain Family and Louis XIV's Government, 1650-1715," 881
- "The Chattel Principle," edited by Johnson (E), 916
- "Chechnya," by Tishkov, 908
- Chen, Shehong (R), 813
- Cherlin, Michael, Halina Filipowicz, and Richard L. Rudolph, editors, "The Great Tradition and Its Legacy: The Evolution of Dramatic and Musical Theater in Austria and Central Europe" (E), 921
- Chiffolleau, Jacques, and Patrick Boucheron, editors, "Les Palais dans la ville: Espaces urbains et lieux de la puissance publique dans la Méditerranée médiévale" (E), 918
- "Chinese St. Louis," by Ling, 813
- Chojnacki, Stanley (R), 897
- Christian, David, "Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History," 752
- Chulos, Chris J. (R), 900
- "Civil Rights Unionism," by Korstad, 820
- Clark, Andrew F. (R), 913
- Clark, Anna, "Scandal: The Sexual Politics of the British Constitution," 867
- Clark, Christopher (R), 786
- "The Clash of Empires," by Liu, 758
- "The Class of 1761," by Man-Cheong, 773
- Clegg, Claude A., III, "The Price of Liberty: African Americans and the Making of Liberia," 760
- Clement, Richard W., "Books on the Frontier: Print Culture in the American West, 1763-1875," 790
- "Clinical Psychiatry in Imperial Germany," by Engstrom, 885
- Clymer, Jeffery A., "America's Culture of Terrorism: Violence, Capitalism, and the Written Word," 807
- "Cold War, Cool Medium," by Doherty, 824
- "Cold War Holidays," by Endy, 768
- "Command Failure in War," by Pois and Langer, 766
- "Con sabor a tertulia," by Jiménez, 839
- "Condorcet and Modernity," by Williams, 882
- Connelly, Owen (R), 766
- Conolly-Smith, Peter, "Translating America: An Immigrant Press Visualizes American Popular Culture, 1895-1918," 812
- "Containing Arab Nationalism," by Yaqub, 820
- "Contentious Republicans," by Sanders, 841
- Cooper, J. P. D., "Propaganda and the Tudor State: Political Culture in the Westcountry," 858
- Corvol-Dessert, Andrée, editor, "Les Forêts d'Occident du Moyen Âge à nos jours" (E), 919
- "Courts and Conflict in Twelfth-Century Tuscany," by Wickham, 848
- Cracraft, James, "The Petrine Revolution in Russian Culture," 902
- "Crafting the Republic," by García-Bryce, 842
- Crais, Clifton (R), 912
- "Creating a Tradition of Biomedical Research," edited by Stapleton (E), 918
- "Creative Conflict in African American Thought," by Moses, 799
- "Creek Country," by Ethridge, 783
- "Crown, Church and Episcopate under Louis XIV," by Bergin, 880
- "Crucible of American Democracy," by Shankman, 786
- "Cruel Delight," by Steintrager, 856
- "The Culture of Property," by Bailkin, 870
- Curry, Lynne (R), 815
- Curtin, Michael (R), 824

- Dain, Bruce (R), 793
 Daniel, G. Reginald, and Paul Spickard, editors, "Racial Thinking in the United States: Uncompleted Independence" (E), 917
 "Dark Light," by Simon, 806
 Dávila, Jerry (R), 845
 Davis, David Brion, "Challenging the Boundaries of Slavery," 795
 Dawson, Alexander S., "Indian and Nation in Revolutionary Mexico," 836
 De Cunzo, Lu Ann, and John H. Jameson, Jr., editors, "Unlocking the Past: Celebrating Historical Archaeology in North America" (E), 917
 de la Fuente, Ariel (C), 934
 de la Luz Montes, Amelia María, and Anne Elizabeth Goldman, editors, "María Amparo Ruiz de Burton: Critical and Pedagogical Perspectives" (E), 917
 de la Peña, Carolyn Thomas (R), 806
 Dean, Martin (R), 893
 "Defending the Rights of Others," by Fink, 763
 "Deflation," edited by Burdekin and Siklos (E), 917
 Delpar, Helen (R), 841
 "Deutschbaltische SS-Führer und Andrej Vlasov 1942–1945," by Schröder, 893
 Diefendorf, Barbara, "From Penitence to Charity: Pious Women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris," 880
 Dinan, Susan E. (R), 880
 Doblmeier, Martin, 889
 Doherty, Thomas, "Cold War, Cool Medium: Television, McCarthyism, and American Culture," 824
 Downs, Laura Lee (R), 856
 "Das Dritte Reich und die Slowakei, 1939–1945," by Tönsmeier, 893
 "Drowning in Laws," by French, 845
 Dubofsky, Melvyn (R), 822
 Duchhardt, Heinz, and Claus Scharf, editors, "Interdisziplinarität und Internationalität: Wege und Formen der Rezeption der französischen und der britischen Aufklärung in Deutschland und Rußland im 18. Jahrhundert" (E), 919
 Dunlap, Thomas R., "Faith in Nature: Environmentalism as Religious Quest," 830
 Dunning, Chester (R), 901
 "Dwelling in the Archive," by Burton, 754
 Eagan, Eileen (R), 827
 Edles, Laura Desfor (R), 878
 "Edward III and the English Peerage," by Bothwell, 851
 Ee, Tan Liok, and Abu Talib Ahmad, editors, "New Terrains in Southeast Asian History," 776
 Egger, Christoph, Frances Andrews, and Constance M. Rousseau, editors, "Pope, Church and City: Essays in Honour of Brenda M. Bolton" (E), 918
 Eisenach, Emlyn, "Husbands, Wives, and Concubines: Marriage, Family, and Social Order in Sixteenth-Century Verona," 897
 Endy, Christopher, "Cold War Holidays: American Tourism in France," 768
 Engstrom, Eric J., "Clinical Psychiatry in Imperial Germany: A History of Psychiatric Practice," 885
 Esenwein, George (R), 876
The Ethics of Hunger and the Assembly of Society, by Vernon, 693–725
 Ethridge, Robbie, "Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World," 783
 "Europäer in der Levante," edited by Trimbур (E), 922
 Evans, Harriet (R), 775
 Fairhead, James, *et al.*, editors, "African-American Exploration in West Africa: Four Nineteenth-Century Diaries," 762
 "Faith in Nature," by Dunlap, 830
 Fan, Fa-ti, "British Naturalists in Qing China: Science, Empire, and Cultural Encounter," 757
 Farley, John, "To Cast Out Disease: A History of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation (1913–1951)," 764
 Fehrenbach, Heide (R), 894
 Feldman, Glenn, editor, "Before Brown: Civil Rights and White Backlash in the Modern South" (E), 918
 Feros, Antonio (R), 874
 Feske, Victor H. (R), 873
 Fetner, Gerald L., "Immersed in Great Affairs: Allan Nevins and the Heroic Age of American History," 826
 Filipowicz, Halina, Michael Cherlin, and Richard L. Rudolph, editors, "The Great Tradition and Its Legacy: The Evolution of Dramatic and Musical Theater in Austria and Central Europe" (E), 921
 Finamore, Daniel, editor, "Maritime History as World History," 755
 Fink, Carole, "Defending the Rights of Others: The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1878–1938," 763
 Finnane, Antonia, "Speaking of Yangzhou: A Chinese City, 1550–1850," 771
 Fischer, David Hackett, "Washington's Crossing," 784
 Flake, Kathleen, "The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle," 811
 Flint, James P., "Great Britain and the Holy See: The Diplomatic Relations Question, 1846–1852," 869
 Fogel, Joshua A. (R), 774
 Fonseca, Cláudia Damasceno, "Des terres aux villes de l'or: Pouvoirs et territoires urbains au Minas Gerais (Brésil, XVIIIe siècle)," 843
 "For All these Rights," by Klein, 821
 "Les Forêts d'Occident du Moyen Âge à nos jours," edited by Corvol-Dessert (E), 919
 Fouché, Rayvon, "Black Inventors in the Age of Segregation: Granville T. Woods, Lewis H. Latimer, and Shelby J. Davidson," 805
 "Foul Means," by Parent, 782
 Fraden, Rena (R), 800
 "A Fraternity of Arms," by Bruce, 767
 French, John D., "Drowning in Laws: Labor Law and Brazilian Political Culture," 845
 Freyer, Tony A. (R), 803
 Friedman, Max Paul, "Nazis and Good Neighbors: The United States Campaign Against the Germans of Latin America in World War II," 818
 Frierson, Cathy A. (R), 903
 Frisch, Andrea, "The Invention of the Eyewitness: Witnessing and Testimony in Early Modern France," 753
 Frisken, Amanda K. (R), 807
From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future, by Orrill and Shapiro, 727–51
 "From Jim Crow to Civil Rights," by Klarman, 804

- "From Penitence to Charity," by Diefendorf, 880
 "From Slave to Pharaoh," by Redford, 909
 "From the United Irishmen to Twentieth-Century Unionism," edited by Wichert (E), 920
- Gacaca: Living Together Again in Rwanda?*, directed by Aghion, reviewed by Janzen, 914
 Ganson, Barbara (R), 840
 García-Bryce, Iñigo, "Crafting the Republic: Lima's Artisans and Nation Building in Peru, 1821-1879," 842
 "German-Speaking Officers in the U.S. Colored Troops, 1863-1867," by Ofele, 797
 Getz, Trevor R., "Slavery and Reform in West Africa: Toward Emancipation in Nineteenth-Century Senegal and the Gold Coast," 913
 Gilman, Sander L., "Jurek Becker: A Life in Five Worlds," 896
 Goldfield, David (R), 820
 Goldish, Matt, "The Sabbatean Prophets," 911
 Goldman, Anne Elizabeth, and Amelia María de la Luz Montes, editors, "María Amparo Ruiz de Burton: Critical and Pedagogical Perspectives" (E), 917
 Gordon, Michael D. (R), 855
 Gordon, Peter Eli, "Rosenzweig and Heidegger: Between Judaism and German Philosophy," 886
 Goss, Thomas J., "The War within the Union High Command: Politics and Generalship during the Civil War," 796
 Gould, William, "Hindu Nationalism and the Language of Politics in Late Colonial India," 777
 Graber, Mark A. (R), 804
 Grandin, Greg, "The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War," 838
 Gray, Peter, editor, "Victoria's Ireland? Irishness and Britishness, 1837-1901" (E), 920
 "Great Britain and the Holy See," by Flint, 869
 "The Great Tradition and Its Legacy," edited by Cherlin, Filipowicz, and Rudolph (E), 921
 Green, Abigail, *Rethinking Sir Moses Montefiore: Religion, Nationhood, and International Philanthropy in the Nineteenth Century*, 631-58
 Green, Elna C., "This Business of Relief: Confronting Poverty in a Southern City, 1740-1940," 802
 Greenberg, David, "Nixon's Shadow: The History of an Image," 824
 Grey, Jeffrey (R), 781
 "Griff nach der Deutungsmacht," edited by Winkler (E), 921
 Griffiths, Ralph A. (R), 851
 Groenendijk, Leendert F., and Benjamin B. Roberts, editors, "Losbandige jeugd: Jongeren en moraal in de Nederlanden tijdens de late Middeleeuwen en de Vroegmoderne Tijd [Rebellious Youth: Youth and Morality in the Netherlands during the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period], (E), 921
 Gross, Hanns (R), 898
 Guerrini, Anita (R), 856
 Gura, Philip F., "C. F. Martin and His Guitars, 1796-1873," 790
- Hacsi, Timothy A. (R), 802
 Hansen, Jonathan M. (R), 812
- Harari, Yuval Noah, "Renaissance Military Memoirs: War, History, and Identity, 1450-1600," 854
 Harper, John Lamberton, "American Machiavelli: Alexander Hamilton and the Origins of U.S. Foreign Policy," 784
 Harrison, Mark (R), 756
 Hatch, James V., and Errol G. Hill, "A History of African American Theatre," 800
 Hattaway, Herman (R), 797
 Haynes, Douglas (R), 764
 "Hello, Hello Brazil," by McCann, 846
 Helmedach, Andreas, "Das Verkehrssystem als Modernisierungsfaktor: Straßen, Post, Fuhrwesen und Reisen nach Triest und Fiume vom Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum Eisenbahnzeitalter," 899
 "Herbert Butterfield," by McIntire, 873
Hero, directed by Zhang, reviewed by Nylan, 769
 Hill, Errol G., and James V. Hatch, "A History of African American Theatre," 800
 "Hindu Nationalism and the Language of Politics in Late Colonial India," by Gould, 777
 "Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects," by Rai, 778
 "A History of African American Theatre," by Hill and Hatch, 800
 "Hitler's Prisons," by Wachsmann, 888
 Holzer, Harold, "Lincoln at Cooper Union: The Speech that Made Abraham Lincoln President," 796
 Hooch, Holger (R), 870
 Houchin, John, "Censorship of the American Theatre in the Twentieth Century," 823
 Hsu, Madeline Y. (R), 814
 Hundert, Gershon David (R), 910
 "Husbands, Wives, and Concubines," by Eisenach, 897
 Huston, James L., "Calculating the Value of the Union: Slavery, Property Rights, and the Economic Origins of the Civil War," 792
 Hutton, Ronald (R), 863
- "Images and Cultures of Law in Early Modern England," by Raffield, 860
 "Immersed in Great Affairs," by Fetner, 826
 "In Pursuit of Purity, Unity, and Liberty," by Lim, 863
In Rwanda We Say . . . : The Family that Does Not Speak Dies, directed by Aghion, reviewed by Janzen, 914
 "Indian and Nation in Revolutionary Mexico," by Dawson, 836
 "Indian Country," by Padget, 809
 Inikori, Joseph E. (R), 759
 "Interdisziplinarität und Internationalität," edited by Duchhardt and Scharf (E), 919
 "The Invention of the Eyewitness," by Frisch, 753
 Isaacman, Allen F., and Barbara S. Isaacman, "Slavery and Beyond: The Making of Men and Chikunda Ethnic Identities in the Unstable World of South-Central Africa, 1750-1920," 912
 Isaacman, Barbara S., and Allen F. Isaacman, "Slavery and Beyond: The Making of Men and Chikunda Ethnic Identities in the Unstable World of South-Central Africa, 1750-1920," 912
 "Isän tuvasta omaan tupaan," by Partanen, 900
 Israel, Milton (R), 777
 Ives, Eric, "The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn: 'The Most Happy.'" 858

- Jackson, John P., Jr. (R), 805
 Jameson, John H., Jr., and Lu Ann De Cunzo, editors, "Unlocking the Past: Celebrating Historical Archaeology in North America" (E), 917
 Janowski, Maciej, "Polish Liberal Thought Before 1918," 899
 Janzen, John M. (R), 914
 "Jefferson's Call for Nationhood," by Browne, 785
 Jiménez, Patricia Vega, "Con sabor a tertulia: Historia del consumo del café en Costa Rica (1840–1940)," 839
 Jirran, Raymond J. (C), 933
 John, Richard R. (R), 765
 Johnson, Walter, editor, "The Chattel Principle: Internal Slave Trades in the Americas" (E), 916
 "Journey of Hope," by Barnes, 761
 "Jurek Becker," by Gilman, 896
- Kanarfogel, Ephraim (R), 850
 "Karl Pearson," by Porter, 872
 Karl, Rebecca E. (R), 758
 Kaufman, Peter Iver, "Thinking of the Laity in Late Tudor England," 859
 Kelly, Duncan, "The State of the Political: Conception of Politics and the State in the Thought of Max Weber, Carl Schmitt and Franz Neumann," 887
 Kelly, James, "Sir Edward Newenham MP 1734–1814: Defender of the Protestant Constitution," 865
 Kimball, Richard Ian (R), 829
 Kindsvatter, Peter S. (R), 767
 Klarman, Michael J., "From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Racial Equality," 804
 Klein, Jennifer, "For All these Rights: Business, Labor, and the Shaping of America's Public-Private Welfare State," 821
 Knauer, Lisa Maya, and Daniel J. Walkowitz, editors, "Memory and the Impact of Political Transformation in Public Space" (E), 916
 "The Korean War in World History," edited by Stueck, 767
 Korstad, Robert Rodgers, "Civil Rights Unionism: Tobacco Workers and the Struggle for Democracy in the Mid-Twentieth-Century South," 820
 Kourí, Emilio, "A Pueblo Divided: Business, Property, and Community in Papantla, Mexico," 834
 Koven, Seth, "Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London," 868
- Labbé, Ronald M., and Jonathan Lurie, "The Slaughterhouse Cases: Regulation, Reconstruction, and the Fourteenth Amendment," 803
 Lamont, William (R), 863
 Langdon, John, "Mills in the Medieval Economy: England 1300–1540," 852
 Langer, Philip, and Robert Pois, "Command Failure in War: Psychology and Leadership," 766
 "The Last Colonial Massacre," by Grandin, 838
 "Law and Empire in the Pacific," edited by Merry and Brenneis, 780
 "Law and Revolution," by Berman, 855
 Lee, James Z., Tommy Bengtsson, Cameron Campbell, *et al.*, "Life Under Pressure: Mortality and Living Standards in Europe and Asia, 1700–1900," 763
 Lemire, Elise (R), 801
 Lesaffer, Randall, editor, "Peace Treaties and International Law in European History: From the Late Middle Ages to World War One" (E), 919
 Leventhal, Robert S. (R), 886
 Li, Li (R), 773
 Licht, Walter (R), 788
 "The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn," by Ives, 858
 "Life Under Pressure," by Bengtsson, Campbell, Lee, *et al.*, 763
 Lim, Paul Chang-Ha, "In Pursuit of Purity, Unity, and Liberty: Richard Baxter's Puritan Ecclesiology in its Seventeenth-Century Context," 863
 Lincicome, Mark (R), 776
 "Lincoln at Cooper Union," by Holzer, 796
 Ling, Huping, "Chinese St. Louis: From Enclave to Cultural Community," 813
 "Listening to Reason," by Steinberg, 884
 "Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State," by McRae, 862
 Liu, Lydia H., "The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making," 758
 Liulevicius, Vejas Gabriel (R), 893
 "Losbandige jeugd," edited by Groenendijk and Roberts (E), 921
 Lubin, David M., "Shooting Kennedy: JFK and the Culture of Images," 824
 Lurie, Jonathan, and Ronald M. Labbé, "The Slaughterhouse Cases: Regulation, Reconstruction, and the Fourteenth Amendment," 803
 Lynch, Katherine A. (R), 763
 Lyons, Paul, "The People of this Generation: The Rise and Fall of the New Left in Philadelphia," 828
- MacDonnell, Francis (R), 818
 Mackenthun, Gesa (R), 755
 Madison, James H. (R), 802
 Magid, Shaul (R), 911
 "The Making of the Modern Self," by Wahrman, 866
 Man-Cheong, Iona D., "The Class of 1761: Examinations, State, and Elites in Eighteenth-Century China," 773
 Manning, Patrick (C), 933
 "Manufacturing Revolution," by Peskin, 788
 "Maps of Time," by Christian, 752
 "Maps, Myths, and Men," by Seaver, 853
 "María Amparo Ruiz de Burton," edited by de la Luz Montes and Goldman (E), 917
 "Maritime History as World History," edited by Finamore, 755
 Marker, Gary (R), 902
 "Martyrdom and Memory," by Castelli, 847
 Marvick, Elizabeth Wirth (R), 854
 "Mass Oratory and Political Power in the Late Roman Republic," by Morstein-Marx, 847
 "Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire," by Burnard, 832
 Mathews, Donald G. (R), 826
 Mauch, Christof, "The Shadow War Against Hitler: The Covert Operations of America's Wartime Secret Intelligence Service," 817
 Mauch, Christof, editor, "Nature in German History" (E), 921

- Mayers, Ruth E., "1659: The Crisis of the Commonwealth," 863
- McArthur, Benjamin (R), 823
- McCann, Bryan, "Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil," 846
- McCann, Frank D., "Soldiers of the Pátria: A History of the Brazilian Army, 1889–1937," 844
- McCartin, Joseph A. (R), 821
- McDonald, Nicola F., and W. M. Ormrod, editors, "Rites of Passage: Cultures of Transition in the Fourteenth Century" (E), 919
- McIntire, C. T., "Herbert Butterfield: Historian as Dissenter," 873
- McKale, Donald M. (R), 888
- McLaren, Anne (R), 858
- McMeekin, Sean, "The Red Millionaire: A Political Biography of Willi Münzenberg, Moscow's Secret Propaganda Tsar in the West," 905
- McNally, Paddy (R), 865
- McRae, Andrew, "Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State," 862
- "Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England," by Shepard, 861
- "Mecanismo y elementos del sistema económico colonial americano. Siglos XVI-XVIII," by Romano, 831
- "Memory and the Impact of Political Transformation in Public Space," edited by Walkowitz and Knauer (E), 916
- "Men of Blood," by Wiener, 868
- Menchi, Silvana Seidel, and Diego Quaglioni, editors, "Trasgressioni: Seduzione, concubinato, adulterio, bigamia (XIV-XVIII secolo)" (E), 921
- Merriman, John (R), 883
- Merry, Sally Engle, and Donald Brenneis, editors, "Law and Empire in the Pacific: Fiji and Hawai'i," 780
- "Methodists and the Crucible of Race 1930–1975," by Murray, 826
- Meyer, David R., "The Roots of American Industrialization," 788
- Meyer, Jimmy Elaine Wilkinson, "Any Friend of the Movement: Networking for Birth Control, 1920–1940," 815
- Meyer-Fong, Tobie, "Building Culture in Early Qing Yangzhou," 772
- Miller, Char (R), 830
- "Mills in the Medieval Economy," by Langdon, 852
- "Monotheistic Kingship," edited by Al-Azmeh and Bak (E), 918
- Morgan, Philip D. (R), 795
- Morstein-Marx, Robert, "Mass Oratory and Political Power in the Late Roman Republic," 847
- Moses, Wilson Jeremiah, "Creative Conflict in African American Thought: Frederick Douglass, Alexander Crummell, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey," 799
- "Mothers and Children," by Baumgarten, 850
- "El Motín de Esquilache, América y Europa," by Andrés-Gallego, 875
- Müller, Jan-Werner (R), 887
- Murphy, Thomas, S.J. (R), 782
- Murray, Peter C., "Methodists and the Crucible of Race 1930–1975," 826
- Naquin, Susan (R), 772
- Nash, Ilana (R), 816
- "Nature in German History," edited by Mauch (E), 921
- "Nazis and Good Neighbors," by Friedman, 818
- Nead, Lynda (R), 868
- "New Terrains in Southeast Asian History," edited by Ahmad and Ee, 776
- Nickles, David Paul, "Under the Wire: How the Telegraph Changed Diplomacy," 765
- "Nixon's Shadow: The History of an Image," by Greenberg, 824
- "No Exit? The Origin and Evolution of U.S. Policy toward China, 1945–1950," by Zhongyun, 819
- Noble, David W. (R), 826
- Northrop, Douglas, "Veiled Empire: Gender and Power in Salinist Central Asia," 907
- Northrup, David (R), 759
- Nussbaum, Felicity A. (R), 866
- Nylan, Michael (R), 769
- "O God of Players," by Byrne, 829
- "O. W. Kuusinen ja Neuvostoliiton ideologinen kriisi vuosina 1957–64 [O. W. Kuusinen and the Struggle over Stalin's Legacy 1957–64]," 922
- Oberg, Barbara B. (R), 785
- O'Brien, David M., "Animal Sacrifice and Religious Freedom: Church of Lukumi Babalu Aye v. City of Hialeah," 830
- O'Brien, Patrick K. (R), 752
- O'Brien, Thomas (R), 835
- O'Connor, Carol A. (R), 790
- Ofele, Martin W., "German-Speaking Officers in the U.S. Colored Troops, 1863–1867," 797
- Olwell, Robert (R), 832
- "On Shaggy Ridge," by Bradley, 781
- "The Origins of the Final Solution," by Browning, 890
- "The Origins of the Southern Middle Class," by Wells, 794
- Ormrod, W. M., and Nicola F. McDonald, editors, "Rites of Passage: Cultures of Transition in the Fourteenth Century" (E), 919
- Orrill, Robert, and Linn Shapiro, *From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education, 1727–51*
- "Other Germans," by Camp, 892
- Owen, Alex, "The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern," 871
- Padgett, Martin, "Indian Country: Travels in the American Southwest, 1840–1935," 809
- Padrón, Ricardo, "The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain," 874
- "Les Palais dans la ville," edited by Boucheron and Chiffolleau (E), 918
- Palomares, Cristina, "The Quest for Survival after Franco: Moderate Francoism and the Slow Journey to the Polls, 1964–1977," 878
- Parent, Anthony S., Jr., "Foul Means: The Formation of a Slave Society in Virginia, 1660–1740," 782
- Parsons, Jotham (R), 879
- Parsons, Laila (R), 820
- Partanen, Jukka, "Isän tuvasta omaan tupaan: Väestö ja kotitaloudet Karjalankannaksen maaseudulla 1750–1870," 900

- Payne, Stanley G., "The Spanish Civil War, the Soviet Union, and Communism," 876
- Paz, Gustavo L. (R), 831
- "Peace Treaties and International Law in European History," edited by Lesaffer (E), 919
- Pekacz, Jolanta T. (R), 884
- "The People of this Generation," by Lyons, 828
- Peskin, Lawrence A., "Manufacturing Revolution: The Intellectual Origins of Early American Industry," 788
- "The Petrine Revolution in Russian Culture," by Cracraft, 902
- "Le peuplement médiéval dans le sud du Portugal," by Boissellier, 849
- Peytavin, Mireille, "Visite et gouvernement dans le royaume de Naples (XVI^e-XVII^e siècles)," 898
- Pfeifer, Michael J., "Rough Justice: Lynching and American Society, 1874-1947," 802
- Pilcher, Jeffrey M. (R), 839
- "The Place of Enchantment," by Owen, 871
- "Plants and Empire," by Schiebinger, 756
- Platt, Brian, "Burning and Building: Schooling and State Formation in Japan, 1750-1890," 776
- Pois, Robert, and Philip Langer, "Command Failure in War: Psychology and Leadership," 766
- "Polish Liberal Thought Before 1918," by Janowski, 899
- "The Politics of American Religious Identity," by Flake, 811
- "The Politics of Piety," by Armstrong, 879
- Pomfret, David M., "Young People and the European City: Age Relations in Nottingham and Saint-Etienne, 1890-1940," 856
- "Pope, Church and City," edited by Andrews, Egger, and Rousseau (E), 918
- "Popular Piety and Political Identity in Mexico's Cristero Rebellion," by Butler, 837
- Porter, Theodore M., "Karl Pearson: The Scientific Life in a Statistical Age," 872
- Powers, James F. (R), 849
- "Preaching Eugenics," by Rosen, 815
- Prest, Wilfrid (R), 860
- "The Price of Liberty," by Clegg, 760
- "Private Ambition and Political Alliances," by Chapman, 881
- "Propaganda and the Tudor State," by Cooper, 858
- "A Pueblo Divided," by Kourí, 834
- Quagliioni, Diego, and Silvana Seidel Menchi, editors, "Trasgressioni: Seduzione, concubinato, adulterio, bigamia (XIV-XVIII secolo)" (E), 921
- "The Quest for Survival after Franco," by Palomares, 878
- "The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism," by Barlow, 775
- "Race, Work, and Desire in American Literature, 1860-1930," by Birnbaum, 801
- "Racial Thinking in the United States," edited by Spickard and Daniel (E), 917
- Raffield, Paul, "Images and Cultures of Law in Early Modern England: Justice and Political Power, 1558-1660," 860
- Ragnow, Marguerite, and James D. Tracy, editors, "Religion and the Early Modern State: Views from China, Russia, and the West" (E), 916
- Ragsdale, Hugh, "The Soviets, the Munich Crisis, and the Coming of World War II," 906
- Rai, Mridu, "Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir," 788
- "The Railroad and the State," by Angevine, 791
- Rath, Richard Cullen (R), 790
- Ray, John (R), 909
- Read, James H. (R), 784
- "The Red Millionaire," by McMeekin, 905
- Redford, Donald R., "From Slave to Pharaoh: The Black Experience of Ancient Egypt," 909
- Reidy, Joseph P. (R), 792
- "Religion and the Early Modern State," edited by Tracy and Ragnow (E), 916
- "Renaissance Military Memoirs," by Harari, 854
- Rethinking Sir Moses Montefiore*, by Green, 631-58
- "Re-Writing the French Revolutionary Tradition," by Alexander, 883
- Rigby, S. H. (R), 852
- "Rites of Passage," edited by McDonald and Ormrod (E), 919
- "Robert Ball and the Politics of Social Security," by Berkowitz, 822
- Roberts, Benjamin B., and Leendert F. Groenendijk, editors, "Losbandige jeugd: Jongeren en moraal in de Nederlanden tijdens de late Middeleeuwen en de Vroegmoderne Tijd [Rebellious Youth: Youth and Morality in the Netherlands during the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period]. Foreword by Ilana Krausman Ben" (E), 921
- Roberts, Geoffrey (R), 906
- Roberts, Jon H. (R), 815
- Romano, Ruggiero, "Mecanismo y elementos del sistema económico colonial americano. Siglos XVI-XVIII," 831
- "The Roots of American Industrialization," by Meyer, 788
- Rosen, Christine, "Preaching Eugenics: Religious Leaders and the American Eugenics Movement," 815
- "Rosenzweig and Heidegger," by Gordon, 886
- Rossinow, Doug (R), 828
- Rothschild, Emma (R), 882
- "Rough Justice," by Pfeifer, 802
- Rousseau, Constance M., Frances Andrews, and Christoph Egger, editors, "Pope, Church and City: Essays in Honour of Brenda M. Bolton" (E), 918
- Rudolph, Richard L., Michael Cherlin, and Halina Filipowicz, editors, "The Great Tradition and Its Legacy: The Evolution of Dramatic and Musical Theater in Austria and Central Europe" (E), 921
- Russell-Wood, A. J. R. (R), 843
- "Russia's Lost Reformation," by Zhuk, 903
- "The Sabbatean Prophets," by Goldish, 911
- Safran, Gabriella (R), 904
- Saler, Michael (R), 871
- Salvatore, Ricardo D. (C), 934
- Samuels, Maurice, "The Spectacular Past: Popular History and the Novel in Nineteenth-Century France," 884
- Sanders, James E., "Contentious Republicans: Popular

- Politics, Race, and Class in Nineteenth-Century Colombia," 841
- "Scandal," by Clark, 867
- Schachter [Modell], Judith (R), 780
- Scharf, Claus, and Heinz Duchhardt, editors, "Interdisziplinarität und Internationalität: Wege und Formen der Rezeption der französischen und der britischen Aufklärung in Deutschland und Rußland im 18. Jahrhundert" (E), 919
- Schiebinger, Londa, "Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World," 756
- Schneider, Robert A., and Robert M. Schwartz, editors, "Tocqueville and Beyond: Essays on the Old Regime in Honor of David D. Bien" (E), 920
- Schröder, Matthias, "Deutschbaltische SS-Führer und Andrej Vlasov 1942–1945: 'Russland kann nur von Russen besiegt werden'; Erhard Kroeger, Friedrich Buchardt und die 'Russische Befreiungsarmee,'" 893
- Schrum, Kelly, "Some Wore Bobby Sox: The Emergence of Teenage Girls' Culture, 1920–1945," 816
- Schwartz, Barry (R), 796
- Schwartz, Michael, "Vertriebene und 'Umsiedlerpolitik': Integrationskonflikte in den deutschen Nachkriegs-Gesellschaften und die Assimilationsstrategien in der SBZ/DDR 1945–1961," 895
- Schwartz, Robert M., and Robert A. Schneider, editors, "Tocqueville and Beyond: Essays on the Old Regime in Honor of David D. Bien" (E), 920
- Schweber, Howard (R), 791
- Seaver, Kirsten A., "Maps, Myths, and Men: The Story of the Vinland Map," 853
- "The Shadow War Against Hitler," by Mauch, 817
- Shaffer, Donald R., "After the Glory: The Struggles of Black Civil War Veterans," 798
- Shankman, Andrew, "Crucible of American Democracy: The Struggle to Fuse Egalitarianism and Capitalism in Jeffersonian Pennsylvania," 786
- Shapiro, Barbara (R), 753
- Shapiro, Linn, and Robert Orrill, *From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education*, 727–51
- Shaw, Brent D. (R), 847
- Shepard, Alexandra, "Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England," 861
- Shneer, David, "Yiddish and the Creation of Soviet Jewish Culture, 1918–1930," 904
- "Shooting Kennedy," by Lubin, 824
- Siena, Kevin P., "Venereal Disease, Hospitals and the Urban Poor: London's 'Foul Wards,' 1600–1800," 864
- Siklos, Pierre L., and Richard C. K. Burdekin, editors, "Deflation: Current and Historical Perspectives" (E), 917
- Simon, Linda, "Dark Light: Electricity and Anxiety from the Telegraph to the X-Ray," 806
- "The Sinister Way," by von Glahn, 770
- "Sir Edward Newenham MP 1734–1814," by Kelly, 865
- Sisay, Hassan Bailey (R), 762
- "1659," by Mayers, 863
- "The Slaughterhouse Cases," by Labbé and Lurie, 803
- "Slavery and Beyond," by Isaacman and Isaacman, 912
- "Slavery and Reform in West Africa," by Getz, 913
- "Slumming," by Koven, 868
- Smail, Daniel Lord (R), 853
- Smith, Carol A. (R), 838
- Smith, Hilda L. (R), 861
- "Soldiers of the Pátria," by McCann, 844
- "Some Wore Bobby Sox," by Schrum, 816
- Sommerville, C. John (R), 862
- "The Soviets, the Munich Crisis, and the Coming of World War II," by Ragsdale, 906
- "The Spacious Word," by Padrón, 874
- "The Spanish Civil War, the Soviet Union, and Communism," by Payne, 876
- Sparks, Randy J., "The Two Princes of Calabar: An Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Odyssey," 759
- "Speaking of Yangzhou," by Finnane, 771
- "The Spectacular Past," by Samuels, 884
- Spicer, Kevin P., C.S.C (R), 889
- Spickard, Paul, and G. Reginald Daniel, editors, "Racial Thinking in the United States: Uncompleted Independence" (E), 917
- "Stalin's Secret War," by Stephan, 906
- Stapleton, Darwin H., editor, "Creating a Tradition of Biomedical Research: Contributions to the History of The Rockefeller University" (E), 918
- Stapleton, Kristin (R), 771
- "The State of the Political," by Kelly, 887
- Steinberg, Michael R., "Listening to Reason: Culture, Subjectivity, and Nineteenth-Century Music," 884
- Steintrager, James A., "Cruel Delight: Enlightenment Culture and the Inhuman," 856
- Stephan, Robert W., "Stalin's Secret War: Soviet Counterintelligence against the Nazis, 1941–1945," 906
- Stokes, Gale (R), 763
- Stueck, William, editor, "The Korean War in World History," 767
- Sumi, Geoff (R), 847
- Suny, Ronald Grigor (R), 908
- Swami, Praveen (R), 778
- Swann, Julian (R), 881
- "Sweet Cakes, Long Journey," by Wong, 814
- Sweet, John Wood, "Bodies Politic: Negotiating Race in the American North, 1730–1830," 793
- Symonds, Craig L. (R), 796
- "Taiwan's Imagined Geography," by Teng, 774
- A Tale of Second Cities*, by Umbach, 659–92
- Tarling, Nicholas (R), 776
- Teng, Emma Jinhua, "Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683–1895," 774
- "Des terres aux villes de l'or," by Fonseca, 843
- "Thinking of the Laity in Late Tudor England," by Kaufman, 859
- "This Business of Relief," by Green, 802
- "Through the Prism of Slavery," by Tomich, 759
- Tishkov, Valery, "Chechnya: Life in a War-Torn Society," 908
- "To Cast Out Disease," by Farley, 764
- "Tocqueville and Beyond," edited by Schwartz and Schneider (E), 920
- Tomich, Dale W., "Through the Prism of Slavery: Labor, Capital, and World Economy," 759
- Tönsmeier, Tatjana, "Das Dritte Reich und die Slowakei, 1939–1945: Politischer Alltag zwischen Kooperation und Eigensinn," 893
- "Tools of Progress," by Buchenau, 835
- "Toward a Discourse of Consent," by Villaronga, 833
- Townend, Paul A. (R), 869

- Tracy, James D., and Marguerite Ragnow, editors, "Religion and the Early Modern State: Views from China, Russia, and the West" (E), 916
- "Trade Secrets," by Ben-Atar, 787
- "The Transfigured Kingdom," by Zitser, 901
- "Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region," by Yorgason, 810
- "Translating America," by Conolly-Smith, 812
- "Trasgressioni," edited by Menchi and Quaglioni (E), 921
- Trimbur, Dominique, editor, "Europäer in der Levante: Zwischen Politik, Wissenschaft und Religion (19.-20. Jahrhundert)/Des Européens au Levant: Entre politique, science et religion (XIX^e-XX^e siècles)" (E), 922
- Troebst, Stefan (R), 899
- Turner, Frank M. (R), 872
- "The Two Princes of Calabar," by Sparks, 759
- Umbach, Maiken, *A Tale of Second Cities: Autonomy, Culture, and the Law in Hamburg and Barcelona in the Late Nineteenth Century*, 659-92
- "Under the Wire," by Nickles, 765
- "Unlocking the Past," edited by De Cunzio and Jameson (E), 917
- Uribe-Uran, Victor M. (R), 875
- Usner, Daniel H., Jr. (R), 783
- Vaughn, Stephen (R), 824
- "Veiled Empire," by Northrop, 907
- "Venereal Disease, Hospitals and the Urban Poor," by Siena, 864
- "Das Verkehrssystem als Modernisierungsfaktor," by Helmedach, 899
- Vernon, James, *The Ethics of Hunger and the Assembly of Society: The Techno-Politics of the School Meal in Modern Britain*, 693-725
- "Vertriebene und 'Umsiedlerpolitik,'" by Schwartz, 895
- "Victoria's Ireland? Irishness and Britishness, 1837-1901," edited by Gray (E), 920
- Vihavainen, Timo, editor, "O. W. Kuusinen ja Neuvostoliiton ideologinen kriisi vuosina 1957-64 [O. W. Kuusinen and the Struggle over Stalin's Legacy 1957-64]. (Historiallinen Arkisto, number 117.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2003. Pp. 274" (E), 922
- Villaronga, Gabriel, "Toward a Discourse of Consent: Mass Mobilization and Colonial Politics in Puerto Rico, 1932-1948," 833
- "Visite et gouvernement dans le royaume de Naples (XVI^e-XVII^e siècles)," by Peytavin, 898
- Vogt, Timothy R. (R), 895
- von Glahn, Richard, "The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture," 770
- von Hagen, Mark (R), 907
- Wachsmann, Nikolaus, "Hitler's Prisons: Legal Terror in Nazi Germany," 888
- Wahrman, Dror, "The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England," 866
- Waldstreicher, David (R), 784
- Walkowitz, Daniel J., and Lisa Maya Knauer, editors, "Memory and the Impact of Political Transformation in Public Space" (E), 916
- Walsham, Alexandra (R), 859
- "The War within the Union High Command," by Goss, 796
- Warnicke, Retha M. (R), 858
- "Washington's Crossing," by Fischer, 784
- Weiss, Yfaat (R), 892
- Weller, Robert P. (R), 770
- Wells, Allen (R), 834
- Wells, Jonathan Daniel, "The Origins of the Southern Middle Class: 1800-1861," 794
- White, Barbara A., "The Beecher Sisters," 808
- Wichert, Sabine, editor, "From the United Irishmen to Twentieth-Century Unionism: A Festschrift for A. T. O. Stewart" (E), 920
- Wickett, Murray (R), 809
- Wickham, Chris, "Courts and Conflict in Twelfth-Century Tuscany," 848
- Wiener, Martin J., "Men of Blood: Violence, Manliness, and Criminal Justice in Victorian England," 868
- Williams, Caroline A., "Between Resistance and Adaptation: Indigenous Peoples and the Colonisation of the Chocó, 1510-1753," 840
- Williams, David, "Condorcet and Modernity," 882
- Williamson, Joy Ann, "Black Power on Campus: The University of Illinois 1965-75," 827
- Wilson, Philip K. (R), 864
- Winkler, Heinrich August, editor, "Griff nach der Deutungsmacht: Zur Geschichte der Geschichtspolitik in Deutschland" (E), 921
- Wolff, Larry (R), 899
- Wong, Marie Rose, "Sweet Cakes, Long Journey: The Chinatowns of Portland, Oregon," 814
- Wood, Andrew G. (R), 846
- Wright, Robert E. (R), 787
- Yaqub, Salim, "Containing Arab Nationalism: The Eisenhower Doctrine and the Middle East," 820
- "Yiddish and the Creation of Soviet Jewish Culture, 1918-1930," by Shneer, 904
- Yorgason, Ethan R., "Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region," 810
- "Young People and the European City," by Pomfret, 856
- Yu, Maochun (R), 817
- Zhang, Yimou, 769
- Zhongyun, Zi, "No Exit? The Origin and Evolution of U.S. Policy toward China, 1945-1950," 819
- Zhuk, Sergei I., "Russia's Lost Reformation: Peasants, Millennialism, and Radical Sects in Southern Russia and Ukraine, 1830-1917," 903
- Zitser, Ernest A., "The Transfigured Kingdom: Sacred Parody and Charismatic Authority at the Court of Peter the Great," 901
- Zuckerman, Fredric S. (R), 906
- Zutshi, Chitralekha, "Languages of Belonging: Islam, Regional Identity, and the Making of Kashmir," 788

American Historical Association

Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889.
Office: 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003

President: James J. Sheehan, *Stanford University*
President-Elect: Linda K. Kerber, *University of Iowa*
Executive Director: Arnita A. Jones
Controller: Randy Norell

MEMBERSHIP: Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. The present membership and subscription total is approximately 18,000. Members elect the officers by ballot.

MEETINGS: The Association's next annual meeting will take place January 5–8, 2006, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Many professional historical groups meet within or jointly with the Association at this time. The Pacific Coast Branch holds separate meetings on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICES: The *American Historical Review* is published five times a year and is sent to all members. It is available by subscription to institutions. The Association also publishes *Perspectives* (a newsmagazine with classified listings) and a variety of pamphlets on historical subjects. To promote history and assist historians, the Association offers other services, including an Institutional Services Program. It also maintains close relations with international, specialized, state, and local historical societies through conferences and correspondence.

BOOK PRIZES: The *Herbert Baxter Adams Prize*, awarded annually for a first book in the field of European history. The *AHA Prize in Atlantic History*, awarded annually for an outstanding book in the history of the Atlantic worlds before the twentieth century. The *George Louis Beer Prize*, awarded annually for a book on any phase of European international history since 1895. The *Albert J. Beveridge Award*, given annually for the best book on the history of the United States, Latin America, or Canada since 1492. The *Paul Birdsall Prize*, awarded biennially for a major work by a U.S. or Canadian historian in European military and strategic history since 1870. The *James Henry Breasted Prize*, awarded annually for the best book in English in any field of history prior to 1000 A.D. The *Albert B. Corey Prize*, awarded biennially for the best book on the history of Canadian-American relations, administered jointly with the Canadian Historical Association. The *John H. Dunning Prize*, awarded biennially for a book on any subject in U.S. history. The *John E. Fagg Prize*, awarded annually for the best publication in the history of Spain, Portugal, or Latin America. The *John K. Fairbank Prize*, awarded annually for East Asian history substantially after the year 1800. The *Herbert Feis Award*, given annually for a book, article, series of articles, or policy paper by an independent scholar or

public historian. The *Morris D. Forkosch Prize*, awarded annually to the best book in British, British imperial, or British Commonwealth history. The *Leo Gershoy Award*, given annually for outstanding work in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century western European history. The *Clarence H. Haring Prize*, awarded every five years for Latin American history by a Latin American. The *J. Franklin Jameson Award*, given every five years for outstanding editorial achievement. The *Joan Kelly Memorial Prize*, awarded annually for the best book in women's history. The *Waldo G. Leland Prize*, awarded every five years for the most outstanding reference tool. The *Littleton-Griswold Prize*, awarded annually for the best work on the history of American law and society. The *J. Russell Major Prize*, awarded annually for the best work in English on any aspect of French history. The *Helen and Howard R. Marraro Prize*, awarded annually for Italian or Italian-U.S. history. The *George L. Mosse Prize*, awarded annually for European intellectual and cultural history since the Renaissance. The *John E. O'Connor Film Award*, given annually for outstanding interpretations of history through the medium of film or video. The *Premio del Rey Prize*, awarded biennially for early Spanish history and culture (500–1516 A.D.). The *James Harvey Robinson Prize*, awarded biennially for the teaching aid that has made the most outstanding contribution to the teaching of history. The *Wesley-Logan Prize*, awarded annually in African Diaspora history by the AHA and the Association for the Study of African American Life and History. Book prizes are awarded at each AHA annual meeting.

DUES: For Contributing Members, \$173; for incomes over \$70,000, \$138; over \$55,000, \$114; over \$45,000, \$102; over \$35,000, \$87; over \$20,000, \$75; under \$20,000, \$41; for students \$36; for teachers of K–12 (AHA/OHT/SHE) without the *AHR*, \$62; for K–12 with the *AHR*, \$90; for joint members or spouse/partners, \$41; for emeritus and retired historians, \$51; for associate members (nonhistorians), \$51. A life membership is \$2,600. Non-U.S. members add \$20 for postage. For a JSTOR subscription, add \$15. Members receive the *American Historical Review*, *Perspectives*, and the program of the annual meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to Executive Director, 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003. Our e-mail address is aha@historians.org. Our web address is <http://www.historians.org>.

American Historical Review

Founded in 1895

The *AHR* is sent to all members of the American Historical Association; information concerning membership will be found on the preceding page. The *AHR* is also available to institutions by subscription. Subscription rates:

Class I (*AHR* only)

Type 1: Small colleges, high schools, historical organizations, government agencies, public institutions, and libraries, \$250. Subscription agency discount, 10 percent. Foreign subscribers add \$12 for postage.

Type 2: Graduate universities—master's and doctoral institutions as determined by the Carnegie Classification system—and foreign institutions requesting more than five (5) IP addresses, \$325. Subscription agency discount, 10 percent. Foreign subscribers add \$12 for postage.

Class II (*AHR*, *Perspectives*, and the annual meeting program)

Type 1: Small colleges, high schools, historical organizations, government agencies, public institutions, and libraries, \$275. Subscription agency discount, 10 percent. Foreign subscribers add \$15 for postage.

Type 2: Graduate universities—master's and doctoral institutions as determined by the Carnegie Classification system—and foreign institutions requesting more than five (5) IP addresses, \$350. Subscription agency discount, 10 percent. Foreign subscribers add \$15 for postage.

Single copies of the *AHR* are available through the membership office at \$30 per copy for issues in volume 103 (1999) through volume 110 (2005). Volumes up to 102 (1997) may be purchased from Periodical Services Company, 11 Main St., Germantown, NY 12526.

Institutional subscribers now have full access to the online version of the *American Historical Review*, including both current issues and the archive of back issues going back to June 1999. Access is made available through the History Cooperative, a joint project with the Organization of American Historians, the University of Illinois Press, and the National Academies Press. Access is enabled through the use of institutional IP numbers. To activate access for your institution, you may use the form at <http://www.historians.org/HistoryCoop/>.

Because of rising publication, storage, postage, and handling costs, we must limit the number of copies published for each publication. Notice of nonreceipt of an issue must be sent to the Membership Manager of the Association within three months of the date of publication for domestic addresses and five months for foreign. Changes of address should be sent to the Membership Manager by the first of the month preceding the month of publication. The Association is not responsible for copies lost because of failure to report a change of address in time for mailing. The Association cannot accommodate changes of address that are effective only for the summer months.

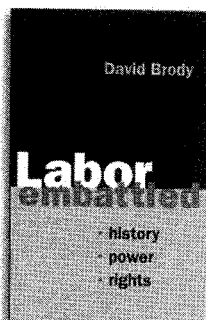
Correspondence regarding contributions and books for review should be sent to Editor, American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401. For further information on the submission of manuscripts, see page ii at the front of this issue.



UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS

Order from your bookseller, call 800-537-5487, or visit www.press.uillinois.edu

Labor & history



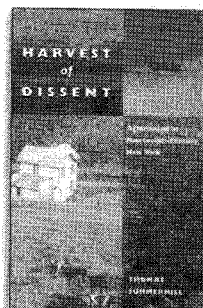
The Working Class in American History

Cloth, \$40.00
Paper, \$20.00

Labor Embattled

History, Power, Rights
DAVID BRODY

Scrutinizes how the ideals of free labor, free speech, freedom of association, and freedom of contract have been interpreted and canonized in ways that unfailingly reduce the capacity for workers' collective action while silently removing impediments to employers' coercion of workers.



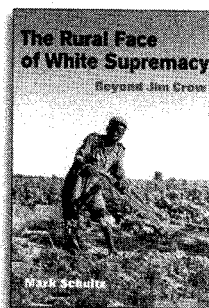
Cloth, \$38.00

Harvest of Dissent

Agrarianism in Nineteenth-Century New York

THOMAS SUMMERHILL

Argues that agrarianism played a constant role in the major political, economic, and social transformations that marked the emergence of modern America, as farmers were gradually drawn into the capitalist marketplace.



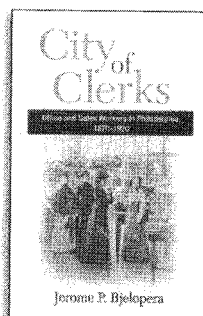
Illus. Cloth, \$42.00

The Rural Face of White Supremacy

Beyond Jim Crow

MARK ROMAN SCHULTZ

Drawing on his interviews with black and white residents of rural Hancock County, Georgia, Schultz depicts the rhythms of work, social interaction, violence, power, and paternalism in a setting much more complex than the conveniently efficient and modern ideal of Jim Crow.



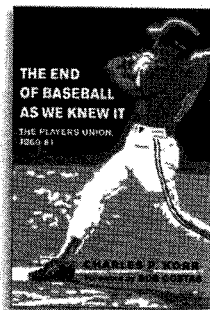
Illus. Cloth, \$45.00
Paper, \$22.00

City of Clerks

Office and Sales Workers in Philadelphia, 1870-1920

JEROME P. BJEOPERA

Describes the educational goals, workplace cultures, leisure activities, and living situations that melded disparate groups of young men and women into a new "white collar" class of clerks and salespeople.



The End of Baseball As We Knew It

The Players Union, 1960-81

CHARLES P. KORR. Foreword by Bob Costas. Winner of the Dave Moore Award

Replays the much-storied transformation of power from management to players that set the standard for labor relations not just in baseball but in all professional sports. *Sport and Society*. Illus. Paper, \$19.95

The Generals

Andrew Jackson, Sir Edward Pakenham, and the Road to the Battle of New Orleans

Benton Rain Patterson

"An excellent study of the great battle at New Orleans and the heroic figures who were its protagonists. In times like these when the nation is facing trying times such a book should attract a wide audience."

ROBERT V. REMINI | author of *Andrew Jackson and The Battle of New Orleans*
\$32.95 cloth • 11 photos and maps

Breaking the Color Barrier

The U.S. Naval Academy's First Black Midshipmen and the Struggle for Racial Equality

Robert J. Schneller, Jr.

"This richly researched and judiciously written study facilitates deeper comprehension of how institutional racism preserved white hegemony in the U.S. Navy until Midshipman Wesley Brown detonated its color barrier."

DARLENE CLARK HINE | author of *A Shining Thread of Hope*
\$34.00 cloth • 15 photos

Right Turn

John T. Flynn and the Transformation of American Liberalism

John E. Moser

"This well-crafted biography rescues the memory of John T. Flynn, a true American original, and illuminates a large and neglected terrain of twentieth-century political history."

MICHAEL KAZIN | author of *The Populist Persuasion* and co-author of *America Divided*
\$45.00 cloth

Fever of War

The Influenza Epidemic in the U.S. Army during World War I

Carol R. Byerly

"It was World War I that made the great flu epidemic what it was, and *Fever of War* puts this fatal encounter at central stage. One can't help wondering why someone did not write this book sooner."

ELIZABETH FENN | author of *Pox Americana*
\$21.00 paper • 17 photos

New in Paperback!

Irving Howe

A Life of Passionate Dissent

Gerald Sorin

\$22.00 paper

Other Immigrants

The Global Origins of the American People

David M. Reimers

"In *Other Immigrants* David Reimers cements his position as a leading interpreter of recent and contemporary immigration. He uses his profound understanding of the process to weave the stories of individual newcomers into the epic of immigration to America."

ROGER DANIELS | author of *Guarding the Golden Door*
\$22.00 paper

Provincetown

From Pilgrim Landing to Gay Resort

Karen Christel Krahulik

"Karen Krahulik's *Provincetown* is the definitive book on the history of that mysterious and magical place. It's a singular accomplishment. I'm grateful to her for writing it, as I suspect many others will be for years and years to come."

MICHAEL CUNNINGHAM | author of *The Hours*
\$29.95 cloth • 36 photos

Red Seas

Ferdinand Smith and Radical Black Sailors in the United States and Jamaica

Gerald Horne

"A major achievement. It not only illuminates the maritime sources of 20th century working class black radicalism, but reveals its ongoing and complicated interplay with racism and class struggle on a global scale."

JOE W. TROTTER, JR. | Carnegie Mellon University
\$45.00 cloth • 8 photos

The Master of Seventh Avenue

David Dubinsky and the American Labor Movement

Robert D. Parmet

"Within an institutional history of Dubinsky as a uniquely influential labor warrior, Parmet finds room to portray the man as well as the public figure."

KALMAN GOLDSTEIN | Fairleigh Dickinson University
\$45.00 cloth • 19 photos

Fighting for Us

Maulana Karenga, the US Organization, and Black Cultural Nationalism

Scot Brown

\$19.00 paper



NYU Press

WWW.NYUPRESS.ORG

1-800-996-6987

The University Press of KENTUCKY

OUT OF THE INKWELL

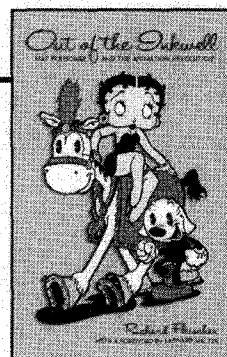
Max Fleischer and the Animation Revolution

Richard Fleischer

Foreword by Leonard Maltin

"There is probably no one more important to the birth and early development of animation than Max Fleischer and no one better than his son, director Richard Fleischer, to tell the amazing story of the creative genius behind Fleischer Studios."—Army Archerd

\$27.50 cloth



PROLOGUE TO CONFLICT

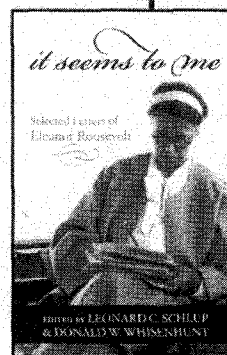
The Crisis and Compromise of 1850

Holman Hamilton

New introduction by Michael F. Holt

"Hamilton has found drama and excitement. His presentation has all the suspense of a novel, even though the informed reader knows the plot at the start. Moreover, his analyses are incisive and provocative."—*Journal of American History*

\$24.00 new in paper



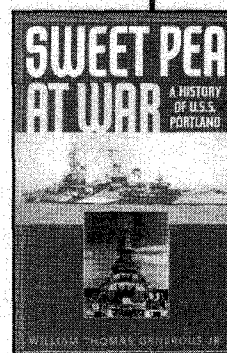
IT SEEMS TO ME

Selected Letters of Eleanor Roosevelt

Edited by Leonard C. Schlup and Donald W. Whisenhunt

"Begins to fill the gap in the scholarship and can help draw attention to her political vision and the courage she took in defense of democracy."—*Maryland Historical Magazine*

\$22.00 new in paper



SWEET PEA AT WAR

A History of USS Portland

William Thomas Generous Jr.

"Generous's clear, sometimes witty, and often eloquent prose gives his reader not only a sense of what those men went through and felt, but as a naval historian he also skillfully embodies the 'Sweet Pea' into the larger strategy of the great Pacific Naval War that masterly helped to defeat the Japanese Empire."—Carl N. Degler

\$19.95 new in paper

THE INTREPID GUERRILLAS OF NORTH LUZON

Bernard Norling

"Evidences some truly remarkable insights into guerrilla warfare in general and into the specifics of the Philippine campaign."—*Journal of American History*

\$19.95 new in paper

THE FLAMING SWORD

Thomas Dixon

Introduction and notes by John David Smith

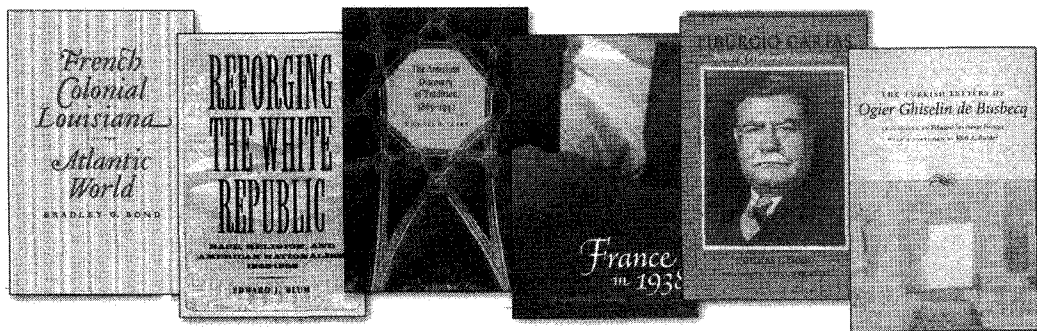
"Smith's introduction is exhaustively researched and productively so. Smith places *The Flaming Sword* in the context of Dixon's lifelong battle with African American intellectuals and offers scrupulous documentation both of that battle and of how *The Flaming Sword* intervenes in it."—Scott Romine

\$24.95 new in paper



At bookstores • 800/839-6855 • www.kentuckypress.com

NEW FROM LSU PRESS



French Colonial Louisiana and the Atlantic World

Edited by **BRADLEY G. BOND**

Colonial Louisiana lay between Spanish, British, and French colonies in North America and the Caribbean, and between woodland and eastern plains Indians. As such, it functioned as a crossroads between the New World and other worlds. Through its twelve essays, this volume demonstrates that the colony stands at the thematic center of the shared narratives and historiographies of diverse places.

Illustrated, \$59.95

Reforging the White Republic

Race, Religion, and American Nationalism, 1865-1898

EDWARD J. BLUM

"Thoroughly researched and powerfully written, this book tells the disturbing story of race and nationalism in the aftermath of the Civil War. A first-rate intellectual and cultural history."—**Harry S. Stout**, coeditor, *Religion and the American Civil War*



Conflicting Worlds: New Dimensions of the American Civil War
T. Michael Parrish, Editor

Illustrated, \$54.95

The American Discovery of Tradition, 1865-1942

MICHAEL D. CLARK

"Poses a provocative challenge to familiar assumptions about American faith in progress, and provides a thoughtful contribution to the intellectual history of modernity."—**T. J. Jackson Lears**, author of *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*

\$44.95

France in 1938

BENJAMIN F. MARTIN

In a spellbinding account of the dark days leading up to France's defeat and occupation by the Nazis, Martin reveals a great and civilized nation committing a kind of suicide in 1938.

\$39.95

Tiburcio Carías

Portrait of a Honduran Political Leader

THOMAS J. DODD

Foreword by **DOUGLAS BRINKLEY**

Honduras's longest-serving head of government, Tiburcio Carías (1876-1969) was a unique Latin American dictator who lived to see retirement. In the first biography of this powerful *caudillo*, Thomas J. Dodd, a former ambassador to Uruguay and to Costa Rica, offers a vital, riveting account of Carías's life and career.

Eisenhower Center Studies on War and Peace
Douglas Brinkley, Editor

\$56.95

NEW IN PAPERBACK

The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq

Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople, 1554-1562

Translated by **EDWARD SEYMOUR FORSTER**

Foreword by **KARL A. ROIDER**

A native of western Flanders, Busbecq served in several posts as diplomatic representative for the Habsburg ruler Ferdinand I. His most famous mission was to the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent. A treasure of early travel literature, this book offers invaluable lessons on understanding and bridging cultural divides.

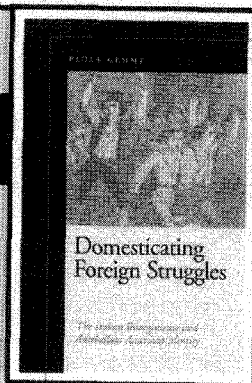
\$19.95 PAPER



LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Baton Rouge 70803 • (800) 861-3477 • Visit www.lsu.edu/lSUPress to learn more about these books!

New History from UGA Press



Domesticating Foreign Struggles

The Italian Risorgimento and Antebellum American Identity
Paola Gemme

\$39.95 hardcover

"The most original and best-documented analysis of American attitudes toward Risorgimento Italy that we have . . . a first-rate example of the new internationalist turn in American studies."

—Dennis Berthold, Texas A&M University



Henry Adams and the Southern Question

Michael O'Brien

\$34.95 hardcover

"O'Brien's book is a joy to read. It illuminates Adams's complex, and changing, relation to the South and uncovers the rich layers of meaning which 'the South' can acquire for a person nurtured in an apparently contrary culture."

—William Dusinberre, author of *Henry Adams: The Myth of Failure*

New in
paperback



Visit The New Georgia
Encyclopedia at
www.georgiaencyclopedia.org



Goin' Back to Sweet Memphis

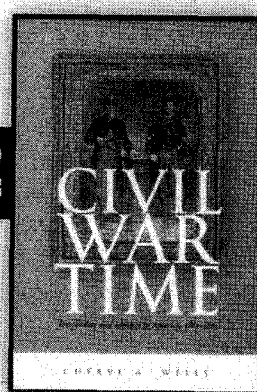
Conversations with the Blues
Edited by Fred J. Hay and
Illustrated by George D. Davidson

\$19.95 paperback

"An important work capturing first-hand the vitality and flavor of the Memphis blues scene. Hay's interviews are priceless. Entertaining reading for blues enthusiasts as well as anyone interested in music, American culture, or history."

—*Multicultural Review*

Available
in August



Civil War Time

Temporality and Identity in America, 1861–1865

Cheryl A. Wells

\$39.95 hardcover

"By defining battle time as a temporality that eroded the authority of God, nature, and the clock itself, Cheryl Wells has written a book about the Civil War in which multiple and conflicting American timekeeping practices played crucial roles on and off the battlefield."

—Alexis McCrossen, author of *Holy Day, Holiday: The American Sunday*

The University of
GEORGIA
PRESS

1-800-266-5842
www.ugapress.org

**FREEDOM COLONIES**

INDEPENDENT BLACK TEXANS IN THE TIME OF JIM CROW
 BY THAD SITTON AND JAMES H. CONRAD

Jack and Doris Smothers Series in Texas History, Life, and Culture
 39 b&w photos, \$19.95 paper, \$50.00 cloth

MEXICAN AMERICANS AND WORLD WAR II

EDITED BY MAGGIE RIVAS-RODRIGUEZ

14 b&w photos, \$19.95 paper, \$45.00 cloth

CHICANAS AND CHICANOS IN SCHOOL

RACIAL PROFILING, IDENTITY BATTLES, AND EMPOWERMENT

BY MARCOS PIZARRO

\$22.95 paper, \$50.00 cloth

THE BEST WAY TO ROB A BANK IS TO OWN ONE

HOW CORPORATE EXECUTIVES AND POLITICIANS LOOTED THE S&L INDUSTRY

BY WILLIAM K. BLACK

\$24.95 cloth

THE COLONIAL SPANISH-AMERICAN CITY

URBAN LIFE IN THE AGE OF ATLANTIC CAPITALISM

BY JAY KINSBRUNER

\$18.95 paper, \$40.00 cloth

Now in paperback for the first time

FAMILY AND FRONTIER IN COLONIAL BRAZIL

SANTANA DE PARNAÍBA, 1580-1822

BY ALIDA C. METCALF

\$22.95 paper

MOCTEZUMA'S CHILDREN

AZTEC ROYALTY UNDER SPANISH RULE, 1520-1700

BY DONALD E. CHIPMAN

14 b&w illus., 4 maps, \$45.00 cloth

WHEN STATES KILL

LATIN AMERICA, THE U.S. AND TECHNOLOGIES OF TERROR

BY CECILIA MENJÍVAR AND NÉSTOR RODRÍGUEZ

\$22.95 paper, \$55.00 cloth

THE GREAT SYRIAN REVOLT AND THE RISE OF ARAB NATIONALISM

BY MICHAEL PROVENCE

Modern Middle East Series

Copublished with the Center for Middle Eastern Studies

University of Texas at Austin

6 b&w photos, \$21.95 paper, \$50.00 cloth

NATIONALIST VOICES IN JORDAN

THE STREET AND THE STATE

BY BETTY S. ANDERSON

\$22.95 paper, \$55.00 cloth

THE BLACK DEATH IN EGYPT AND ENGLAND

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

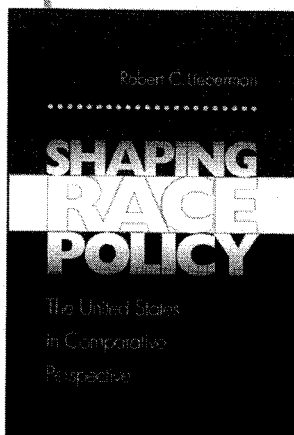
BY STUART J. BORSCH

43 line drawings, \$50.00 cloth

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS PRESS

800.252.3206 WWW.UTEXASPRESS.COM

Writing History



SHAPING RACE POLICY

The United States in Comparative Perspective

Robert C. Lieberman

Shaping Race Policy investigates one of the most serious policy challenges facing the United States today: the stubborn persistence of racial inequality in the post civil rights era. Unlike other books on the topic, it is comparative, examining American developments alongside parallel histories of race policy in Great Britain and France.

Cloth \$35.00 ISBN 0-691-11817-5 Due July

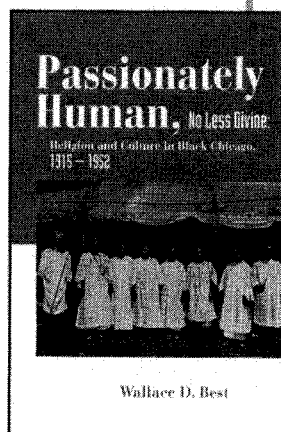
PASSIONATELY HUMAN, NO LESS DIVINE

Religion and Culture in Black Chicago, 1915–1952

Wallace D. Best

Passionately Human, No Less Divine analyzes the various ways that black southerners transformed African American religion in Chicago during their Great Migration northward. A work of religious, urban, and social history, it is the first book-length analysis of the new religious practices and traditions in Chicago that were stimulated by migration and urbanization.

Cloth \$39.95 ISBN 0-691-11578-8



New in paperback

CHANGING THE WORLD

American Progressives in War and Revolution

Alan Dawley

"Alan Dawley has once again produced a tour de force.... Vividly written, this book is filled with fresh insights on the Progressive Era, from its politics and diplomacy to its architecture." —John Whiteclay Chambers II, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*

Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America

William Chafe, Gary Gerstle, Linda Gordon, and Julian Zelizer, series editors

Paper \$22.95 ISBN 0-691-12235-0 Due August



100

Celebrating 100 Years of Excellence

PRINCETON
University Press

800-777-4726

Read excerpts online

www.pup.princeton.edu

NEW from Indiana University Press

THE DARKEST DAWN

Lincoln, Booth, and the Great American Tragedy
Thomas Goodrich

"Among the hundreds of books published about the assassination of our 16th president, this is an exceptional volume."—Frank J. Williams, founding Chair of *The Lincoln Forum*
cloth \$35.00

MCCLELLAN'S WAR

The Failure of Moderation in the Struggle for the Union
Ethan S. Rafuse

"... [S]uperb. ... Rafuse has crafted a book that is groundbreaking in its conception."—Joseph L. Harsh, author of *Confederate Tide Rising*
cloth \$35.00

TEMPLE TO LOVE

Architecture and Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Bengal
Pika Ghosh

Winner of the first Edward C. Dimock, Jr. Prize in the Indian Humanities, American Institute of Indian Studies Contemporary Indian Studies
cloth \$49.95

UNDERMINING DEVELOPMENT

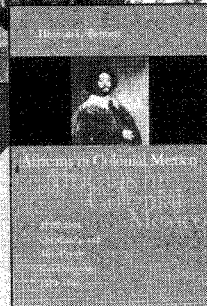
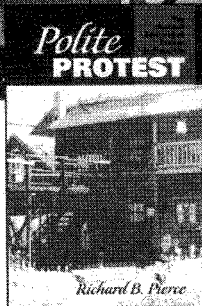
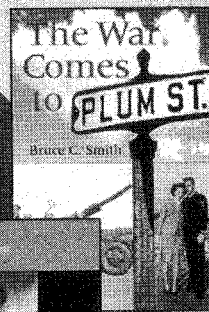
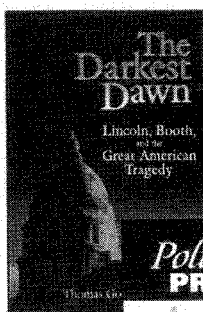
The Absence of Power among Local NGOs in Africa
Sarah Michael

A practical resource for understanding development programs in Africa.
African Issues
paper \$22.95

POLITE PROTEST

The Political Economy of Race in Indianapolis, 1920–1970
Richard B. Pierce

The story of the Indianapolis black community's fight against segregation.
cloth \$39.95



LINE OF RESISTANCE

Dziga Vertov and the Twenties
Edited and with an Introduction by Yuri Tsivian

Chronicles the immediate reaction of Vertov's contemporaries to his movies and manifestos—available now for the first time in English
cloth \$65.00

RUSSIAN BAPTISTS AND SPIRITUAL REVOLUTION, 1905–1929

Heather J. Coleman

"... a fascinating read for everyone interested in Russia, religion, and modernity."—Nadieszda Kizenko
Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies
cloth \$45.00

THE WAR COMES TO PLUM STREET

Bruce C. Smith

How the inhabitants of a Midwestern neighborhood perceived World War II as it unfolded.
cloth \$29.95

CREATING A HOOSIER SELF-PORTRAIT

The Federal Writers' Project in Indiana, 1935–1942

George T. Blakey

The story of the New Deal program that produced the first guide to Indiana.
cloth \$29.95

Now available in paperback! DILLINGER

The Untold Story, Expanded Edition
G. Russell Girardin and William J. Helmer

"... a wild ride through one of the most fascinating periods in American criminal history."—*Chicago Tribune*
paper \$19.95

Now in paperback! AFRICANS IN COLONIAL MEXICO

Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570–1640
Herman L. Bennett

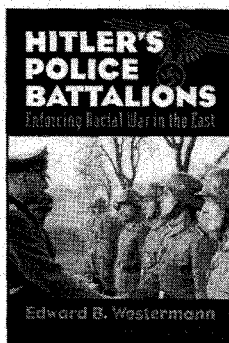
"This book charts new directions in thinking about the construction of new world identities. ... Bennett does a masterful job."

—Judith A. Byfield, Dartmouth
Blacks in the Diaspora
paper \$22.95

INDIANA

800-842-6796 • iupress.indiana.edu

KANSAS



Hitler's Police Battalions Enforcing Racial War in the East

Edward B. Westermann
Foreword by Dennis Showalter

"This is the first truly comprehensive analysis of how the German police came to be transformed into an essentially militarized murder machine in the service of National Socialist ideology. An outstanding work of scrupulous research, profound insight, and balanced judgment."—Gerhard L. Weinberg, author of *A World at Arms*

Modern War Studies
346 pages, 19 photographs, Cloth \$34.95

Landmark Law Cases and American Society

Peter Charles Hoffer and N.E.H. Hull, series editors

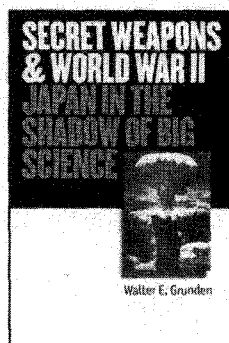
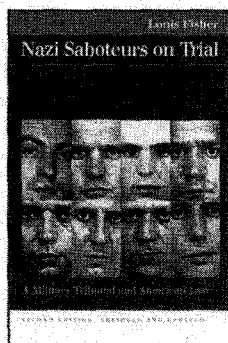
Nazi Saboteurs on Trial A Military Tribunal and American Law Second Edition, Abridged and Updated

Louis Fisher

"Fisher's account could not be more timely. . . . Provides a somber warning for the present and future."—*Journal of American History*

"A well-written, timely history that will inform policy debates."—*American Historical Review*

204 pages, Paper \$15.95



Secret Weapons and World War II

Japan in the Shadow of Big Science
Walter E. Grunden

"A splendid, meticulous, and definitive study of the impact of scientific research on weapons development and military strategy during World War II."

—Akira Iriye, author of *Power and Culture: The Japanese-American War, 1941–1945*

"A path-breaking tour de force."—Mark R. Peattie, coauthor of *Sunburst: The Rise of Japanese Naval Air Power*

"Strikingly original."—Edward Drea, author of *MacArthur's ULTRA*

Modern War Studies
348 pages, 21 photographs, Cloth \$39.95

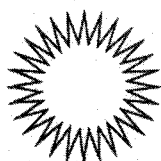


Childhood on the Farm Work, Play, and Coming of Age in the Midwest

Pamela Riney-Kehrberg

"A remarkably poignant and evocative account that resurrects a vanished world of grasshopper plagues, prairie fires, poor farms, and one-room country schools, where even the youngest children toiled on their family's behalf."—Steven Mintz, author of *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood*

320 pages, 47 photographs, Cloth \$34.95



Available at bookstores or from the press.
VISA, MasterCard, and American Express accepted.

University Press of Kansas

Phone (785) 864-4155 • Fax (785) 864-4586 • www.kansaspress.ku.edu

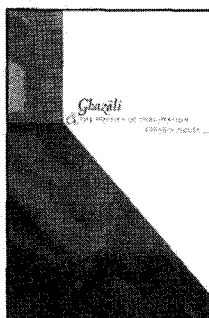


By Birth or Consent

Children, Law, and the Anglo-American Revolution in Authority
HOLLY BREWER

"Takes childhood into the domain of intellectual history and political theory. Brewer recovers a long-running debate in England and America about the meaning of consent, reason, and dependency that simultaneously illuminates the changing legal status of children and the standing of other groups. . . . A powerful and persuasive argument that challenges our understanding of American revolutionary ideology."
—Michael Grossberg, Indiana University

Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia
408 pp. \$39.95 cloth



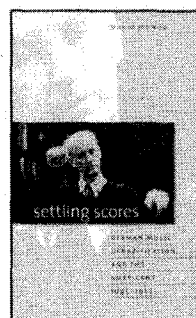
Ghazālī and the Poetics of Imagination

EBRAHIM MOOSA

"Offers creative solutions to the contemporary crisis of Muslim thought."
—Ahmad Dallal, Georgetown University

"Moosa's book shows better than any work I am aware of how Ghazālī transformed Islamic thought at a critical moment when the European Crusaders and other forces were dismantling the Pax Islamica in which the older schools had flourished."
—Richard C. Martin, Emory University

Islamic Civilization and Muslim Networks
336 pp. \$59.95 cloth / \$22.50 paper



Settling Scores

German Music, Denazification, and the Americans, 1945–1953
DAVID MONOD

"One of the best works on the cultural history of the American occupation of Germany, reflecting an exceptional understanding for the policy processes of the U.S. military government. It is thoughtful, incisive, and wise in its treatment of the sensitive question of the responsibility of German musicians for their response to the Nazi state. A brilliant achievement!"
—Thomas Alan Schwartz, author of *America's Germany*

344 pp. \$45.00 cloth

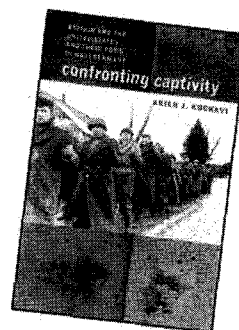
Confronting Captivity

Britain and the United States and Their POWs in Nazi Germany

ARIEH J. KOCHAVI

"A lucidly written, thorough, and judicious account of a long-neglected but important aspect of World War II. Specialists will learn a good deal from it and all readers interested in the war will be fascinated by it."
—Ronald Spector, George Washington University

392 pp. \$45.00 cloth



Fall-Out Shelters for the Human Spirit

American Art and the Cold War

MICHAEL L. KRENN

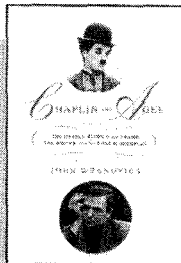
"Krenn reveals the extent to which art became a battleground between advocates of 'art for art's sake' and those who sought control of art exhibitions for propagandistic purposes. This engaging and comprehensive study of international art and the Cold War will make a significant contribution to both diplomatic and cultural history."

—Walter L. Hixson, author of *Parting the Curtain*
312 pp. \$39.95 cloth

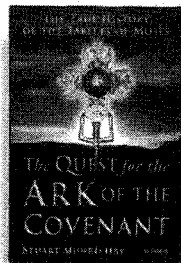
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

publishing excellence since 1922 | at bookstores or 800-848-6224 | www.uncpress.unc.edu

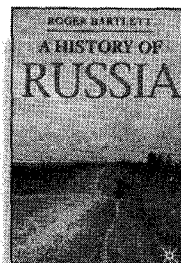
NEW FROM PALGRAVE MACMILLAN



CHAPLIN AND AGEE
The Untold Story of the Tramp, the Writer, and the Lost Screenplay
 John Wranovics
 288 pp. / 1-4039-6866-7 / \$24.95 cl.



THE DYNAMITE FIEND
The Chilling Tale of a Confederate Spy, Con Artist, and Mass Murderer
 Ann Larabee
 256 pp. / 1-4039-6794-6 / \$24.95 cl.



A HISTORY OF RUSSIA
 Roger Bartlett
Palgrave Essential Histories
 224 pp. / 0-333-63263-X / \$26.95 cl.



THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES
 Lynette Olson
 304 pp. / 1-4039-4208-0 / \$89.00 cl.
 1-4039-4209-9 / \$32.95 pb.

THE ORIGINS OF FRANCE
Second Edition
 Edward James
New Studies in Medieval History
 120 pp. / 1-4039-1328-5 / \$72.00 cl.
 1-4039-1125-8 / \$23.95 pb.

CHILDREN OF WORLD WAR II
The Hidden Enemy Legacy
 Edited by Kjersti Ericsson and Eva Simonsen
 Aug 2005 / 288 pp. / 1-84520-206-6 / \$79.95 cl.
 1-84520-207-4 / \$26.95 pb.
 Berg Publishers

THE QUEST FOR THE ARK OF THE COVENANT
The True History of the Tablets of Moses
 Stuart Munro-Hay
 304 pp. / 1-85043-668-1 / \$27.50 cl.
 I.B. Tauris

THE BONAPARTES
The History of a Dynasty
 William H.C. Smith
 320 pp. / 1-85285-462-8 / \$29.95 cl.
 Hambledon & London

MEMORY AND WORLD WAR II
An Ethnographic Approach
 Edited by Francesca Cappelletto
 Aug 2005 / 256 pp. / 1-84520-204-X / \$79.95 cl.
 1-84520-205-8 / \$25.95 pb.
 Berg Publishers

RENAISSANCE WOMAN
 Gaia Servadio
 288 pp. / 1-85043-421-2 / \$35.00 cl.
 I.B. Tauris

HITLER AND APPEASEMENT
The British Attempt to Prevent the Second World War
 Peter Neville
 Aug 2005 / 288 pp. / 1-85285-369-7 / \$39.95 cl.
 Hambledon & London

HAVANA
The Making of Cuban Culture
 Antoni Kapcia
 Aug 2005 / 256 pp. / 1-85973-832-X / \$89.95 cl.
 1-85973-837-0 / \$24.95 pb.
 Berg Publishers

MADAME DU BARRY
The Wages of Beauty
 Joan Haslip
 Aug 2005 / 224 pp. / 1-85043-753-X / \$15.95 pb.
 Tauris Parke Paperbacks

A HISTORY OF CHEMICAL WARFARE
 Kim Coleman
 256 pp. / 1-4039-3459-2 / \$85.00 cl.
 1-4039-3460-6 / \$26.95 pb.

RETHINKING THE NEW LEFT
An Interpretative History
 Van Gosse
 Aug 2005 / 224 pp. / 1-4039-6694-X / \$75.00 cl.
 1-4039-6695-8 / \$23.95 pb.

QUEEN VICTORIA
 Walter L. Arnstein
 272 pp. / 0-333-63807-7 / \$16.95 pb.

MASTERING MODERN WORLD HISTORY
 Norman Lowe
Palgrave Master Series
 592 pp. / 1-4039-3982-9 / \$26.95 pb.

ANTI-SEMITISM
Myth and Hate from Antiquity to the Present
 Marvin Perry and Frederick M. Schweitzer
 Aug 2005 / 320 pp. / 1-4039-6893-4 / \$22.95 pb.

MUSSOLINI'S ROME
Rebuilding the Eternal City
 Borden W. Painter Jr.
Italian & Italian American Studies
 240 pp. / 1-4039-6604-4 / \$29.95 cl.

PALGRAVE ADVANCES IN BYZANTINE HISTORY
 Jonathan Harris
Palgrave Advances
 256 pp. / 1-4039-1502-4 / \$75.00 cl.
 1-4039-1503-2 / \$24.95 pb.

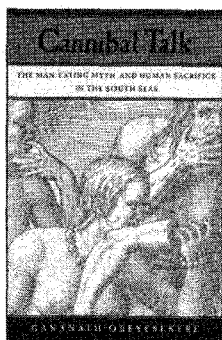
IN THE GAME
Race, Identity, and Sports in the Twentieth Century
 Edited by Amy Bass
 Aug 2005 / 288 pp. / 1-4039-6570-6 / \$29.95 cl.

palgrave
 macmillan

Distributor of Berg Publishers, Hambledon and London, I.B. Tauris, Manchester University Press, and Zed Books

(888) 330-8477 • Fax: (800) 672-2054 • www.palgrave-usa.com

World Views

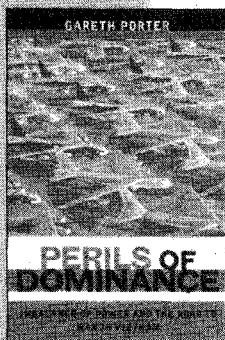


Perils of Dominance

Imbalance of Power and
the Road to War in Vietnam
Gareth Porter

"This will be the most important contribution to our understanding of the war in Vietnam since the *Pentagon Papers*.... Porter challenges ...most of the accepted views, especially on the importance of the domino theory... and the belligerence of Johnson and, to a lesser extent, Kennedy."

—ROBERT JERVIS, author of
American Foreign Policy in a New Era
\$27.50 cloth

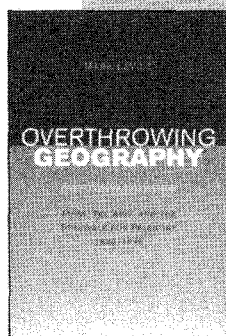


Colonialism in Question

Theory, Knowledge, History
Frederick Cooper

"A very much needed book.... Drawing on his enormous erudition in colonial history, Cooper brings together an intellectual and a moral-political argument against a series of linked developments that privilege 'taking a stance' and in favor of studying processes of struggle through engaged scholarship."

—JANE I. GUYER, author of *Marginal Gains*
\$50.00 cloth, \$19.95 paper



Cannibal Talk

The Man-Eating Myth and Human Sacrifice in the South Seas
Gananath Obeyesekere

In this radical reexamination of the notion of cannibalism, Obeyesekere examines Polynesian societies in the early periods of European contact and colonization. He offers a fascinating and convincing argument that cannibalism is mostly "cannibal talk", a discourse on the Other engaged in by both indigenous peoples and colonial intruders.

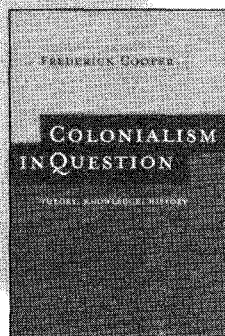
\$55.00 cloth, \$21.95 paper

Overthrowing Geography

Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and the Struggle for Palestine, 1880-1948
Mark LeVine

"This is a foundational work for a new way of studying Palestinian-Israeli relations. LeVine conceptualizes the experience of Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews as interdependent and interreferential."

—GERSHON SHAFIR,
co-author of *Being Israeli*
\$65.00 cloth, \$29.95 paper

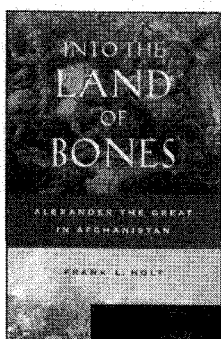


CONGRATULATIONS TO

Ronald G. Musto, author of *Apocalypse in Rome: Cola di Rienzo and the Politics of the New Age*, winner of the Helen and Howard R. Marraro Prize; and to Ronald Schechter, author of *Obstinate Hebrews: Representations of Jews in France, 1715-1815*, winner of the Leo Gershoy Award.

AT BOOKSTORES OR ORDER (800) 822-6657 • WWW.UCPRESS.EDU

University of California Press



Into the Land of Bones

Alexander the Great in Afghanistan
Frank L. Holt

"It is informed by a comprehensive knowledge of the ancient sources, geography, and archaeology of Afghanistan. The work uses the history of Alexander to raise provocative questions about current affairs.... One of the most important works on Alexander to appear in the last ten years." —STANLEY BURSTEIN, author of

Outpost of Hellenism

Hellenistic Culture & Society

\$24.95 cloth



Alexander the Great and the Mystery of the Elephant Medallions

Frank L. Holt

New in Paperback—"Fascinating detective work.... A chilling psychological profile of Alexander. Holt's scholarship is superb, his prose style elegant and crystalline."

—PETER GREEN,

Times Literary Supplement

\$17.95 paper



Spain: The Root and the Flower

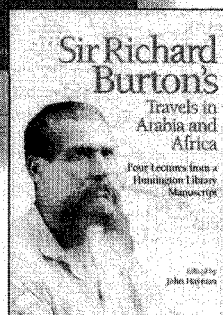
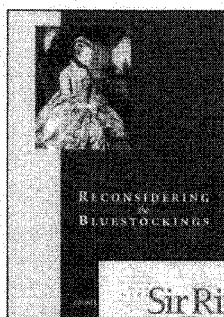
An Interpretation of Spain and the Spanish People
John A. Crow

Third Edition

"The distinctive features of the book are indeed the author's deep insight into the mores of the country, the fundamental psychology of the Spanish people as shared by geography and history, and his enthusiasm for the brilliance of Spain's culture."

—TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

\$21.95 paper



NEW FROM HUNTINGTON LIBRARY PRESS

Sir Richard Burton's Travels in Arabia and Africa

Four Lectures from a Huntington
Library Manuscript

SIR RICHARD BURTON

Edited with an Introduction

by John Hayman

"Burton's lectures...give the full flavor of both his fierce temperament and his fiercer curiosity."

—Los Angeles Times

\$18.95 paper

Reconsidering the Bluestockings

EDITED BY NICOLE POHL AND
BETTY A. SCHELLENBERG

"By packaging several perspectives together, *Reconsidering the Bluestockings* creates a more thorough context for future scholarship. The book is, in short, the most valuable kind of scholarship: it provokes questions rather than answers them."

—New Perspectives on the
Eighteenth Century

\$26.95 paper

Studies in the Cultural History of Letter Writing

EDITED BY LINDA C. MITCHELL
AND SUSAN GREEN

This collection of essays shows how letters nimbly traverse the boundaries between the public and the private and examines the many roles of correspondence, from the domestic to the global.

\$26.95 paper

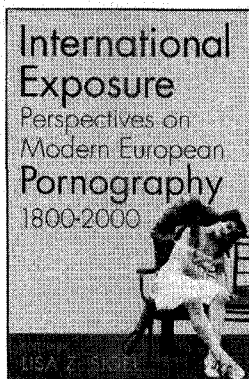
[HTTP://HUNTINGTON.UCPRESS.EDU](http://HUNTINGTON.UCPRESS.EDU)

Distributed by the
University of California Press

AT BOOKSTORES OR ORDER (800) 822-6657 • WWW.UCPRESS.EDU

University of California Press

RUTGERS . . . that's sharp thinking.



INTERNATIONAL EXPOSURE

Perspectives on Modern European Pornography, 1800-2000

Edited by Lisa Z. Sigel

"This sophisticated, even witty collection goes beyond tired old debates to provide compelling and surprising insights into national cultures of pornography."—Anna Clark, author of *Scandal: The Sexual Politics of the British Constitution*

"This collection makes an important and pioneering contribution towards demonstrating the historically and culturally specific nature of pornography and erotica."—Lesley Hall, founding editor of *H-Histsex Discussion Network for the History of Sexuality*

"In this courageous, timely and genuinely groundbreaking work, Lisa Sigel and her co-authors examine the history of pornography in its national and international dimensions. This book demonstrates the essential insights we can gain by looking at the seamy/seedy underside of our society. Highly recommended."—Kevin White, author of *Sexual Liberation or Sexual License?: The American Revolt Against Victorianism*

336 PAGES • PAPER \$26.95 • 0-8135-3519-0

NATIONS AND NATIONALISM

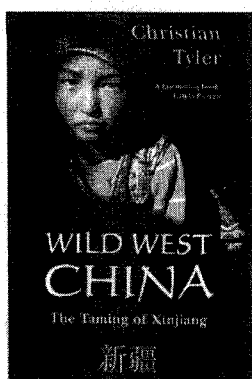
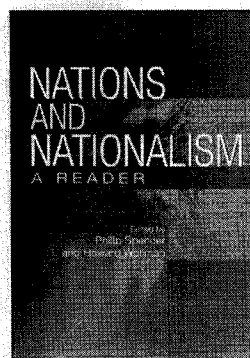
A Reader

Edited by Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman

Nationalism has become a topic of wide-ranging significance and heated debate over recent years, with a huge expansion in the amount of literature available. Bringing together the best and most representative of these writings, *Nations and Nationalism* is an essential reader for students of political theory and related fields.

Assembled by two influential scholars, the volume includes the core, basic texts required for any course on nationalism, along with a selection of lesser-known contributions that illuminate the debates. Selected writings by historians, sociologists, and anthropologists supplement contributions from political scientists so that students will be able to compare theories and debates across a range of disciplines and time periods. Taken together, the chapters provide a balanced and vivid overview of how nationalism has exploded as a topic of inquiry over the last two decades and how it has interacted with other political and social forces.

384 PAGES • PAPER \$27.95 • 0-8135-3626-X • AVAILABLE IN JUNE 2005



WILD WEST CHINA

The Taming of Xinjiang

Christian Tyler

"The world is only too aware of what the Chinese are up to in Tibet. But few know of the sufferings of neighboring Xinjiang. Now, at last, its subjugated people have found a champion in Christian Tyler. His revelations will not go down well in Beijing."—Peter Hopkirk, author of *The Great Game: The Struggle for Empire in Central Asia*

"Following in the footsteps of Peter Fleming, Tyler paints a vivid portrait of Xinjiang and reminds us of another of the immense problems facing China's new leadership. A fascinating book."—Chris Patten, former governor of Hong Kong

"[Tyler] has assembled a detailed and forceful narrative whose span is enormous—and ultimately damning to Beijing. Inevitably he leaves open the question as to whether there is any future for the Uighur in their homeland, and whether this book will rank as a watershed, or a requiem."—*The Sunday Times*

336 PAGES • 16 B&W PHOTOGRAPHS • CLOTH \$27.95 • 0-8135-3533-6



RUTGERS UNIVERSITY PRESS

Saving minds from boring reading since 1936

To order, call 800-446-9323 or
visit rutgerspress.rutgers.edu

ANNOUNCING AN IMPORTANT NEW JOURNAL FOR 2006...

JOURNAL OF GLOBAL HISTORY

Editors:

William Gervase Clarence-Smith
SOAS, London, UK

Ken Pomeranz
University of California, USA

Shalini Randeria
University of Zurich, Switzerland

Peer Vries
Leiden University, The Netherlands

• CALL FOR PAPERS •

The **Journal of Global History (JGH)** seeks scholarly articles that explore global change and welcomes contributions from around the globe. The editorial philosophy is to encourage disciplined diversity, disciplined through rigorous peer-review, and diverse in points of view. The journal seeks to treat globalization historically, transcend the dichotomy of 'the West and the rest', straddle traditional regional boundaries, relate material to cultural and political history, overcome the thematic fragmentation in historiography, and engage in interdisciplinary conversations. In addition to original research articles, **JGH** publishes survey articles, think-pieces, and selected book reviews.

Manuscripts for submission should be no longer than 10,000 words. All articles should be written in English, and should be emailed as Microsoft Word attachments (please do not use pdf files) to:

journal.global.history@lse.ac.uk

Alternatively, hard copy can be sent to:

Journal of Global History
Room A288
London School of Economics and Political Science
Houghton Street
London WC2A 2AE
UK

For complete instructions for contributors, please see:

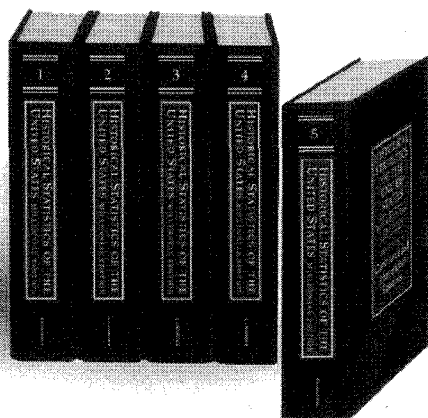
http://www.cambridge.org/uk/journals/journal_ifc.asp?mnemonic=JGH

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE

Forthcoming from Cambridge University Press in Spring 2006:

**A LANDMARK CORE REFERENCE, NEWLY UPDATED
AND AVAILABLE IN BOTH PRINT AND ELECTRONIC FORMATS!**



HISTORICAL STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES

Millennial Edition

Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner,
Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead,
Richard Sutch, Gavin Wright, Editors

On Most Ready Reference Desks—But Overdue For Revision

Historical Statistics of the United States has long been the standard source for quantitative indicators of American history, and a new edition has been eagerly awaited by reference librarians, historians, and social scientists. The last effort to collate, organize and interpret such a towering mass of data was with the publication of the Bicentennial Edition in 1975. But now, a sweeping, comprehensive, and thoroughly revised new edition is available—one that reflects thirty years of information and new scholarship. This essential reference has been updated for the new millennium and provides rich materials for both contemporary and historical researchers.

The revision is much more than a mechanical update; rather, it reflects thirty years of methodological progress. The period

since 1970 has witnessed an explosion of quantitative scholarship as well as a general expansion of the government's statistical record keeping and reporting, the latter phenomenon driven by the computer revolution. No subject area and few data series have remained untouched by this enormous growth of the American quantitative record.

As a result of this expansion and in response to many requests for a new edition of *Historical Statistics of the United States* from librarians, statisticians, and historians, the new Millennial Edition greatly expands the coverage of all topics. It is arranged in 39 chapters and spread over five volumes. There are over 37,000 data series, a tripling of the number in the previous edition. More than a million observations are contained in 1,800 tables.

Chapters are preceded by introductory essays that review the quantitative history of their subject, provide a guide to the historical literature, and offer expert advice on the reliability of the data and the limits that might be placed on their interpretation.

Dozens of new topics have been added, including:

- ★ American Indians
- ★ Slavery
- ★ Outlying areas
- ★ Poverty
- ★ Non-profit organizations
- ★ Race and ethnicity

Library Users Will Welcome Its Format

Reference librarians will find this a valuable historical supplement to the oft-used *Statistical Abstract of the United States*. Users will no longer need to trace a time series through a back-issue collection of the

"Stat Abstract," a tedious and often frustrating task. The documentation is written for the non-expert with definitions of technical terms, background information, and illustrations of the use of data. Full source

citations and extensive documentation are provided on the same page(s) as tables wherever possible for ease of reference and in-library photocopying.

For information visit us at www.cambridge.org or phone 800.872.7423

CAMBRIDGE

Gathered From Over 1,000 Statistical Sources!

Historical Statistics of the United States: Millennial Edition is a stunning achievement. This monumental work of collaborative scholarship provides a comprehensive compendium of statistics from over 1,000 sources. Every aspect of the numerical history of the United States is recorded: from population to prices; from voting patterns to Vietnam veterans; from energy to education; from abortions to zinc and everything in between. Over 80 experts have contributed their expertise to select, assemble, and document the data; write the introductory essays; and analyze the material.

The edition's value as a first-use reference to statistical data is enhanced by detailed documentation authored by nationally recognized experts. It includes critical evaluations of sources and methods. Contributors have provided extensive references to the scholarly historical literature as well as to statistical sources. Fully cross-referenced and indexed, **Historical Statistics of the United States** is now an easy-to-use guide to the statistical outpouring—

past and present—of government bureaus, private agencies, and the academic community.

Historical Statistics of the United States will be used in all types of libraries. Undergraduates in political science courses will certainly refer to it for a variety of demographic and voting pattern materials. Those enrolled in population studies courses will also find this resource an important first step in their research. The Edition will act as a gateway to further information on a wealth of issues dealing with business and finance, and thus students from MBA programs down to introductory courses on economics and business will also cite this reference frequently. Special libraries in corporate, government, or law settings will likewise find it invaluable. And, since the editors have taken such care to prepare the essays for the non-technical reader, even high school students will find this title invaluable in a wide variety of social science and history projects and reports.

Features

- ★ Offers a comprehensive overview of statistics from over 1,000 sources
- ★ Contains dozens of new topics, including American Indians, slavery, poverty, non-profit organizations, the Confederate States of America and more
- ★ Each chapter includes an extensive review of the quantitative history of its subject
- ★ Fully cross-referenced and indexed
- ★ Contains over 170 figures, including numerous graphs, maps, and topical timelines
- ★ Written for the non-specialist with definitions, background information, and illustrations of the use of data

**Forthcoming in Spring 2006 in
Both Print and Electronic Formats!**

Historical Statistics of the United States: *Millennial Edition*

5 volumes • 4,432 est. pages • 70 essays • 178 tables • 80 contributors
Bibliographies • Complete Index • Set ISBN 0-521-81791-9

Table of Contents

Volume 1: POPULATION

Population Characteristics
Vital Statistics
Internal Migration
International Migration
Family and Household Composition
Cohorts
American Indians

Volume 2: WORK AND WELFARE

Labor
Slavery
Education
Health
Economic Inequality and Poverty
Social Insurance and Public Assistance
Nonprofit, Voluntary, and Religious Entities

Volume 3:

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND PERFORMANCE

National Income and Product
Business Fluctuations and Cycles
Prices
Consumer Expenditures
Saving, Capital, and Wealth
Geography and the Environment
Science, Technology, and Productivity
Business Organization
Financial Markets and Institutions

Volume 4: ECONOMIC SECTORS

Agriculture
Natural Resource Industries
Construction, Housing, and Mortgages
Manufacturing
Distribution
Transportation
Communications
Services and Utilities

Volume 5:

GOVERNANCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Government Finance and Employment
Elections and Politics
Crime, Law, Enforcement, and Justice
National Defense, Wars, Armed Forces, and Veterans
International Trade and Exchange Rates
Outlying Areas
Colonial Statistics
Confederate States of America

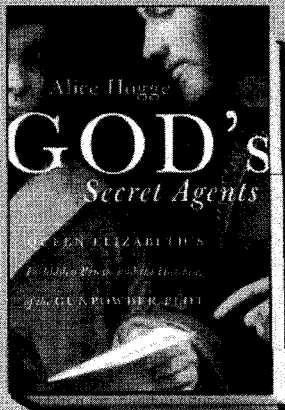
APPENDICES

Weights, Measures, and Monetary Values
States and Census Regions
Origin of **Historical Statistics of the United States**

INDEX

For information visit us at www.cambridge.org or phone 800.872.7423

Look at the Past Through A NEW LENS



God's Secret Agents

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S FORBIDDEN PRIESTS AND
THE HATCHING OF THE GUNPOWDER PLOT
Alice Hogge

A provocative challenge to the standard histories of Elizabethan England, *God's Secret Agents* illuminates the Catholic struggle for freedom of conscience and the way Elizabeth's government spun it into treachery. Hogge's newly uncovered source material is sure to create controversy among historians.

ON SALE JUNE 14TH

ISBN 0-06-054227-6 • Hardcover
\$27.95 (\$36.95 Can.) • 320 pages

Shockwave

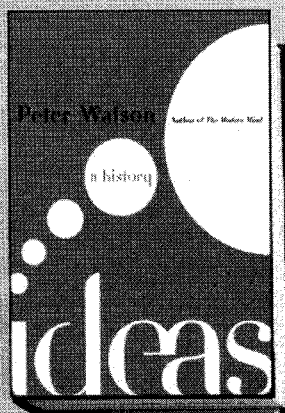
COUNTDOWN TO HIROSHIMA

Stephen Walker

Documentarian Stephen Walker extensively interviewed American soldiers, Los Alamos scientists, and Japanese survivors before writing this minute-by-minute account of the bombing of Hiroshima told from multiple perspectives—both in the air and on the ground. An authentic, unique, and truly enthralling new viewpoint.

ON SALE JULY 26TH

ISBN 0-06-074284-4 • Hardcover
\$26.95 (\$37.95 Can.) • 384 pages



Ideas

A HISTORY

Peter Watson

No other book covers such varied topics as the origins of law, man's growing loss of faith in God, the division of time into B.C. and A.D., the emergence of punctuation, and the conception of opera, all in one volume. Thoroughly researched and eminently readable, *Ideas: A History* presents a fascinating new way of looking at the past.

ON SALE AUGUST 30TH

ISBN 0-06-621064-X • Hardcover
\$34.95 • 720 pages

www.HarperAcademic.com

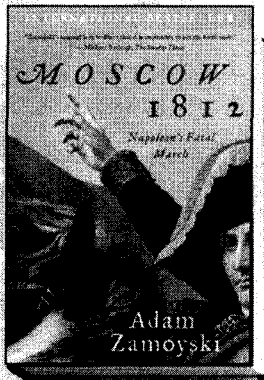
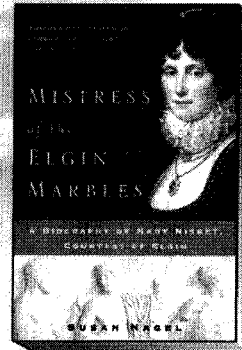
The Mistress of the Elgin Marbles

A BIOGRAPHY OF MARY NISBET, COUNTESS OF ELGIN
Susan Nagel

"Lady Elgin was one of the more exciting women of her day. Susan Nagel has skillfully extracted her character in this detailed account of her life. This is a story...too extraordinary to be fictional."

—JOHN BOARDMAN, LINCOLN PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND ART AT OXFORD UNIVERSITY

ON SALE AUGUST 16TH
ISBN 0-06-054555-0 • Paperback
\$14.95 (\$19.95 Can.) • 336 pages



Moscow 1812

NAPOLÉON'S FATAL MARCH
Adam Zamoyski

"A richly detailed and highly readable account of Napoleon's disastrous campaign in Russia which sweeps away all the national myths in order to reveal the true face of this senseless and horrific war."

—ORLANDO FIGES, *THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS*

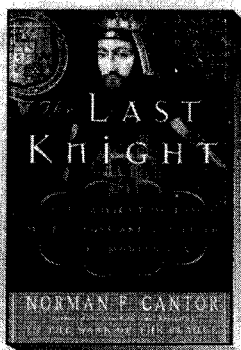
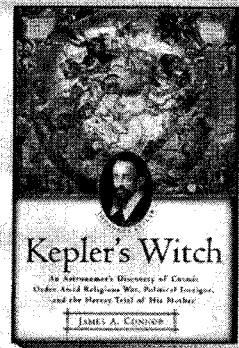
ON SALE AUGUST 3RD
ISBN 0-06-107558-2 • Hardcover
\$29.95 (\$45.95 Can.) • 672 pages

Kepler's Witch

AN ASTRONOMER'S DISCOVERY OF COSMIC ORDER AMID RELIGIOUS WAR, POLITICAL INTRIGUE, AND THE HERESY TRIAL OF HIS MOTHER
James A. Connor

"Connor indeed argues that precisely because he framed his science in the language of worship, Kepler has received less than his due from rationally-minded scholars. This luminous biography will help remedy that injustice." —BOOKLIST (STARRED REVIEW)

ON SALE NOW
ISBN 0-06-075049-9 • Paperback
\$14.95 (\$16.95 Can.) • 416 pages



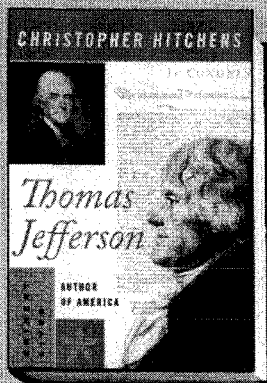
The Last Knight

THE TWILIGHT OF THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE BIRTH OF THE MODERN ERA
Norman F. Cantor

The author of the *New York Times* bestseller *In the Wake of the Plague* returns with an enlightening account of late fourteenth century Europe centralized around John of Gaunt, a man who so ably represented the ideals of that era that his death, Cantor argues, marked its end.

ON SALE NOW
ISBN 0-06-075403-6 • Paperback
\$13.95 (\$19.95 Can.) • 288 pages

Some of History's MOST CAPTIVATING PEOPLE



Thomas Jefferson

AUTHOR OF AMERICA
Christopher Hitchens

Bestselling author Christopher Hitchens fearlessly delves into the biography of Thomas Jefferson, not only documenting the life of America's "designer," but also the unattainable vision of America he held.

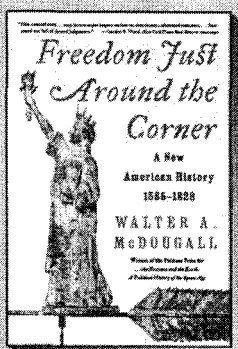
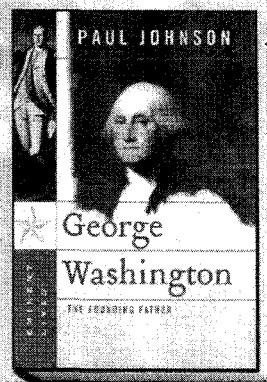
ON SALE NOW
ISBN 0-06-059896-4 • Hardcover
\$19.95 (\$27.95 Can.) • 208 pages

George Washington

THE FOUNDING FATHER
Paul Johnson

The author of *A History of the American People* presents this concise biography of the great founding American in a brilliant, sharply etched portrait full of surprising insights.

ON SALE NOW
ISBN 0-06-075365-X • Hardcover
\$19.95 (\$27.95 Can.) • 144 pages



Freedom Just Around the Corner

A NEW AMERICAN HISTORY: 1585-1828
Walter A. McDougall

"The trilogy may have a major impact on how we Americans understand ourselves." —*NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW*

ON SALE NOW
ISBN 0-06-095755-7 • Paperback
\$17.95 (\$25.50 Can.) • 656 pages

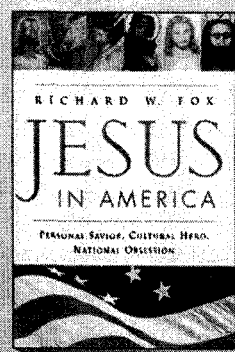
Jesus in America

PERSONAL SAVIOR, CULTURAL HERO, NATIONAL OBSESSION
Richard W. Fox

"Utilizing a unique angle of vision, Richard Fox has presented a... highly competent portrait of American religion—from 16th century Native Americans to 21st century film-makers and evangelists. The notes are superb; the text is exciting and fresh."

—EDWIN S. GAUSTAD, CO-AUTHOR OF *A RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF AMERICA*

ON SALE NOW
ISBN 0-06-062874-X • 6 • Paperback
\$16.95 (\$23.95 Can.) • 512 pages



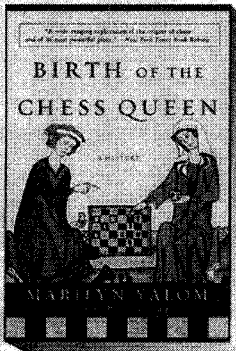
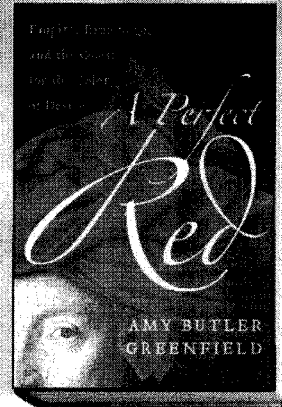
THE AMERICAN Character

Uncommon Subjects, UNIQUE PERSPECTIVES

A Perfect Red EMPIRE, ESPIONAGE, AND THE QUEST FOR THE COLOR OF DESIRE **Amy Butler Greenfield**

"This book is the story of the search for a color... It is a fascinating, and largely unknown, story of greed and subterfuge, mixing fashion, folly and ingenuity in equal measure, and Amy Butler Greenfield unravels its mysteries with all the skills of a detective."
—J. H. Elliott, University of Oxford

ON SALE NOW
ISBN 0-06-052275-5 • Hardcover
\$26.95 (\$34.95 Can.) • 352 pages



Birth of the Chess Queen A HISTORY **Marilyn Yalom**

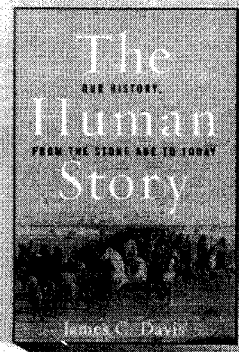
"A wide-ranging exploration of the origins of chess and of its most powerful piece... [Yalom's] entertaining (and credible) contention is that the booting of the vizier and the coronation of the Queen are linked to the rising status of women in medieval Europe." —*NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW*

ON SALE NOW
ISBN 0-06-009065-0 • Paperback
\$14.95 (\$19.95 Can.) • 320 pages

The Human Story OUR HISTORY, FROM THE STONE AGE TO TODAY **James C. Davis**

"Davis does for human history what Stephen Hawking did for the atom and the universe—take a step back from the details and translate them into common terms... It is refreshing to have a treatment of human life at once learned and optimistic." —*PUBLISHERS WEEKLY*

ON SALE JULY 26TH
ISBN 0-06-051620-8 • Paperback
\$15.95 (\$22.50 Can.) • 480 pages



 HarperCollins Publishers

HARPER  PERENNIAL

 HarperSanFrancisco

Imprints of HarperCollins Publishers www.HarperAcademic.com

History from YALE

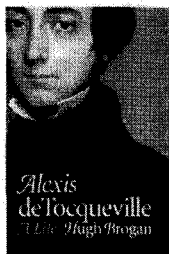
Alexis de Tocqueville

A Life

HUGH BROGAN

"This is a magnificent biography. Brogan's knowledge of the details of Tocqueville's life is extraordinary, as is his erudite account of his family life and of French politics and society in the first half of the nineteenth century. And how splendidly the book is written!"

—John Lukacs 16 illus. \$35.00



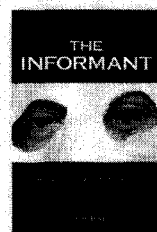
The Informant

The FBI, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Murder of Viola Liuzzo

GARY MAY

"A gripping and suspenseful account of an enormously important event in American history. Based on unprecedented access to internal FBI documents, it offers fresh revelations about the Ku Klux Klan, the FBI, and the Civil Rights movement."—Richard Gid Powers

\$35.00



General Motors and the Nazis

The Struggle for Control of Opel, Europe's Biggest Carmaker

HENRY ASHBY TURNER, JR.

"Based on excellent and deep research, this book provides a clear, contextualized, and convincing account of General Motors efforts to run its German subsidiary Opel from 1933 to the American entry into the war in 1941."—Gerald D. Feldman

21 illus. \$38.00



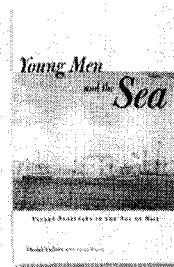
Young Men and the Sea

Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail

DANIEL VICKERS and VINCE WALSH

"Casting away what we think we know, Vickers has redefined the meaning of seafaring under sail. Distinguished by impeccable scholarship and innovative methodology, this is the most original American maritime history ever published."

—W. Jeffrey Bolster 25 illus. \$35.00



Exorcism and Enlightenment

Johann Joseph Gassner and the Demons of Eighteenth-Century Germany

H. C. ERIK MIDELFORT

"This study of demonic possessions and exorcisms in the era of Enlightenment redefines our understanding of the way in which natural philosophy, medicine, and religion began to diverge after centuries of being intertwined."

—Carlos Eire \$35.00

England and the Spanish Armada

The Necessary Quarrel

JAMES MCDERMOTT

"This fascinating book examines the process by which the Spaniard, a long-term ally and friend, became in English eyes the epitome of human depravity and how this helped shape an emerging sense of nationhood." 16 illus. \$40.00

Lost for Words

The Hidden History of the Oxford English Dictionary

LYNDA MUGGLESTONE

"This delightful book charts the arguments and controversies over words, definitions, pronunciation, and more as lexicographers struggled to provide the definitive inventory of the English language."

\$30.00

Before Darwin

Reconciling God and Nature

KEITH THOMSON

"Keith Thomson gives a lively and detailed account of the two centuries of vigorous arguments about science and religion that preceded the publication of Darwin's ideas in 1859."

—John Polkinghorne 33 illus. \$27.00



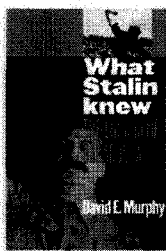
YALE University Press • yalebooks.com

History from YALE

What Stalin Knew

The Enigma of Barbarossa
DAVID E. MURPHY

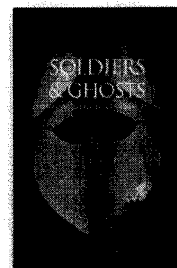
"A fascinating and meticulously researched account of mistaken assumptions and errors of judgment that culminated in Hitler's invasion of Russia in June 1941. Never before has this fateful period been so fully documented."—Henry A. Kissinger \$35.00



Soldiers and Ghosts

A History of Battle in Classical Antiquity
J.E. LENDON

"A stunningly original contribution to our understanding of ancient warfare, written with great style and verve. It is one of those rare books that powerfully challenges received opinion and demands attention."—Donald Kagan \$35.00



The KGB File of Andrei Sakharov

Edited and annotated by JOSHUA RUBENSTEIN
and ALEXANDER GRIBANOV

With an introduction by Joshua Rubenstein
Translated by Ella Shmulevich, Efrem Yankelevich, and
Alla Zeide

In this powerful book, the story of KGB surveillance and intimidation of Nobel prize laureate Andrei Sakharov from 1968 to his death in 1989 comes to light for the first time.

Annals of Communism Series 21 illus. \$45.00

The War Against the Peasantry, 1927–1930

The Tragedy of the Soviet Countryside
Volume One

Edited by LYNNE VIOLA, V. P. DANILOV,
N. A. IVNITSKII, and DENIS KOZLOV

Translated by Steven Shabad

"This volume—one of the most exciting in the Annals of Communism series—uncovers the Stalinist decision and policy-making processes at work on momentous new directions for the countryside. A remarkable achievement!"—Mark von Hagen

Annals of Communism Series \$45.00

Dressed to Rule

*Royal and Court Costume from Louis XIV to
Elizabeth II*

PHILIP MANSEL

This intriguing book explores how European royals, including Louis XIV, Napoleon I, and Princess Diana, have carefully controlled their styles of dress and how the right costume, at the right time, can transform and define a monarch's reputation.

50 b/w + 16 color illus. \$35.00

New in Paper

Britons

Forging the Nation, 1707–1837, Second Edition
LINDA COLLEY

"A sweeping survey, . . . evocatively illustrated and engagingly written."—Harriet Ritvo,
New York Times Book Review

"Extremely learned and penetrating."
—Conor Cruise O'Brien, *New Republic*
A *New York Times Notable Book*
Winner of the Wolfson History Prize
81 illus. \$20.00 paperback

The Stripping of the Altars

Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580
Second Edition
EAMON DUFFY

This prize-winning account of the pre-Reformation church is "deeply imaginative, movingly written, and splendidly illustrated. . . . Duffy's analysis . . . carries conviction."—Maurice Keen,
New York Review of Books (on the first edition)
Winner of the Longman-History Today Book of the Year Award \$19.00 paperback

The Crusades

A History, Second Edition
JONATHAN RILEY-SMITH

"Everything is here: the crusades to the Holy Land, and against the Albigensians, the Moors, the pagans in Eastern Europe, the Turks, and the enemies of the popes. Riley-Smith writes a beautiful, lucid prose."—*Choice*
(on the first edition) \$20.00 A Yale Nota Bene paperback



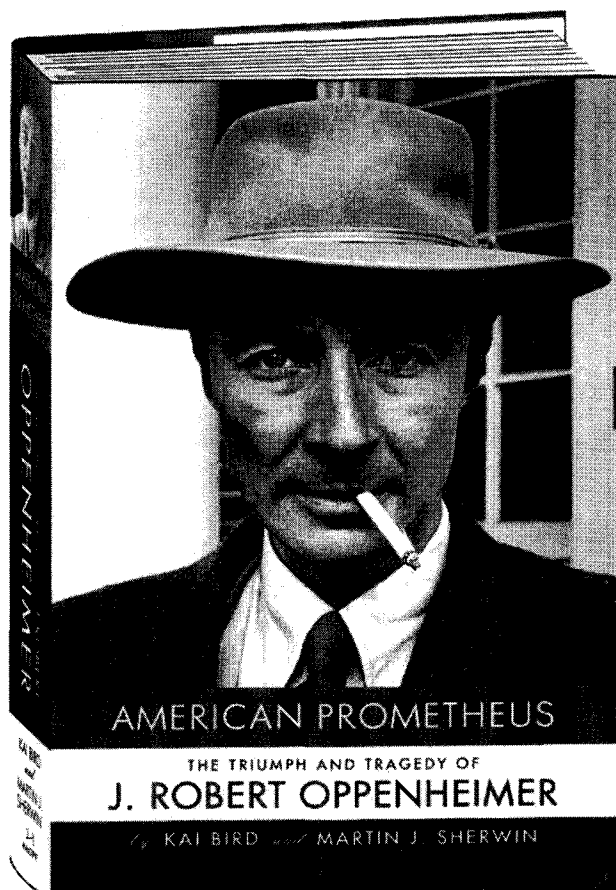
YALE University Press • yalebooks.com

Just published — the first full life and times of

J. Robert Oppenheimer

AMERICAN PROMETHEUS

by KAI BIRD and MARTIN J. SHERWIN



"The best study of Oppenheimer

...Not only a great biography but also a cautionary tale about the excesses of government in a time of fear. No one interested in twentieth-century America can afford to ignore this book."

—ROBERT DALLEK

"This fascinating and thoughtful

book brilliantly captures the political and scientific struggles of the early atomic age." —WALTER ISAACSON

"Indispensable

for understanding of our present nuclear dilemmas. Its riveting account of the psychological, political and scientific struggles involved takes us to a beginning of wisdom."

—ROBERT J. LIFTON

"A triumph, beautifully told.

Rarely has a work of biography had such narrative power—or urgent present relevance." —JAMES CARROLL

"A tour de force—deeply researched,

wonderfully well written and very thoughtful. Clearly the most important and probing Oppenheimer biography."

—BARTON J. BERNSTEIN

"J. Robert Oppenheimer has finally received the in-depth, insightful and judicious biography he deserves."

—ERIC FONER

"A magisterial page-turner, exploiting long-secret FBI files. It forces us to think about dangers in the 21st century of nuclear weaponry and political suppression."

—WALTER LAFEVER



Published by KNOPF

www.aaknopf.com/academic

Knopf Academic Marketing
1745 Broadway, 20th Floor,
New York, NY 10019

acmart@randomhouse.com

Oxford University Press congratulates

MICHAEL J. KLARMAN,

author of *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights*,
on winning the 2005 Bancroft Prize.

**"...exhaustive and
magisterial..."**

—*The New York Review
of Books*

**"A sweeping, erudite,
and powerfully
argued book..."**

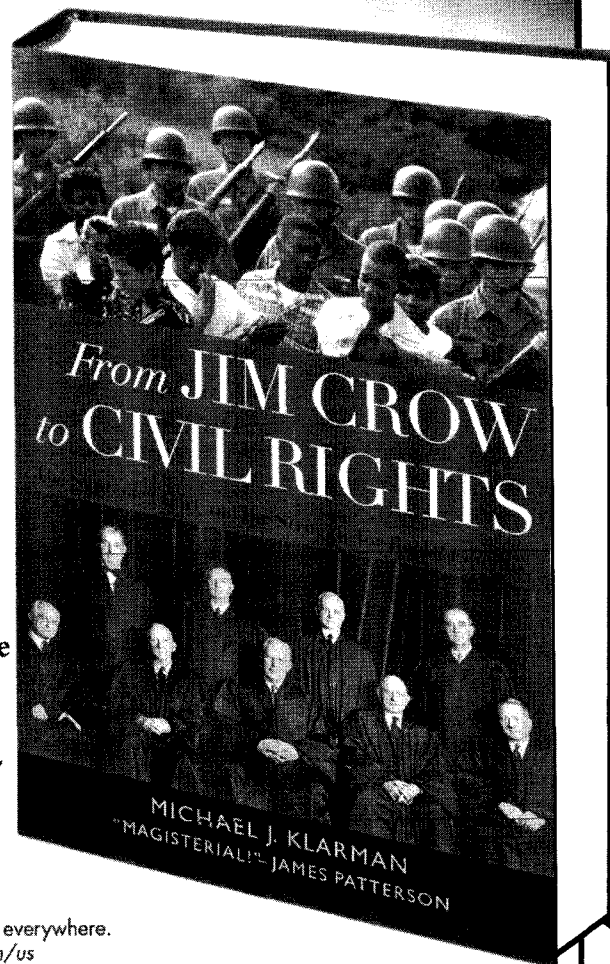
—*Wilson Quarterly*

"...magnificent..."

—*The New Yorker*

**"... likely to become the
definitive study of the
Supreme Court and race
in the first half of the
twentieth century."**

—*Reviews in American History*



OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

At bookstores everywhere.
www.oup.com/us

NEW FROM OXFORD



THE NEW AMERICAN MILITARISM

How Americans Are Seduced by War

ANDREW J. BACEVICH

"A superbly researched, articulate book that compellingly challenges the basic assumptions of the use of American military power in the turbulent years

since World War II. A clarion call for reform, *The New American Militarism* offers a blueprint for the 21st century that should be compulsory reading for the military establishment, Congress, the White House, and for every citizen concerned with how the United States wages war."—Carlo D'Este, author of *Eisenhower: A Soldier's Life* and *Patton: A Genius For War*
2005 \$28.00

THE MAN BEHIND THE MICROCHIP

Robert Noyce and the Invention of Silicon Valley
LESLIE BERLIN

"At the white-hot epicenter of the digital revolution was Robert Noyce. Now, thanks to this incisive and astutely researched biography, Noyce will be forever listed among those inventor-entrepreneurs of the postwar era who functioned as the Johan Gutenbergs, the Alexander Graham Bells, the Guglielmo Marconis of our era."—Kevin Starr, University Professor of History, University of Southern California
2005 \$30.00

STRATEGIES OF CONTAINMENT

A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy during the Cold War

Revised and Expanded Edition

JOHN LEWIS GADDIS

"A perceptive and illuminating historical analysis...An important book, both for understanding history and for thinking about the present and the future."—*Foreign Affairs*

2005 paper \$18.95

ROGER WILLIAMS

EDWIN S. GAUSTAD

"At once maddeningly original and disarmingly humane, Roger Williams championed Native American rights, church-state separation, and an independent judiciary when each was considered rank heresy. The justly noted historian Edwin S. Gaustad presents Williams's remarkable story in straightforward prose, without losing sight of its poetic power."

—Forrest Church, author of *The American Creed* and *The Separation of Church and State*

(Lives and Legacies Series)

2005 \$17.95



MOROCCO

The Islamist Awakening and Other Challenges

MARVINE HOWE

"Here we have a bird's-eye view of Morocco today as seen through the eyes of a seasoned reporter who has had a long love affair with the country. Her first-hand account of the early days of nationhood when Morocco's destiny hung in the balance is especially absorbing and well worth the retelling."—Susan Gilson Miller, Director of Moroccan Studies, Harvard University
2005 \$29.95



WEAVING THE PAST

A History of Latin America's Women from the Prehispanic Period to the Present

SUSAN KELLOGG

Offering a comprehensive and interdisciplinary history of Latin America's indigenous women, this book concentrates on native women in Mesoamerica and the Andes, as well as indigenous people in other parts of South and Central America, including lowland peoples in and beyond Brazil, and Afro-indigenous peoples.

"Kellogg's sweeping history is a solid resource for those seeking to learn more about indigenous women's roles and contributions to Latin American economy and society." —Asuncion Lavrin, Arizona State University

2005 paper \$21.95 cloth \$74.00

DUBLIN

A Cultural History

SIOBHÁN KILFEATHER

From The Act of Union through nineteenth-century decline and into the early years of Irish independence Dublin was a city identified with poverty, dirt, and decaying splendor. Kilfeather finds the legacy of the past undergoing a series of transformations in the vibrant atmosphere of contemporary Dublin.

(Cityscapes)

2005 paper \$15.00

THE POPE'S DAUGHTER

The Extraordinary Life of Felice Della Rovere

CAROLINE P. MURPHY

"Impossible to put down...Caroline Murphy brings to life the streets of sixteenth century Rome, the intrigues of the papal court, and the extraordinary character of Felice della Rovere. *The Pope's Daughter* overturns many of our assumptions about what was possible for women in Renaissance Italy."—Lyndal Roper, Professor of Early Modern History, Oxford University

2005 \$28.00

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

To order, call 1-800-451-7556 or log onto www.oup.com/us

NEW FROM OXFORD

SEVILLE, GRANADA, AND
CÓRDOBA

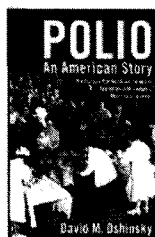
A Cultural History

ELIZABETH NASH

Elizabeth Nash explores the palaces, the mosques, the patios, fountains and wrought-iron balconies of Seville, Córdoba and Granada, cities celebrated for centuries by Europe's finest painters, poets, satirists and travel writers for their voluptuous beauty and vibrant cultural mix.

(Cityscapes)

2005 paper \$15.00



POLIO

An American Story

DAVID M. OSHINSKY

"Oshinsky vividly retells one of the greatest of all American success stories and reveals the clash of egos and interests, science and salesmanship that made it possible. Its fresh details will fascinate both those too young to

remember polio's scourge and those of us who experienced it firsthand."—Geoffrey C. Ward, author of *A First-Class Temperament: The Emergence of Franklin Roosevelt*

2005 \$30.00

THE BATTLE OVER
HETCH HETCHYAmerica's Most Controversial
Dam and the Birth of Modern
Environmentalism

ROBERT W. RIGHTER

"The fight over Hetch Hetchy was a defining moment in the clash between two defining traits of the American

West—its abundance of natural beauty and its scarcity of water. Righter's radical retelling of the story requires us to rethink the modern conservation movement from its birth until today."—Elliott West, University of Arkansas

2005 \$30.00

STORM OVER TEXAS

The Annexation Controversy and the Road to
Civil War

JOEL H. SILBEY

"One of America's best political historians here demonstrates that Texas Annexation was one of the nation's prime turning points. Silbey's clear writing, impressive learning, and balanced judgments make this book a valuable addition to the excellent Pivotal Moments series."—William W. Freehling, author of *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay, 1776–1854*

(Pivotal Moments in American History)

2005 \$28.00



DECISION AT SEA

Five Naval Battles that Shaped
American History

CRAIG L. SYMONDS

"Without question, *Decision at Sea* is a riveting, well-researched account of the U.S. Navy in action. Historian Craig Symonds should be saluted for writing an important and living narrative that

shows how sea battles shaped the course of American history."—Douglas Brinkley, author of *Tour of Duty* and *The Unfinished Presidency*

2005 \$30.00

Winner of the 2004 Sierra Prize of the Western
Association of Women Historians

THE WORLD'S RICHEST INDIAN

The Scandal over Jackson Barnett's Oil Fortune

TANIS C. THORNE

"A historical tour-de-force that dramatically and depressingly shows how a confluence of law, racial attitudes, scheming individuals, and bureaucratic institutions devastated the considerable rights and resources of Jackson Barnett, a Creek Nation citizen, and by extension the rights of other similarly situated indigenous people."—David E. Wilkins, University of Minnesota

2005 paper \$19.95



MASSIVE RESISTANCE

Southern Opposition to the
Second Reconstruction

Edited by CLIVE WEBB

"For anyone who seeks to understand white southern opposition to desegregation in the 1950s and early 1960s, this outstanding book is indispensable. By examining the complex strands of

white resistance, these scholars also help us better understand the achievements, and failures, of the civil rights movement."—Dan Carter, University of South Carolina

2005 paper \$19.95 cloth \$65.00

BOARDWALK OF DREAMS

Atlantic City and the Fate of Urban America

BRYANT SIMON

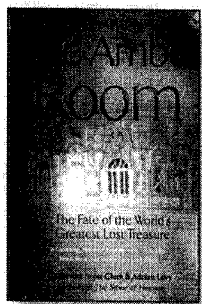
"A gifted writer as well as a clear-eyed historian, Simon moves effortlessly in *Boardwalk of Dreams* between the fantasies that Atlantic City sold and the social, economic and political worlds that underlay them. The result is a lively, evocative, eminently readable book that looks beyond the Jersey beach town to the inner pulse of urban America."

—The Chicago Tribune

2004 \$35.00

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESSTo order, call 1-800-451-7556 or log onto www.oup.com/us

NEW *f* ROM PENGUIN GROUP (USA)



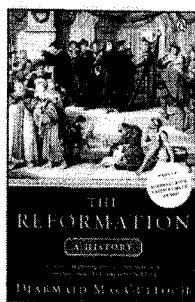
THE AMBER ROOM

The Fate of the World's
Greatest Lost Treasure

Catherine Scott-Clark
and Adrian Levy

"Offers a detailed view into the communist system 15 years after the Berlin Wall tumbled and its still-pervasive impact upon individual lives...compelling."—*Chicago Tribune*. "A fascinating...historical detective work."—*Newsday*.

Berkley 426 pp. 0-425-20378-6 \$15.00

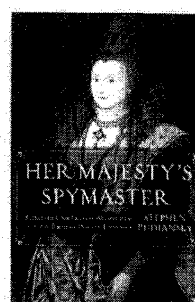


THE REFORMATION A History

Diarmaid MacCulloch

"A masterpiece....In its field it is the best book ever written."—*The Guardian*. "A lasting work [and] one of the most magisterial and stylishly written historical works to be published in a decade."—*The Atlantic Monthly*.

Penguin 864 pp. 0-14-303538-X \$18.00

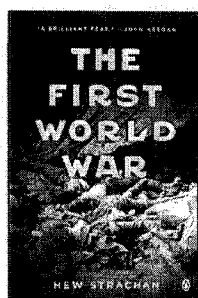


HER MAJESTY'S SPYMASTER

Elizabeth I, Sir Francis
Walsingham, and the Birth
of Modern Espionage

Stephen Budiansky
In the taut narrative of a spy novel, the author recounts how this legendary spymaster invented the art and science of modern espionage—and in the process set Elizabethan England on the path to empire.

Viking 256 pp. 0-670-03426-6 \$24.95

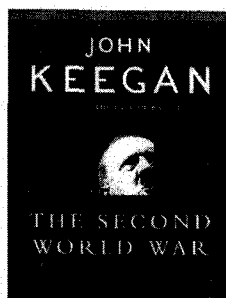


THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Hew Strachan

"A brilliant feat."—John Keegan. "Quite simply the best short history of the war in print."—Dennis Showalter.

Penguin 384 pp. 0-14-303518-5 \$16.00



THE SECOND WORLD WAR

John Keegan

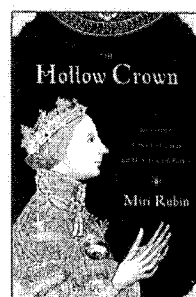
New Foreword by the author

"Boldly written and fair-minded."

—*The New York Times Book Review*.

"Analytical, concise, and coherentIf you want to know how it happened, read Keegan's thoughtful and elegant prose."—*Los Angeles Times Book Review*.

Penguin 624 pp. 0-14-303573-8 \$22.00



THE HOLLOW CROWN

A History of Britain
in the Late Middle Ages

Miri Rubin

General Editor: David Cannadine

A magisterial introduction to late medieval England.

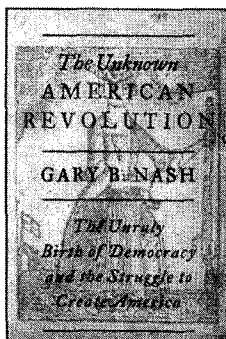
Penguin 400 pp. 0-14-303575-4 \$16.00



PENGUIN GROUP (USA)

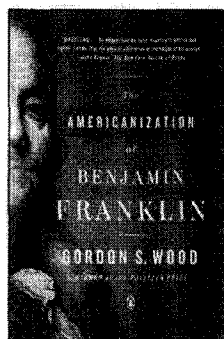
Academic Marketing Department
375 Hudson Street, NY, NY 10014
www.penguin.com/academic

NEW IN AMERICAN HISTORY FROM PENGUIN GROUP (USA)



GARY B. NASH
**THE UNKNOWN
 AMERICAN REVOLUTION**
*The Unruly Birth of Democracy
 and the Struggle to Create America*

"Nash draws on a career of distinguished research. ...His book introduces a contentious and varied cast, and he supports his provocative insights with rich—often startling—evidence from those who took part in the many-sided struggle."—Peter H. Wood, Professor of History, Duke University.
 Viking 544 pp. 0-670-03420-7 \$27.95



GORDON S. WOOD
**THE AMERICANIZATION
 OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN**

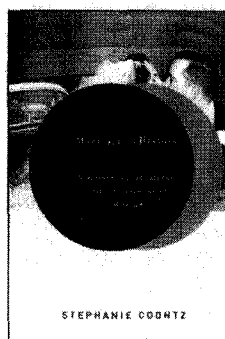
"In this brilliantly iconoclastic and utterly convincing reappraisal...Wood has rescued the real Franklin from the crushing heap of retrospective myths."—Ron Chernow.
 Penguin 320 pp. 0-14-303528-2 \$16.00

BRYAN BURROUGH
PUBLIC ENEMIES
*America's Greatest Crime Wave
 and the Birth of the FBI, 1933-34*

The definitive look at America's first, and greatest, war on crime—"massively researched, ludicrously entertaining" (*Time*).
 Penguin 624 pp. 0-14-303537-1 \$16.00

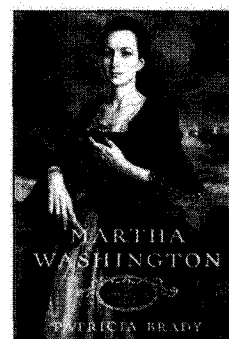
PRISCILLA J. McMILLAN
**THE RUIN OF
 J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER**
and the Birth of the Modern Arms Race

A groundbreaking account of the government conspiracy that destroyed America's leading nuclear scientist and launched a new era in the cold war.
 Viking 368 pp. 0-670-03422-3 \$25.95



STEPHANIE COONTZ
MARRIAGE, A HISTORY
*From Obedience to Intimacy,
 Or How Love Conquered Marriage*

"Scrupulously researched, filled with fascinating detail, and written with grace, humor, and wisdom."—Steven Mintz, Professor of History, University of Houston.
 Viking 464 pp. 0-670-03407-X \$25.95



PATRICIA BRADY
MARTHA WASHINGTON
An American Life

"This book is a colorful, charming picture of eighteenth-century American life and the delightful woman at its center."—Emily Toth, Professor, Louisiana State University.
 Viking 320 pp. 0-670-03430-4 \$24.95

BRUCE WATSON
BREAD & ROSES
*Mills, Migrants, and the Struggle
 for the American Dream*

The first full-length account of one of the twentieth-century's most riveting struggles—the infamous textile strike of 1912.
 Viking 352 pp. 0-670-03397-9 \$24.95

ELIZABETH KECKLEY
BEHIND THE SCENES
*Or, Thirty Years a Slave,
 and Four Years in the White House*

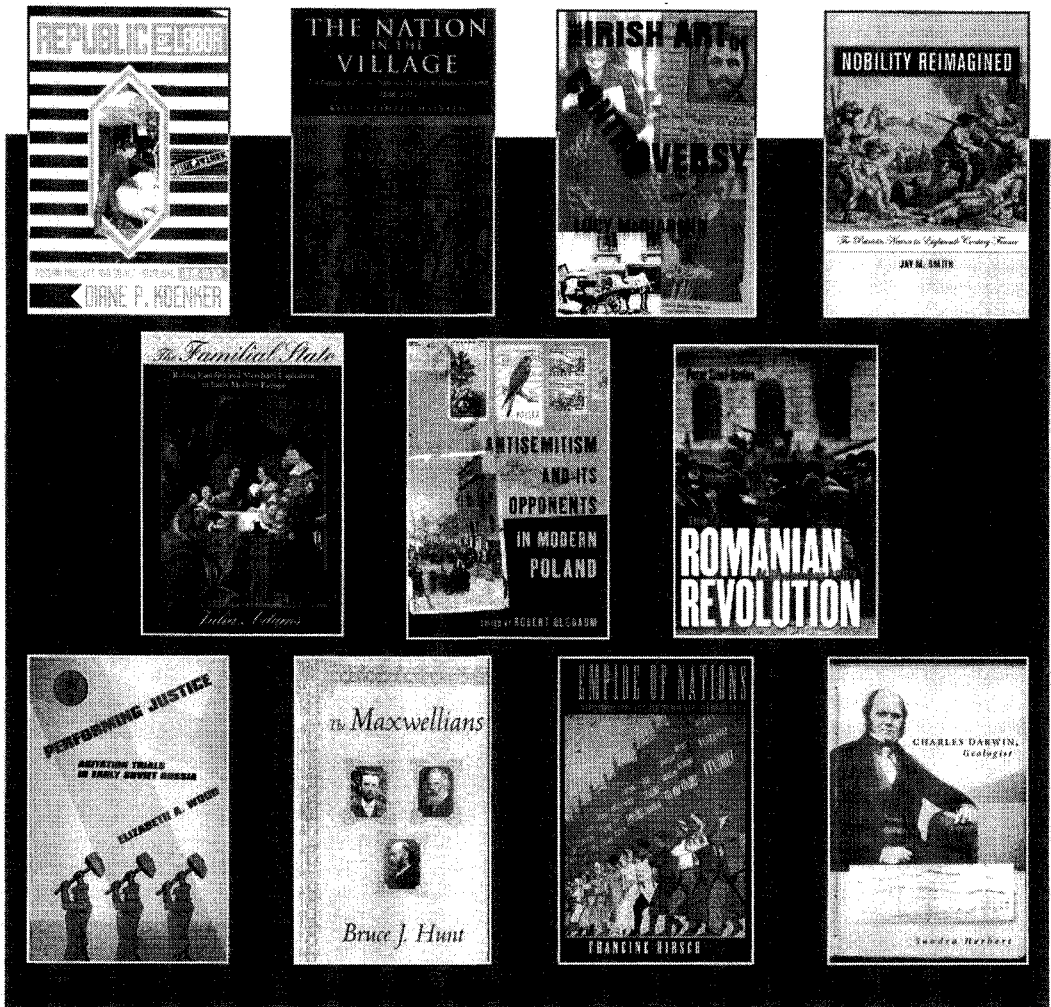
Introduction & Notes by William L. Andrews. A former slave's intimate memoir of the Lincoln White House.
 Penguin Classics 208 pp. 0-14-303924-5 \$14.00

PENGUIN GROUP (USA)
 ACADEMIC MARKETING DEPARTMENT,
 375 HUDSON STREET, NEW YORK, NY 10014
www.penguin.com/academic



THE FIRST UNIVERSITY PRESS
ESTABLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES
KNOWS A FEW THINGS ABOUT HISTORY.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS



Charles Darwin, Geologist**Sandra Herbert**

"This lucid and profoundly knowledgeable book explores Charles Darwin's engagement with the early science of geology during the first half of the nineteenth century, taking us from his boyhood love of collecting pebbles, through the astonishing fieldwork of the Beagle voyage, on into the years of careful thought about global geological processes and the making of the world we know today."

—Janet Browne, author of *Charles Darwin*

\$39.95 cloth

The Maxwellians**Bruce J. Hunt**

"George Francis Fitzgerald's indirect influence was immense, and his reputation grows with every retelling of his period by the historians of science, especially in... The Maxwellians."

—*Europhysics News*

\$19.95 paper

CORNELL HISTORY OF SCIENCE

The Irish Art of Controversy**Lucy McDiarmid**

"McDiarmid brilliantly identifies five dramas of cultural change in Ireland in the years before independence, narrating them in all their complexity, tragedy, and comedy... The Irish Art of Controversy will be essential reading for anyone who cares about the Irish history, literature, or politics of the last hundred years."

—Angela Bourke

\$29.95 cloth

Nobility Reimagined**The Patriotic Circle in Eighteenth-Century France****Jay M. Smith**

"Smith challenges us to rethink the status of traditional elites in the social imaginary of prerevolutionary France. The book's thesis about the relationship between nobility and patriotism overturns many hallowed assumptions about images of a 'reactionary' aristocracy and should provoke lively debate in the field."

—Sarah C. Maza, Northwestern University

\$49.95 cloth, \$24.95 paper

The Familial State**Ruling Families and Merchant Capitalism in Early Modern Europe****Julia Adams**

Adams explores the role that Holland's great families played in a dramatic history. She charts how family patriarchs—who were at the time both state-builders and merchant capitalists—shaped the first great wave of European colonialism, which in turn influenced European political development in innovative ways.

\$35.00 cloth

Divided Houses**Religion and Gender in Modern France****Caroline Ford**

"Through the exploration of five fascinating microhistories, Caroline Ford deftly analyzes the feminization of religion in nineteenth-century France. She aims less to discover why women flocked to the Church in unprecedented numbers, and more to understand the meaning of female religiosity in a growing republican society."

—Mary Louise Roberts, University of Wisconsin–Madison

\$25.00 cloth

Republic of Labor**Russian Printers and Soviet Socialism, 1918–1930****Diane P. Koenker**

"Koenker examines the ways in which printers fashioned a masculine working-class culture that co-opted some elements of the proletarian ideal but rejected others as they sought to preserve their individualism, boisterous behavior, and quest for material security."

—Christine D. Worobec, Northern Illinois University

\$49.95 cloth

Performing Justice**Agitation Trials in Early Soviet Russia****Elizabeth A. Wood**

"Wood's landmark book does not only tell the story of these ancestors of the Moscow show trials of the 1930s. Her interdisciplinary insights from anthropology, sociology, and history show the complexity of didactic, discursive, performative, and ritualistic aspects of these trials. Performing Justice explains a great deal about formative early Soviet practices in general."

—Arch Getty, UCLA

\$49.95 cloth

Empire of Nations**Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union****Francine Hirsch**

"Turning the tsarist empire into the Soviet Union involved equal parts brutality and ingenuity. Francine Hirsch exposes both in this insightful and provocative study of Soviet nation-building. This is the sharpest and most careful tour yet of the ethnographic workshop that was at the heart of the Soviet experiment."

—Willard Sunderland, author of *Taming the Wild Field*

\$59.95 cloth, \$27.95 paper
CULTURE AND SOCIETY AFTER SOCIALISM

Antisemitism and Its Opponents in Modern Poland**edited by Robert Blobaum**

"This state-of-the-art book about modern Polish antisemitism tackles some of the most difficult questions in the still highly sensitive history of Polish-Jewish relations."

—Norman M. Naimark, Stanford University

\$17.50 cloth, \$24.95 paper

The Nation in the Village**The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland, 1848–1914****Keely Stauter-Halsted**

"Stauter-Halsted's book is a fine example that demonstrates a wide array of printed and archival sources to reveal what peasants themselves were saying, writing, thinking, and dreaming about a future Polish nation."

—*Historical Reviews*

\$19.95 paper

WINNER OF THE ORVIS BOOKS PRIZE FOR POLISH STUDIES GIVEN BY THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SLAVIC STUDIES

The Romanian Revolution of December 1989**Peter Siani-Davies**

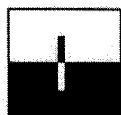
"This book is an original and gripping contribution to our understanding of the collapse of Ceausescu's dictatorship and the December 1989 revolutionary upheaval, and the difficult birth of democracy in Romania."

—Miodimil Ismaileanu, author of *Stalinism for All Seasons*

\$45.00 cloth

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS

www.cornellpress.cornell.edu | 1-800-666-2211



The Journal of Interdisciplinary History

Edited by Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb

topics include:

- ✓ social history
- ✓ demographic history
- ✓ psychohistory
- ✓ political history
- ✓ family history
- ✓ economic history
- ✓ cultural history
- ✓ technological history

This distinguished scholarly publication features substantive articles, research notes, review essays, and book reviews that relate historical study to applied fields such as economics and demographics.

RECENT ARTICLES:

The Missions of Paraguay: The Demography of an Experiment
Massimo Livi-Bacci and Ernesto J. Maeder

Social-Capital Formation and American Fraternal Association: New Empirical Evidence
Jason Kauffman and David Weintraub

Women Lenders as Sources of Land Credit in Nineteenth-Century Michigan

Charles F. Heller, Jr., and John T. Houdek

Magnifying Voters' Preferences: Bias in Elections to Birmingham's City Council

Michael Thrasher, Ron Johnston, and Colin Rallings

The Labor Market of the Early Roman Empire
Peter Temin

MIT Press Journals

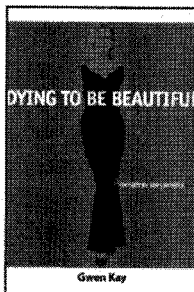
Five Cambridge Center / Cambridge, MA 02142

Tel: 617-253-2889 / Fax: 617-577-1545 / journals-orders@mit.edu

Published quarterly by The MIT Press. Volume 36 forthcoming.

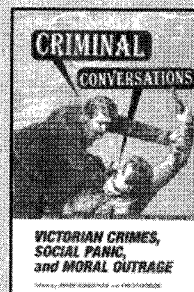
ISSN 0022-1953 / E-ISSN 1530-9169

<http://mitpress.mit.edu/jih>

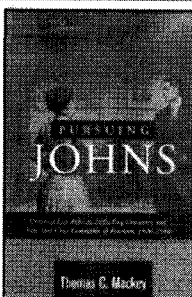


Dying to Be Beautiful
The Fight for Safe Cosmetics
Gwen Kay

\$22.95 paper 08142-5138-2
\$64.95 cloth 08142-0990-4
\$ 9.95 CD 08142-9066-3

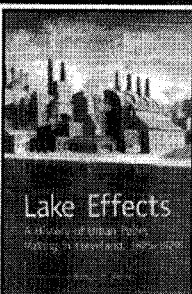


Criminal Conversations
Victorian Crimes, Social
Panic, and Moral Outrage
Edited by
Judith Rowbotham
and
Kim Stevenson
\$49.95 cloth 08142-0973-4
\$ 9.95 CD 08142-9043-4



Pursuing Johns
Criminal Law Reform,
Defending Character, and
New York City's Committee
of Fourteen, 1920-1930
Thomas C. Mackey

\$63.95 cloth 08142-0988-2
\$ 9.95 CD 08142-9062-0



Lake Effects
A History of Urban Policy
Making in Cleveland,
1825-1929
Ronald R. Weiner

\$59.95 cloth 08142-0989-0
\$ 9.95 CD 08142-9064-7

Unlikely Entrepreneurs
Catholic Sisters and the
Hospital Marketplace,
1865-1925
Barbara Mann Wall

\$49.95 cloth 08142-0993-9
\$ 9.95 CD 08142-9071-X



**Ohio and the World,
1753-2053**
Essays Toward a
New History of Ohio
*Edited by Geoffrey Parker,
Richard Sisson, and
William Russell Coil*

\$22.95 paper 08142-5115-3
\$49.95 cloth 08142-0939-4
\$ 9.95 CD 08142-9068-X

**Gender and
Petty Violence
in London,
1680-1720**
Jennine Hurl-Eamon

\$ 44.95 cloth 08142-0987-4
\$ 9.95 CD 08142-9061-2

The Ohio State University Press
www.ohiostatepress.org 800-621-2736

Lincoln's Speeches Reconsidered

John Channing Briggs

"A masterly study of Lincoln's pre-presidential speeches that conveys the clarity, accuracy, simplicity and depth of his words. Briggs shows Lincoln with the best style of a lawyer in politics, where the means is to find the single most persuasive argument and the object is to convince and not bemuse."

—Harvey C. Mansfield,
Harvard University
\$35.00 hardcover

Structuring the Information Age

Life Insurance and Technology in the Twentieth Century

JoAnne Yates

"A well-constructed and convincing study of the application of computer systems to business functioning, the people who brought about the change, and the specific gains in insurance from that application."

—Arthur Norberg, University of Minnesota
Studies in Industry and Society
Philip B. Scranton, Series Editor
\$49.95 hardcover

The Corporate Eye

Photography and the Rationalization of American Commercial Culture, 1884–1929

Elsbeth H. Brown

Discussing the work of Frederick W. Taylor, Eadweard Muybridge, Frank Gilbreth, Lewis Hine, and others, Elspeth H. Brown examines the intersection of photography as a mass technology with corporate concerns about efficiency.

Studies in Industry and Society
Philip B. Scranton, Series Editor
\$49.95 hardcover

The Comic Worlds of Peter Arno, William Steig, Charles Addams, and Saul Steinberg

Iain Topliss

Iain Topliss argues that the *New Yorker's* cartoons helped define American consciousness in the mid-twentieth century.

\$45.00 hardcover

American attitudes



Civilized Creatures

Urban Animals, Sentimental Culture, and American Literature, 1850–1900

Jennifer Mason

Jennifer Mason challenges some of our most enduring ideas about how encounters with nature shaped American culture. She combines literary analysis with cultural histories of equestrianism, petkeeping, and the animal welfare movement.

Animals, History, Culture
Harriet Rivo, Series Editor
\$55.00 hardcover

Alcoholism in America

From Reconstruction to Prohibition

Sarah W. Tracy

"Outstanding. This work combines one of the finest surveys of the alcoholism field for this period with some of the best institutional research I've seen."

—Joseph Spillane, University of Florida
\$48.00 hardcover

Private Practice

In the Early Twentieth-Century Medical Office of Dr. Richard Cabot

Christopher Crenner

"A fascinating study of elite medicine at a pivotal moment. Crenner illuminates the shift to a more self-consciously 'scientific' style of practice."

—Charles E. Rosenberg, Harvard University
\$48.00 hardcover

Originalism in American Law and Politics

A Constitutional History

Johnathan O'Neill

"Will surely become the standard reference for scholars and students."

—Richard Brisbin, West Virginia University
The Johns Hopkins Series in Constitutional Thought
Sanford Levinson and Jeffrey K. Tulis, Series Editors
\$55.00 hardcover

The Johns Hopkins University Press • 1-800-537-5487 • www.press.jhu.edu

What Would Your Students Have Done In Their Shoes?



Take a Field Trip to WWII With Making History™ — The Calm and the Storm

At last History students can **apply** what you teach them. Our advanced simulation software places them in the role of real-life historical leaders and challenges them to put their knowledge of History to good use, or suffer the consequences.

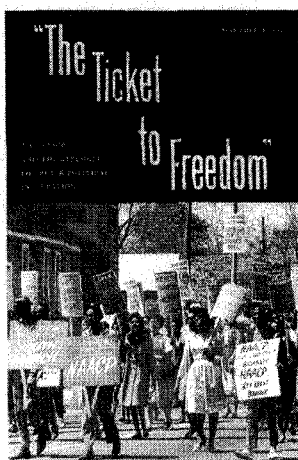
This is real History, hands on. Students experience world events as active participants. They learn to understand cause and effect, detect bias, and appreciate multiple points of view while they

develop communication, problem solving, and team building skills. The more they learn in your class, the better players they become.

So, what would you have done differently?
And how would History have changed? Find out with your **FREE** Evaluation Kit for ***Making History™ — The Calm and the Storm.***

Just call **888-MKG-HIST (888-654-4478)**,
or visit **www.muzzylane.com/ahr**.

MAKING HISTORY
THE CALM & THE STORM



New Titles!

"The Ticket to Freedom"

The NAACP and the Struggle for Black Political Integration

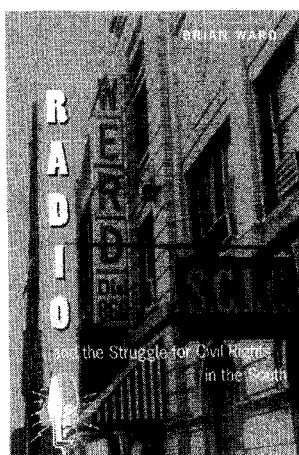
Manfred Berg

"A thorough, clearly written, and meticulously researched analysis of the NAACP's political activities from its inception through the civil rights movement."—David Goldfield, University of North Carolina, Charlotte
Cloth \$29.95

Radio and the Struggle for Civil Rights in the South

Brian Ward

A Choice Outstanding Academic Title
"Brian Ward has turned up the volume on an important but little known aspect of the civil rights movement—the communications and mobilizing power of black radio."—Julian Bond
Cloth \$39.95



Fighting Against the Odds

A History of Southern Labor since World War II

Timothy J. Minchin

"The definitive synthesis of two decades of scholarship on southern labor history."—Alex Lichtenstein, Rice University
Cloth \$59.95

Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams

A Social History of Modern Florida

Gary R. Mormino

"This is the first comprehensive social history of Florida in any of its epochs . . . it will be the standard against which all future such efforts in Florida will be measured."—Michael Gannon, professor emeritus, University of Florida
Cloth \$34.95



From Garvey to Marley

Rastafari Theology

Noel Leo Erskine

"No other book surpasses Erskine's skill in demonstrating how the Rastafarians gradually grew from a small band of social outcasts to a world-renowned movement that presently symbolizes Jamaica's cultural values in much of its global publicity."—Peter Paris, Princeton Theological Seminary
Cloth \$39.95

UNIVERSITY PRESS OF

Florida

Gainesville, Tallahassee, Tampa, Boca Raton, Pensacola,
Orlando, Miami, Jacksonville, Fort Myers

Coming Soon!

Slavery and the Peculiar Solution

A History of the American Colonization Society

Eric Burin

"An exceptional work that will stand for years as the best study of the African colonization movement. . . . The research, both archival and secondary, is excellent."—Douglas Egerton, Le Moyne College
AUGUST. Cloth \$59.95

Mambisas

Rebel Women

in Nineteenth-Century Cuba

Teresa Prados-Torreira

"A significant contribution to the ever-growing field of Caribbean women's history"—Verene A. Shepherd, University of the West Indies
SEPTEMBER. Cloth \$59.95

New to Paper!

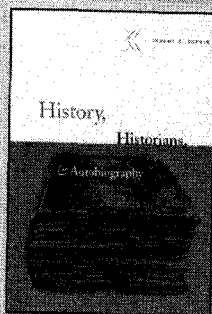
The Atlantic Slave Trade

Johannes Postma

"In the last few decades, there has been an explosion of interest in and research on the Atlantic slave trade. Despite such trends, however, the field has been lacking a solid textbook that should provide students early in their academic careers with an introduction to the topic. . . . Postma fills this void, bringing us a clearly written broad survey that does not attempt to oversimplify or dumb-down the material."—EH-NET
AUGUST. Paper \$24.95

Order through full-service booksellers, our website at www.upf.com, or with VISA, American Express, or M/C toll free: 1-800-226-3822

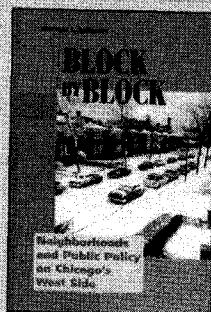
NEW HISTORY FROM CHICAGO



History, Historians, and Autobiography

JEREMY D. POPKIN

"A wonderful study of autobiographies by historians. It is the first such book-length study, and it is composed with great analytic acuity and psychological insight."—Paul Robinson, Stanford University
Cloth \$35.00



Block by Block

Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago's West Side

AMANDA I. SELIGMAN

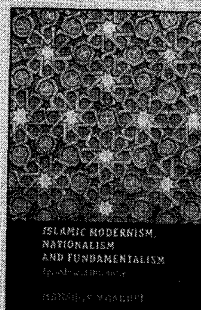
"A fascinating account of Chicago's West Side in the postwar era. Based on a wide range of sources *Block by Block* tells the story of a city in flux and residents trying to cope with changes occurring all around them."—Dominic A. Pacyga, author of *Polish Immigrants and Industrial Chicago*
Paper \$25.00

Islamic Modernism, Nationalism, and Fundamentalism

Episode and Discourse

MANSOOR MOADDEL

"An ambitious and important book that offers a unique combination of historical depth and comparative range. It provides much more than a historical survey, expounding a rigorous, comprehensive, and consistent explanatory paradigm for the evolution of modern Muslim discourses."—James P. Jankowski, University of Colorado at Boulder
Paper \$24.00

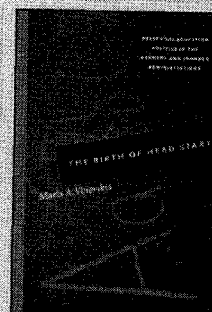


The Elusive Ideal

Equal Educational Opportunity and the Federal Role in Boston's Public Schools, 1950–1985

ADAM R. NELSON

"Nelson is breaking new ground by comparing different equity reforms in education against the background of local/federal relations. Historians of education and policy analysts will find *The Elusive Ideal* very illuminating."—David Tyack, author of *Seeking Common Ground*
Paper \$27.50



The Birth of Head Start

Preschool Education Policies in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations

MARIS A. VINOVSIS

"A shining example of the importance of understanding the origins of social programs in order to provide a solid ground for future decision making. . . . It is unlikely that there will ever be another study of the origins of Head Start that is as balanced, probing, and complete as this spectacular volume."—Ron Haskins, The Brookings Institution
Cloth \$29.00

Dependent States

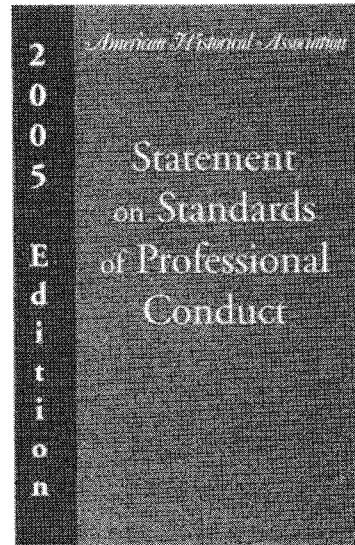
The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture

KAREN SANCHEZ-EPPLER

"A careful and detailed analysis of how childhood was articulated in the nineteenth-century United States and how that articulation was central to the constitution of American culture. This is a remarkable and elegantly written book."—Priscilla Wald, Duke University
Paper \$25.00

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

1427 East 60th Street, Chicago, IL 60637 • www.press.uchicago.edu

New and Revised!**Statement
on Standards
of Professional
Conduct
2005 Edition**

At its semi-annual meeting on January 6, 2005, in Seattle, Washington, the AHA's Council unanimously adopted sweeping revisions to the *Statement on Standards of Professional Conduct*, which has served as the gold standard for ethical conduct among historians since 1987.

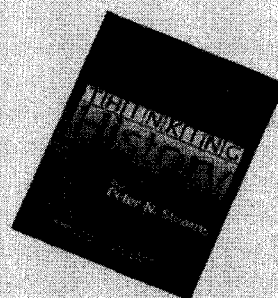
Order a free copy or read the online version at:

<http://www.historians.org>

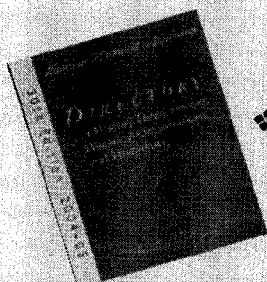
Get Connected!

with Publications from the AHA

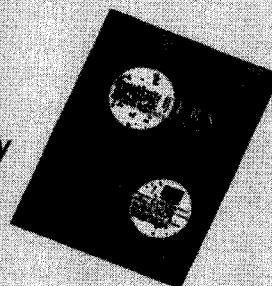
❖ *Thinking History* by Peter Stearns



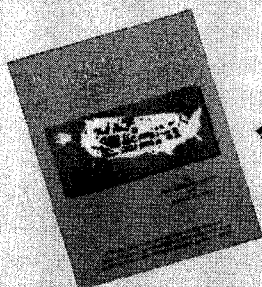
❖ *2004-05 Directory of History Departments,
Historical Organizations, and Historians*



❖ *Careers for Students of History*



❖ *History Education in the United States:
A Survey of Teacher Certification and State-Based
Standards in the United States*



And many more useful publications to help keep you in touch
with the historical profession!

**Mark your calendars for future
annual meetings of the**

***American Historical
Association***

2006 Philadelphia, January 5–8

(Philadelphia Marriott and Loews Philadelphia)

2007 Atlanta, January 4–7

(Hilton Atlanta, Atlanta Marriott, Hyatt Regency)

2008 Washington, D.C., January 3–6

(Marriott Wardman Park & Omni Shoreham)

2009 New York City, January 2–5

(Hilton New York, Sheraton New York)

2010 San Diego, January 7–10

(Manchester Grand Hyatt San Diego, San Diego Marriott)

2011 Boston, January 6–9

(Boston Marriott, Sheraton Boston, Westin Boston)

2012 Chicago, January 5–8

(Sheraton Chicago, Chicago Marriott)

2013 New Orleans, January 3–6

(New Orleans Marriott, Sheraton New Orleans)



Commemorating

**Two
presidents**



**Two public
servants**



The American Historical Association offers

The Theodore Roosevelt- Woodrow Wilson Public Service Award

Suggestions for nominations are invited

*M*embers are invited to suggest names of individuals who can be nominated for the Theodore Roosevelt-Woodrow Wilson Public Service Award. Named for the two former AHA presidents who were also presidents of the United States—Theodore Roosevelt (AHA president in 1912) and Woodrow Wilson (AHA president in 1924)—this honorific award recognizes individuals outside the historical profession who have made a significant contribution to the study, teaching, and public understanding of history.

The suggestions for possible nominees can include (but need not be restricted to), for example, persons who may have made a significant contribution to the support and encouragement of history through their actions. Such noteworthy actions may include philanthropy, supporting or working for the National History Day, helping to protect and preserve a national historical monument or park, or working in the community to develop a regard for history. First presented in 2004, the previous honorees have been Senator Robert C. Byrd (D-WVA) and Brian Lamb (C-Span President and C.E.O.).

The executive director and the AHA president will consider members' suggestions and other names to choose the nominees. The AHA Council will thereupon make the final selection.

Mail your suggestion (along with a one-page note justifying the suggestion) to the Executive Director, AHA, Attention: The Roosevelt-Wilson Award, 400 A Street, SE, Washington, DC

20003-3889.



TITLES ON TECHNOLOGY IN AMERICAN HISTORY INCLUDE:



THE MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX
Alex Roland

*TECHNOLOGY, TRANSPORT, AND TRAVEL IN
AMERICAN HISTORY*
Robert C. Post



OTHER TITLES INCLUDE :



*TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER AND EAST ASIAN
ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION*
Rudi Volti

*TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIETY IN THE
MEDIEVAL CENTURIES: BYZANTIUM, ISLAM,
AND THE WEST, 500-1300*
Pamela O. Long

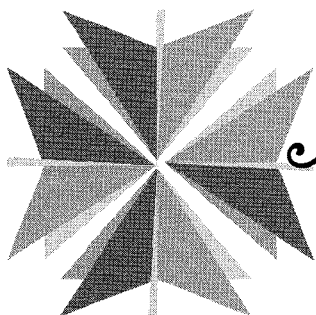


*TECHNOLOGY, SOCIETY, AND CULTURE IN
LATE MEDIEVAL/ RENAISSANCE EUROPE*
Pamela O. Long

*TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIETY IN MING
CHINA, 1368-1644*
Francesca Bray



For ordering information, visit the AHA's web site at:
<http://www.historians.org>, e-mail pubsales@historians.org,
or call (202) 544-2422.



Join the world of history

American Historical Association

The AHA provides the premier forums for the dissemination of historical scholarship and for the exchange of ideas and news about teaching and research.

- Publishes the *American Historical Review*, now in its 110th year as the premier journal in the field.
- Develops and publishes a wide array of pamphlets on historical teaching and research.
- Publishes *Perspectives*, the substantive newsmagazine for the historical profession.
- Organizes an annual meeting where more than 4,000 historians meet in nearly 240 panels to discuss and debate the latest findings in historical research.

The AHA encourages history teaching and research through awards, grants, and the promotion of networks and collaborations among historians.

- Offers book prizes and awards for distinguished teaching and scholarship.
- Awards more than 100 grants to graduate students and junior faculty members for research travel.
- Constructively interacts with over 100 specialized historical organizations now affiliated with the AHA.
- Organizes special conferences on themes of concern to the profession, such as part-time and adjunct teaching.
- Publishes the *Directory of History Departments, Historical Organizations, and Historians*—the most comprehensive information about historians at universities, colleges, and other institutions.
- Provides timely information on a wide array of topics of concern to the profession.

For details about membership, visit the AHA's web site at:

<http://www.historians.org>

Index of Advertisers

American Historical Association	40(a)–45(a)	Palgrave Macmillan	13(a)
Bedford/St. Martin's Press	Covers 2 and 3	Penguin	30(a)–31(a)
Cambridge University Press	17(a)–19(a)	Princeton University Press	9(a) & Cover 4
Cornell University Press	32(a)–33(a)	Rutgers University Press	38(a)
HarperCollins Publishers	20(a)–23(a)	University of California Press	14(a)–15(a)
Indiana University Press	10(a)	University of Chicago Press	39(a)
Johns Hopkins University Press	36(a)	University of North Carolina Press	12(a)
Alfred A. Knopf	26(a)	University of Georgia Press	7(a)
Louisiana State University Press	6(a)	University of Illinois Press	3(a)
MIT Press	34(a)	University of Texas Press	8(a)
Muzzy Lane	37(a)	University Press of Florida	38(a)
New York University Press	4(a)	University Press of Kansas	11(a)
Ohio State University Press	35(a)	University Press of Kentucky	5(a)
Oxford Academic	27(a)–29(a)	Yale University Press	24(a)–25(a)

BEDFORD/ST. MARTIN'S

Ways into the past

The Making of the West Peoples and Cultures

Second Edition

Lynn Hunt, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Thomas R. Martin, *College of the Holy Cross*

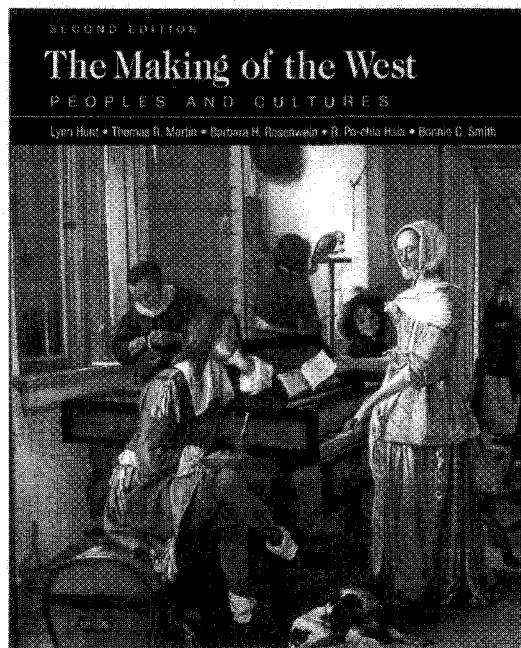
Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Loyola University, Chicago*

R. Po-chia Hsia, *Pennsylvania State University*

Bonnie G. Smith, *Rutgers University*

“The authors’ efforts to reconsider the traditional narrative of Western Civilization pay significant dividends: an organic, cohesive, and competent representation of the people and cultures of the West.”

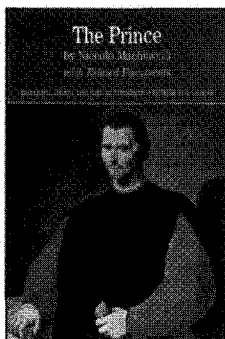
— John Krapp, *Hofstra University*



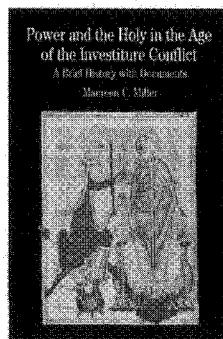
Combined volume: 2005/cloth/1192 pages
Volume I - To 1740: 2005/paper/682 pages
Volume II - Since 1500: 2005/paper/668 pages
Volume A - To 1500: 2005/paper/523 pages
Volume B - 1320–1830: 2005/paper/352 pages
Volume C - Since 1740: 2005/paper/508 pages
bedfordstmartins.com/hunt

BEDFORD SERIES IN HISTORY AND CULTURE

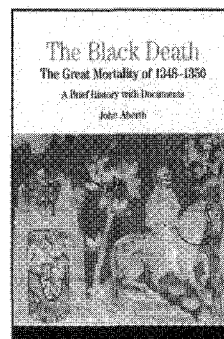
Advisory Editors: Lynn Hunt, *University of California, Los Angeles*; David W. Blight, *Yale University*; Natalie Zemon Davis, *Princeton University*; and Ernest R. May, *Harvard University*



2005/paper/206 pages



2005/paper/189 pages



2005/paper/199 pages

For more information: bedfordstmartins.com

Writing History

TEAR OFF THE MASKS!



Identity and Imposture in Twentieth-Century Russia

SHEILA FITZPATRICK

TEAR OFF THE MASKS!

Identity and Imposture in Twentieth-Century Russia

Sheila Fitzpatrick

When revolutions happen, they change the rules of everyday life—both the codified rules concerning the social and legal classifications of citizens and the unwritten rules about how individuals present themselves to others. This occurred in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, which laid the foundations of the Soviet state, and again in 1991, when that state collapsed. *Tear Off the Masks!* is about the remaking of identities in these times of upheaval.

"*Tear off the Masks!* is so appealingly written, full of wit and occasional humor, that it could serve as a model of the historian's craft."—Lewis Siegelbaum

Paper \$24.95 ISBN 0-691-12245-8

Cloth \$65.00 ISBN 0-691-11353-X Due August

GLOBALIZATION

A Short History

Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels P. Petersson

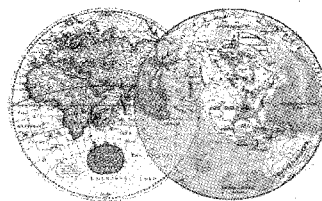
Translated by Dona Geyer

"Globalization" has become a popular buzzword for explaining today's world. In this work, Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels P. Petersson make the case that globalization is not so new, after all.

"Full of original insights, this is the best introduction to global history on the market today. If you want to find out what the history of globalization is all about, and how globalization changes our view of the human past, read this book."—Sven Beckert

Cloth \$22.95 ISBN 0-691-12165-6 Due June

Jürgen Osterhammel
and
Niels P. Petersson



globalization
a short history

100

Celebrating 100 Years of Excellence

PRINCETON
University Press

800-777-4726

Read excerpts online

www.pup.princeton.edu